

THE
MADRAS REVIEW.

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MADRAS WATER CESS BILL.

THE irrigation system in this country by which millions are fed is a monument to the sagacity, ability and magnanimity of British rulers. It is truly the admiration of the civilized world. No people on earth are more able to appreciate such care on the part of their Government than the natives of this country. Any measure which really aims at placing the relations existing between the Government, as representing the great supplier of water, and those owners and cultivators of land who seek to benefit themselves by taking advantage of such supply, on a satisfactory and equitable footing, is sure to be welcomed by the public. Government undertook the irrigation works either from the funds supplied from the general revenues of the country or with the money borrowed on the general credit of the country. It is but fair that the particular portion of the community that is benefited by such works should contribute to the general revenues the amount necessary to cover expenses and meet the interest on the capital charge. It would not be very easy to define the precise amount of this contribution, as the works vary alike in magnitude, in character and in origin. Whatever the rates charged for the use of water under each work may be, they profess to fairly represent "the cost of water supplied," as would appear from the speech of the Honorable Mr. H. D. Phillips who introduced the Madras Water-Cess Bill, which became Act VII of 1865. What Government expects or rather ought

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Madras

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to expect is, "a fit return" on the direct outlay on its irrigation works. And this is in accordance with the principle of establishing local financial responsibility for works which are in their nature exclusively of local interest and value. As to the method of charging for canal water, the system in force throughout India is entirely one of voluntary sale. Water is sold by the acre, and the only principle recognized for charging differential rates is, that the value of lands of different classes would be affected in different degrees, according as they are capable or not of bearing sugarcane, rice, garden stuffs, and the more valuable kinds of crops generally. If self-interest induced the ryot to purchase water, he purchased it, otherwise not. The idea of working such undertakings in an agricultural country like India, so as to give the greatest mercantile profit, is not to be accepted without many large reservations, as remarked by the Honorable Col. Strachey in connection with the Northern India Canal Bill of 1870. It is to be remembered that these works were not undertaken by the State for profit, nor yet merely to increase an established prosperity, but under the terrible pressure of necessity. Irrigation in this country spells immunity from famine. That the schemes have been made to pay on the whole and that the expenditure in the aggregate leaves good interest is satisfactory, but financial returns are not their primary object.

In a Despatch to the Secretary of State, No. 98, Public Works, dated 9th September 1873, the Government of India says—"it is to be recollected that besides the direct and calculable results of the working of a canal, we must also take into consideration other indirect effects. Among these may be mentioned the security of Land Revenue in exemption from remissions and the gradual enrichment of the districts through which a canal passes, with its effect on all branches of the Government Revenue. The rise of the revenue from the land and from other sources in the Godavery and Kistna Districts of Madras are notable instances. And there is above all, the mitigation, if not security from famine, which irrigation affords." Any changes to be made in the law regulating the assessment of water-cess should be in accord with the beneficent intentions of Government. The main changes now proposed are (1) that Government be empowered with effect from 1st July 1878, to charge for irrigation by percolation or drainage whenever it is, in the opinion of the Collector, beneficial to and sufficient for the requirements of the crop; and

(2) that the Civil Courts be divested of jurisdiction to question any assessment made by the Collector under the Act. If it is not intended by this Bill to make the water-rate *directly* compulsory, it is intended to make it *indirectly* compulsory. The poison is absorbed into the system imperceptibly, and the victim dies without a struggle it is true, but none the less surely.

Looking to the legislation in other provinces, we find that neither the Northern India Canal and Drainage Act of 1873, nor the Bengal Irrigation Act of 1876 sanctions the levy of water-rates except for the use of water directly supplied or utilized. In no part of this country have canal works been constructed on so large a scale as in the North-West Provinces. No part of the country requires such artificial provision for water as those Provinces, where the quantity of rainfall is far lower than in most other Provinces. Proposals to insert provisions authorizing the charge for percolation were rejected by the Supreme legislature in connection with the Northern India Canal Act of 1873. And this was done though the charge for percolation had been maintained in Northern India since the year 1845 in some form or other by the rules framed under the Punjab Irrigation Act VII of 1845. In fact, the clause relating to percolation stood as a part of Act XXX of 1871—which had superseded the Act of 1845. In the Bill introduced in 1873 for the revision of the Act of 1871, the provision regarding percolation appeared in the following form:—

"If it appear to the Divisional Canal Officer that any cultivated land situate within 300 yards of the edge of any artificial canal maintained by Government receives by percolation from such canal an advantage equivalent to that which would be given by a direct supply of canal water for irrigation, he may, subject to an appeal to the head revenue officer of the District, or such other appeal as may be provided under Section 76, charge on such land a water-rate not exceeding that which would ordinarily have been charged for such a supply to land similarly cultivated." I cannot do better than repeat the observations made by Sir George Campbell, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, who strongly opposed this clause. Those observations apply with equal force to the Bill now proposed to be introduced. His Honour said that the result of that section would be to introduce into the Bill the principle of compulsion, on a small scale no doubt, but still the principle. The man who did not ask for a

canal found that a canal was brought through his grounds and he was told "You are benefited by it in the opinion of the canal officer, and therefore, you must pay as if you had voluntarily taken water from the canal." That was so far compulsory, and was, he thought, to be avoided. There might be a good deal to be said in favor of the principle, that a man who had been benefited by a canal should pay for the benefit he derived, whether he wished to have that benefit or not. But this would be a very small source of revenue, and extremely difficult of application. The rule could but apply to a very small strip of land on the sides of some portions of the canal; and it was extremely difficult to say whether the land had benefited and how much it had benefited. It was still more difficult to say who ought to decide that question. His Honour strongly objected to the canal officer deciding it, and, if this section was passed, he thought the claim of the canal officer should be decided by an entirely independent authority. His Honour not only objected to the clause on direct grounds, but also on much larger indirect grounds, namely, that there was no provision for compensation on account of injury done by a canal, corresponding to the rate sought to be levied on account of benefits, and, therefore, it was not consistent that a rate should be levied on account of benefits indirectly given by a canal. That was, in fact, the principal ground upon which he would ask the council to strike this clause out. He had spent considerable portions of his life in countries where irrigation canals existed; and he found that, wherever you took a canal, you must necessarily very much disturb the existing state of things. You did good to some; you did harm to others; you gave water to many to whom it was a benefit; but, on the other hand, you flooded lands where the flooding was an injury; you caused wells to fall in where such falling in was an injury; you drained where it was a benefit to drain; you drained where it was an injury to drain. There was no end to the questions which would arise if you applied fairly the principle involved in the Section to adjust the benefits and the injuries resulting from canal works. If you attempted to adjudicate in these matters, you would be put into overwhelming difficulties. He believed that you must look on these disturbances—these changes which altered the course of waters and drainage—as a sort of act of Providence. You must set the benefits conferred upon those who did not ask for them against the

damage done to others. It would be impossible to adjust those matters satisfactorily; to give compensation to lands injured, and take payments from lands benefited. His Honour much believed that that view must influence the council, because those who benefited in the manner provided for by this section would be a small number in comparison to the cases in which compensation for injury might be claimed, if the principle were allowed. These views commended themselves to the Honorable Messrs. Inglis, Egerton, Bayley and Hobhouse and to His Excellency the President, who observed, "There is a good deal in this clause which is open to objection. There is, no doubt, a small modicum of compulsion in the clause. There is also the question of equity, stated by the Lieutenant-Governor and the Honorable Mr. Hobhouse, *viz.*, that, as the Act debarred claims for compensation for loss caused by percolation, it is not fair that there should be a charge made in those cases in which the land-holders received benefit from percolation." The clause in question was accordingly omitted. No provision of the kind is to be found in the Bengal Irrigation Act, which was passed three years later. I am, therefore, the more surprised to see that after such precedents and established authorities the question should be revived and sought to be enforced in the case of this Presidency, whose irrigation works have been paying a handsome return to Government. Surely, there is nothing peculiar in the circumstances of this Presidency which renders charge for percolation less objectionable. It is said that what is now proposed is merely to invest a uniform revenue custom with legal form. I am aware of no such custom. It has received no judicial recognition. It is opposed to the terms of the Despatches of the Secretary of State of 1863, 1870 and 1873. It is opposed to the distinct understanding on which His Excellency the Governor-General accorded his assent to the enactment of the Water Cess Act of 1865. It was admittedly abandoned in 1889 and Government did not then think fit to ask for legislative sanction. The practice now in force is embodied in Board's Standing Order No. 4, para. 7, which runs as follows:—"Wet cultivation raised on dry lands with water which percolates from a Government work is not liable to water-rate. The land-holder should be given the option of taking a full supply of water for his crop and, in the event of his accepting the offer, he should be charged water-rate, but, should he refuse to take a full supply, no charge should be made for water which reaches his holding

by percolation." This rule seems to be fair and equitable enough. It is, however, urged on behalf of Government that the construction put on the Act by the courts places in jeopardy a large portion of the public revenue; that in the present state of the law it is in the power of any cultivator holding fields not assessed with a consolidated wet rate in the midst of an expanse of wet cultivation from which, in the interests of the majority, water cannot be excluded, to escape the payment of water-tax by not applying for water; and that the power to charge for percolation is highly essential for the protection of revenue. It would be absurd to suppose that the Honorable member of the Bill cannot make a plausible case in support of his new departure, but the question to my mind is not so much whether the cultivator possesses in theory such power as whether the mischief likely to result therefrom promises to be so grave as to make it the imperative duty of the legislature to intervene. It seems to me that the case put forward is one which is not likely to occur in actual practice and that there is no reasonable ground for any apprehension of possible loss of revenue. If the proposition that the interests of Government and people are identical is true in any case, it is in the matter of irrigation. In the first place, in the case assumed, the fields would be unfit for dry crop and a cultivator must necessarily raise a wet crop thereon. Most of the lands irrigated from the ancient works grow rice and rice only—a crop which requires continuous flooding for almost the whole period of its growth. That period varies from about 3½ to 6 months according to the description of rice grown, the better kinds requiring longer time for coming to maturity. I ask whether it is to the interest of any cultivator, who has to raise a *thirsty* crop like rice, to trust to the precarious supply, which he may or may not get without application. In the second place, it is to his advantage to get the previous sanction for water, as, if he irrigates without permission and is found out, he is charged double water-rate as a punishment. It is not unusual for the Revenue Department to charge penalties for water which reaches a field by percolation, on the ground that such water has been taken without permission. Several cultivators have thus been practically and indirectly forced to apply for water if not in view to obtain increased profits, at any rate to save themselves the difference between single and double rates. In the third place, Government has

power under the Act to frame such rules as it thinks fit and to levy its own water-rates. Government reserves to itself the full right, with or without reason given, to discontinue either temporarily or permanently the supply of water for irrigation. Will not Government exercise these powers by framing a rule in respect of the lands irrigated by the Rushikulya project that no relinquishment would be accepted in cases where the surrounding fields are under irrigation unless the applicant has arranged to exclude water from his fields? This is one form of compulsory irrigation—and that too introduced in the case of a Protective work!! Every cultivator is aware that, if he attempts to gain an undue advantage one year, Government has the power to prevent him from doing so next year. Intelligent self-interest, if nothing else, prompts him—as it prompts the majority of the adjoining cultivators—to apply for water and pay for it. The proposed legislation goes therefore beyond the necessities of the case. Again, the cases in which injury is done are far more numerous than those in which benefit is caused. Where a ryot applies for water, it may well be presumed that he does so, in view to derive profit. But, where he has to adjust the crop with reference to the precarious supply which he may or may not get and which no one can control or regulate, the presumption is rather the other way. Indeed, it may frequently happen that the land which is benefited one year by percolation would be injured the next, should percolation increase. Is it right that a charge should be made on the owner in the one case, while no compensation is to be given in the other? This reminds me of a curious provision contained in the Court Fees Act. It is this. A wrong decision regarding court fees may be upset in a court of appeal, if such decision is to the detriment of the revenue; but not if it is in favor of the revenue and against the subject! One may imagine what the effect of the proposed legislation would be in a tract of country like the Godavery Delta—which admittedly suffers from physical disadvantages in point of drainage, upper-ground drainage being obstructed by an insufficient fall of land towards the sea, and under-ground drainage by subsoils. Very little comparatively has been laid out by Government in improving the drainage, even where it is practicable to do so. The committee appointed in 1878 under the famine commission to enquire into the management of Irrigation works in this Presidency drew the attention of

Government to the fact that "in the systems of the Godavery and Kistna a good deal still remains to be done, such as works of provision for cross drainage by which serious mischief is done year after year." Mr. Brodie, the Collector of Godavery, has lately called attention to the same subject in his remarks on the scheme report for the re-settlement of the District and said that without doubt 10 lakhs could well be spent on the improvement of the drainage system in the Godavery Western Delta alone. Experience has shown that drainage must go hand in hand with irrigation. If the drainage of irrigated tracts be not carefully attended to, not only is serious injury done to the land, but the health of the population is often affected in an alarming manner. Now, what the present Bill proposes to do is to enable the Government to take advantage of its own wrong. The idea of the Revenue Officers seems to be that no water would flow on land without conferring benefit—that anything short of total failure of crop should be regarded as a benefit, the water-cess being remitted, as a matter of grace, in the event of total failure only. If the principle of charging for water in such cases be correct, then, the liability for the cess should be contingent upon *increased* profits which a land derives under ordinary circumstances from irrigation, as compared with the average profits it would have yielded before its introduction. Why should an Inamdar who, before the introduction of irrigation, was in a position to and did raise an excellent dry crop on his land be compelled to pay water-cess, though by reason of percolation he is forced to raise another kind of crop which does not yield him more and in some cases does yield less than the original crop? To charge him cess in such a case would be trenching upon his legitimate profits which are exempt from taxation. In no case that arose in the Kistna District was it proved on behalf of Government that the water coming by percolation was of real use to the cultivator by increasing his profits. On the other hand, it was distinctly found in some cases that the cultivators had sustained loss.

The interpretation put upon the Act by the courts is entirely in accord not only with the intentions of the framers of the Act but also with justice, equity, and good conscience. What is now proposed is not to remove any uncertainty of law caused by judicial interpretation, but practically to reverse the policy which underlies the beneficent legislation of 1865. It is

to be noted that the extent of land which gets water by such percolation in the Kistna Delta is very insignificant. The Collector Mr. Atkinson says that it is practically confined to a few villages in Teyali and one or two in Bunder Taluk. By sanctioning the imposition of consolidated wet rates, Government has solved to its own satisfaction the difficulty in the case of the Zeroyaty lands involved. The extent of Inam and permanently settled estates which still remains to be dealt with would be very small indeed and calls for no special legislation. Mr. Atkinson adds that many of the cultivators concerned have assured him that they want to have their land converted to wet, and that, if given a proper supply of irrigation, they would grow wet crops and pay the water-rate without a murmur; but that he has not succeeded in inducing the Public Works Department to extend an irrigation channel into the said tract. It would appear that some of these cultivators actually applied for water, but their applications were refused on the ground of precarious supply. There is, therefore, no ground for saying that the action of the cultivators was due to any intention to defraud Government of its revenue. The result of passing a measure like the one proposed would be that every land-holder who has the misfortune of owning land in the vicinity of an irrigation channel or of a drain natural or artificial—would be completely at the mercy of the Village Officers, Revenue Inspectors and Delta Superintendents, who will have large opportunities of extortion. Another matter to which I would call attention is the proposal to give retrospective effect to this measure. The principle of retrospective legislation is one to be applied with great caution, and surely this is not a case to which the said principle should be extended. Whatever may be said as to the expediency of enacting provisions regarding percolation and leakage rates in a province like Bombay, they cannot certainly be entertained in this Presidency in connection with the revision of its Irrigation Act. Bombay bears no resemblance whatever in its physical features to Madras; it has but a small area under irrigation; and its irrigation works differ considerably in character from those in Madras or in Northern India. Madras possesses practically the oldest, the largest, and certainly the most profitable of all the irrigation systems in India. While the average rate levied for the use of water in Northern India is Rs. 3 per acre or $\frac{1}{9}$ or $\frac{1}{10}$ of the value of the crop raised, the water-rate levied in the Godavery and Kistna Deltas represents about $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{3}$ of the

gross produce or is nearly double what is levied in Northern India. From the report of the Administration of this Presidency, for 1898-99, it will be seen that the net revenue on irrigation works in this Presidency amounts to 8.31 per cent. on the capital outlay of works in operation. This percentage would be 11.86, were it not that the capital outlay is burdened with the cost of the unremunerative Cuddapah-Kurnool canal purchased in 1882-83. The net revenue from the Godavery Delta system during the year 1898-99 after paying the interest charges was 15.02 per cent. on the capital outlay against 15.75 per cent. in the previous year; while the anticipated ultimate return was 9.3 per cent. per annum on the capital outlay. In the case of the Kistna anicut, the net return was 11.32 per cent. against 9.49 per cent. in the previous year. The direct net receipts since the construction of the anicut have been considerably more than double the whole capital expended in the Godavery Delta, while they are about half as much again as the capital expended in the Kistna Delta. The indirect advantages to the country are too difficult to estimate, and cannot be reckoned at all at a money standard. Mr. Welch says that in 41 years the total revenue raised in the Godavery District exclusive of Local and Municipal taxes, has increased from 24 to 88 lakhs, while in the Kistna District, it has risen in less than 50 years from 30½ to nearly 76 lakhs. Already, Godavery and Kistna are the most heavily assessed districts in this Presidency. The incidence of land revenue per head of population in the ryotwari tracts was, according to the figures of 1897-98, Rs. 3-11-4 in Godavery, and Rs. 3-9-5 in Kistna, against Rs. 3-4-10 in Tanjore. This will be raised still further in the ensuing Revision Settlements. And it is these districts that will be specially affected by this Bill, which aims at the taxation of indirect benefits. The right policy is, in my humble judgment, to look at the irrigation works as a whole and to say whether there is any reason to think that the community benefited by such works is not contributing a fair price. It would be extremely difficult in practice to assess water-rate on each land in proportion to such indirect benefits, just as it is difficult to assess cable rates with reference to the benefit which the sender of each message receives. By the use of Codes, we know that mercantile firms, while only paying for one Code word, actually get the value of the ten or twelve words which such

code word might actually mean. But nobody would say that they should be charged for such indirect, though certain, benefit. In the present instance, it is to be assumed that the rates levied, for water supplied or used take into account the waste which must inevitably ensue in the course of such supply or use. Such waste stands on the same footing as the water that passes in floods over the anicut and flows uselessly to the sea; the supplier is not entitled to a separate charge for percolation or leakage.

It is in the proposal to exclude the Civil Courts from the jurisdiction which they now possess in respect to matters affecting the water-cess lies the sting of the present bill. As the bill stands, in any question which arises in regard to accidental or occasional overflow of water, or benefit derived from percolation, — in which case the rate for the use of such water is compulsory — the judge is to be no impartial officer, but the Collector himself. He is to be his own interpreter of the rules under which it is fixed; his enquiry shall not be a judicial proceeding; and there is to be no appeal from his decision. Till now, the legislature has carefully guarded the landed interests of Her Majesty's subjects by providing for the cognizance of questions arising between the Government and the people by the Civil Courts — though I must confess that, in these latter days, the signs are numerous, of a change coming upon the spirit of the administration in this respect. That noble statesman, Lord Cornwallis, in instituting the Code for Bengal, supplied the foundation for the Codes of Madras and Bombay. Some of the characteristics of the system introduced by that statesman are thus stated by Mr. Henry St. George Tucker — "1st — He separated the Revenue and Judicial authorities and thus put an end to that monopoly of power, which not only leads to abuse, but which tends at the same time to secure to it impunity. 2ndly. He established independent courts, to whose jurisdiction both the Government and its officers were made amenable for official acts." These principles, no doubt, are the keystone of the safety and well-being of the British Empire in India. Wherever rights of property are violated, the jurisdiction of Civil Courts attaches. In the words of Chief Justice Westropp "The Revenue Department, when acting within the bounds of discretion which the law entrusts to it, cannot be interfered with by the Civil Courts. It is only when it passes those bounds

and violates the rights of property, or otherwise transgresses the Law, that the courts can interpose. Those who wish well to the preservation of the British power and honor in the East, and whose field of view extends beyond the frontier of a Department, will not desire that this limited and salutary power of interposition should be destroyed or impaired." I would cite in this connection a few provisions to show that the past policy has been one of progress from what we call discretionary Government to Government by law. Section 3, Regulation XXV of 1802, which relates to permanently settled estates lays down "that in all cases of disputed assessment, reference shall be had to the sunnuds and cabooleats, and judgment shall be given by the courts of judicature in conformity to the conditions under which the agreement may have been formed in each particular case." With regard to Inams and service Inams, as soon as the summary enquiry was over, and the Inamdars' titles were adjudicated upon, the jurisdiction of Civil Courts was completely restored under Madras Acts IV of 1862, and IV of 1865. The Madras Survey and Boundaries Act IV of 1897 prescribes that Collectors shall follow a certain procedure in the investigation of boundary disputes and that their decisions shall be subject to reversal or modification by the decree of a Civil Court. Unless the jurisdiction of the Civil Courts in matters relating to water-cess is maintained, the land-owner gains little or nothing by the right of resort to Civil Courts given to him by the above enactments; for, water charge forms in the case of irrigated land by far the larger portion of the payment made to Government. In fact the legislature would be taking away with one hand what it gives with the other. Is it too much to ask not to withdraw a concession already granted? Moderation and discretion combined with ability, are too general among the members of the revenue branch of the Civil Service to lead them to desire a departure, in this respect, from the wise and statesmanlike principles of Lord Cornwallis. Sir Douglas Straight said that during his thirteen years' residence in India, he was firmly convinced of one thing, and it was this—that, while innovations and changes in this country should only be very gradually and cautiously introduced, "a concession once made should never be withdrawn except for reasons of most paramount and pressing emergency." Beyond the usual plea of expediency, nothing has been shown to justify the legislature to sanction this retrograde step. There

is no warrant for saying that the Government has been harassed with any vexatious suits. The precedents quoted for ousting the jurisdiction of Civil Courts can be easily distinguished: In no case cited has a constitutional privilege—which was enjoyed for about 35 years—been taken away. Again, there is no analogy between a tax like land-tax or income-tax and a price like water-cess. One is a forced contribution to the general expenses of Government; while the other is a charge for special services which people are not compelled to accept, unless they choose. Something may be said in favor of the policy which excludes the jurisdiction of the Civil Courts to revise any assessment imposed or levied in the exercise of the prerogative of the Crown. But, when a special cess is demanded in the professed exercise of a special power conferred by a legislative enactment, the courts should not be debarred from seeing whether the power is exercised in accordance with the provisions of the Act. The policy of water-cess can be examined in the broad light of the day and I do not think that Government has anything to fear, if it allows the law to remain as it is in this respect. "The law is a terror to evil-doers, not to them that do well." I have known many Collectors of high ability who have won the confidence of the people, and who have, in the discharge of their duties, enjoyed that confidence as fully as anybody can. But it is my firm conviction that no one in the position of a Collector could satisfactorily deal with cases of the kind proposed to be entrusted to his adjudication. In 99 out of 100 cases it comes to this, that the opinion of the Village Officer or Revenue Inspector, —who always strains more or less in favor of Government—is the opinion of the Collector. Nothing, therefore, will be gained by burdening Collectors with details, to the consideration of which they have no time to give. It is further to be remembered that the measure is one which affects all descriptions of land tenures and which has a very wide application. The practice obtaining in other provinces in this respect cannot furnish a valuable guide, because, as I have already shown, the Northern India and Bengal Acts contain no provisions regarding percolation or leakage rates. But it may be mentioned that the Northern India Act expressly provides that all claims against Government in respect of any thing done under the Act—excepting claims in respect of charges for unauthorized use or for waste of water—may be tried by Civil Courts. According to the Irrigation Acts of all

provinces, every enquiry conducted under them should be conducted in accordance with the provisions of the Code of Civil Procedure and should be deemed a judicial proceeding. There is nothing in the Bengal Act which takes away the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts in case of any breach of law. In Bombay, however, the Revenue Jurisdiction Act X of 1876 enacts provisions excluding the jurisdiction of the Civil Courts in the matter of assessment of any cess. But there is one point of difference between the system obtaining in those provinces and the one obtaining here. There, the canal administration is in charge of a special department, and Collectors are not directly interested in the administration of canal revenue, as is the case in this province.

The true scope and object of these reactionary proposals cannot be rightly understood, unless they are considered in the light of the proposals recently sanctioned by Government in connection with the re-settlement of the Godavery and Kistna Deltas. Government has approved of the proposal made by the Board of Revenue to replace in the said Deltas the existing system of levying a separate charge for water by the imposition of a consolidated wet assessment, with effect from 1st July 1898, on irrigated lands which have been continuously under wet cultivation for 5 years or which may be declared by the Deputy Commissioner not to be in a position to exclude Government water. It has thus, with one stroke of the pen, ousted the jurisdiction of the Civil Courts in respect of a vast majority of ryotwari lands in the Deltas, to adjudicate on questions relating to liability for water-cess. The same thing cannot be done in the case of Inam and zemin lands, whose quit-rent or peishcushi was fixed for ever. Government is pledged in their case not to touch the profits, which the Inamdars or Zamindars may derive from them without the aid of irrigation. But Government seems to have made up its mind to adopt the graduated table of water-rates recommended by the Board in their case. It is said that this scale represents the difference between the dry and consolidated wet rates. It ranges from a maximum of Rs. 8 to a minimum of Rs. 2-12 per acre, in the following gradation:—Rs. 8, Rs. 7, Rs. 6-8, Rs. 6, Rs. 5-8, Rs. 5, Rs. 4-12, Rs. 4-8, Rs. 4, Rs. 3-12, Rs. 3-8, Rs. 3-4, Rs. 3, and Rs. 2-12. The four-rupee uniform rate was thus raised, by 100·75, 62·5, 37·5, 18·75 and 12·5 per cent. in a large majority of cases and possibly reduced in just a few. There is nothing

to prevent the settlement department from placing any Inam or Zemin land in any class, irrespective of its original value. The rate is fixed neither on a consideration of the quantity of water consumed nor of the quality supplied, but with reference to arbitrary estimates of profits, which each individual field is supposed to yield under canal irrigation at the time of the re-settlement. Of course, the legislature has no voice in the fixing of these rates, as it is entirely a matter left to the discretion of Government. At the same time, under the present law no Inamdar or Zamindar can be compelled to take water, and the option of refusing the irrigation is the only safeguard open to him against any injustice and inequality in the imposition of the rates. As observed by the Board, "The Deputy Commissioner doubts whether water would be taken at the proposed rates, and the Collector (of Godavery) is certain that they would lead to extensive relinquishment. The Board concurs with the Collector that extensive relinquishment would be the immediate result, but thinks it quite an open question whether the Inam and Zemindari ryots would continue to abstain from the water if once satisfied that relinquishment would not secure a reduction of the special rates." Now the object of this Bill is apparently clear. It is intended to checkmate any relinquishments on the part of the Inamdars and Zemindars concerned. Will the legislature arm the executive with such enormous power—to charge for a supposed benefit arising from percolation or drainage? It means nothing more and nothing less than the annihilation of Inam and Zemin property. Is this consistent with the generous policy which actuated the creation of such property in this country? In para. 72 of his report, dated 30th October 1869, the Inam Commissioner says: "Gain to the State was not the sole, or indeed, the principal object of the Inam Commission. The subject was so fraught with important social and political consequences." It is to be borne in mind that the full option was granted, having regard to the circumstances of the Godavery and Kistna Deltas—some lands being better fitted for dry crops, others being obliged to revert to dry cultivation at periodical intervals, and others being left uncropped for want of pastures and forest reserves. There is no guarantee that, if the matter were left to the executive to charge the Inamdar for percolation or drainage, the water-charge will be assessed only on the additional profits he may derive from

irrigation. Not only was the present system originally introduced by Government on a careful consideration of all factors of the case, but it was also subsequently pronounced to be the best and the simplest by the local officers and the Board and was confirmed by Government in 1873 and 1878, when special enquiries were instituted into its merits. In the words of the Duke of Argyll, "To force irrigation on the people would be not unlikely to make that unpopular which could otherwise scarcely fail to be regarded as a blessing." To quote another eminent authority, "There will be some advantage in knowing what is the income immediately attributable to the irrigation works. There will be more in the fact conducive alike to good feeling and good working that the water will be an article which men may take or not as they like; so that if any complain, we may be able to say, 'well don't take it, if you think it won't do you good.' If this Bill is passed into law, can the Government say so in future? It is to be hoped that the legislature will look far into the past and the future, at the political and economical bearings of its measures upon the welfare of the millions entrusted to its care, and come to the conclusion that no case has been made out for changing the law on lines entirely different from those that had been laid down by the wisdom of legislators thirty-five years ago.

G. VENCATARATNAM.

TANGACHERRY, A TINY BRITISH SETTLEMENT.

"**F**AR from the madding crowd's ignoble strife," smothered in cocoanut groves, fanned on three sides by the refreshing breezes of the Indian Ocean, within perpetual bearing of the "league-long roller," which, in ever-varying, but monotonous, cadence, breaks into fleecy spray, "thundering on the reef," this Christian settlement—dating from about three centuries ago—now owing allegiance to the British Crown, and very proof of the fact, lies entombed, so to speak, within the territories of His Highness the Maharajah of Travancore. A very interesting old-fashioned community were these Tangacherry Christians of Portuguese and Dutch extraction, not quite a generation ago; for, even in this remote, secluded spot, the pulsations of modern life are beginning to be felt, and a feverish ambition to be up and doing—a strong and increasing desire to learn something of the great world outside, the echoes of which reach the settlement in occasional newspaper paragraphs—characterises the rising generation. The quaint old-world courtesy, humble piety and placid content of the older inhabitants is giving place to manners and modes of thought, which lose much in comparison; but which are, inevitably, the result of the high-pressure education and new-born aspirations of the day. The present inhabitants of Tangacherry are the descendants of men, some of whom were formerly celebrated in Indian History. Wherever the once maritime powers of Portugal and Holland settled, they invariably left behind them indelible indications of occupation, in the names of their descendants, in their religion and in their style of architecture. Thus, while in places such as Tangacherry, Cochin, and Anjengo, Portuguese and Dutch names like Cabral, Diaz, Sequiera, D'Mello, Vans Pall, Hooquewert, Boonigardt, &c., are still borne by people who claim to be the survivors of departed worthies; in Negapatam, Cochin and Sadras the peculiar construction and curiously solid architecture of the houses still remain to justify the belief, if other proof were wanting, that the Dutch once colonized those places

and lived permanently there till they were dispossessed, or died out. It goes without saying that the inhabitants of these ancient settlements are almost to a man, adherents of the Roman Catholic Church; though, here and there, among the owners of Dutch names are to be found some who belong to the Protestant faith. Such names will occur readily to those who know anything of these rapidly changing, if not decaying, communities. Tangacherry boasts nothing very striking in the way of architecture except an old fort, built mostly of laterite, faced with granite, the greater part of which has been swallowed up by the insatiable sea, which, by the way, appears to have encroached a good way into the shore about here. The Tangacherry fort was constructed in the year 1503 A.D. by the Portuguese; Tangacherry itself being counted among the Portuguese possessions three years previous to that date. A ruined remnant of a wall; an imposing entrance way (a vigorous (*ficus indica*) banyan tree deriving its sustenance from its crumbling stones)—a handsome time-worn belfry surmounted by a blossoming *botgamvillia*—a secret passage and a moat, over both of which the salt waves play, are all that remain of what was doubtless a formidable fortress three hundred years ago. But before speaking of other small remains a word or two is necessary regarding the town, or village, of Tangacherry. Probably it was nothing more than a mere fishing village at the time of the Portuguese occupation, and any importance it then had was very probably derived from its contiguity to Quilon, two miles away, which town was known to European and Arabian navigators long years before European nations thought of Indian conquest. Quilon in 1500 A.D. belonged to the king of Desinganiad. The fort of Tangacherry was built, as already stated, in 1503, and it passed into the possession of the Dutch in 1663, when Cochin, a hundred miles or so to the North capitulated, one Pierre de Poa being commandant. Tangacherry remained with the Dutch till 1795, and on the 19th October of that year Major Petre and Mr. Stevenson captured the town of Cochin, John Lambert Vaces Pall then being Dutch Governor of that Port. On, or about, that date Tangacherry passed into the keeping of the English, and, although cut off from British territory by the native state of Travancore, it, like its sister settlement of Anjengo, has ever since remained a British possession. It is supposed that the name of Tangacherry is a corrupted form of *Tungumcheri*, *Tungum* being

the Vernacular name for gold, and *cheri* that for village, or hamlet. It is said that the Portuguese were the first to set in circulation gold coins, and hence the name. This derivation of the name is, to my mind, extremely unlikely, as a gold currency appears to have been established by the Malayalam chieftain in Quilon at a period long anterior to the invasion of India by the Portuguese. Another origin of the name is *chungo*, or *chungoo*—a shell—which, be it noted, is the symbol of Travancore sovereignty to this day. Probably these peculiar shells were found on this part of the coast as coral is still so found. The shell theory is probably the true one; though the fisher people of this coast—who are locally termed Kollamkar, (*i.e.*, Quilon folk) indifferently name Tangacherry as *Tungumcheri* or *Chungacheri*. A third derivation is, *Tungaseer*, the name of an alleged former ruler of Kollam or Quilon. Logan in his Manual of Malabar says Tangacherry was in the possession of the Dutch from 1519 to 1661 A.D.

Though Tangacherry belongs to the British Government, it is leased to the Travancore Durbar for a period of three years, at a time, the lease on expiry of that period being renewed—the Travancore authorities collecting the revenue and paying in lieu a rental of Rs. 3,347 for the period. The conditions of the lease, which was arranged in 1822, are that “all rents, customs or *jenkums*, profits and produce accruing from the said rented premises of all denominations whatsoever are hereby declared to become the sole property of the Travancore Sirkar during the full and entire period of three years; that the inhabitants residing within the limit of the said village of Tangacherry of all castes and descriptions whatsoever, shall continue to be under the protection of British Government in all cases of a Civil or Police nature; that excepting the introduction of the monopoly of the sales of tobacco and spirits the Travancore Sirkar, or its agents, are prohibited from imposing new taxes, levying unusual duties, or arbitrary exaction of any kind on the inhabitants, and an attempt to do so by the Travancore Sirkar will forfeit all claim to a continuance of the farm. The Police Establishment is to afford every aid and support to the servants of the farm in the detection of frauds or attempts to introduce into Tangacherry any of the articles under Government monopoly.” It will be seen that the interests of the inhabitants of Tangacherry have been carefully conserved by the British authorities; though the Collector of Malabar,

under whose jurisdiction the place is, pays it very rare official visits. A Sub-Magistrate and a few peons are wholly sufficient to safeguard the interest, and settle the differences, of this small but compact community. It may be here remarked that the area covered by Tangacherry amounts to only 99 acres, and in any similar place in British territory, a Village Munsiff, and an occasional beat-Constable, would suffice for all practical purposes. The population numbered at the last census 1,675 souls. During the time the lease has existed the Tangacherry residents appear on several occasions to have appealed to the Governor of Madras in Council against the action of the Travancore authorities. One such quaintly worded appeal was made to Sir William Deslison, and in their memorial the petitioners recite the particulars of the help afforded by the settlement to the British Government in 1809, when they were specially warned by the Travancore authorities "that no aid should be afforded to the British army under penalty of death." The memorial goes on to complain that "during this period (1809) many relatives of the petitioners in several places were in revenge drowned, killed, plundered, imprisoned, &c., by the native authorities..... that the Sirkar in further revenge monopolised all trades such as Tobacco, Salt, Arrack; &c., and even prohibited the petitioners from drawing toddy from their own trees for culinary purposes; Besides removed the colonial customs to Quilon in Travancore; strongly fenced the boundaries and stationed watchmen of a most barbarous nature to examine all the males and females (British subjects) on their passing and repassing the outlets for the necessities of life. That they are also oppressed with a duty of 8 per cent. even on trifles, while the Travancurens have to pay only 5 per cent. This partial and infamous practice was," says the Memorial, "abolished in 1847 by the sole and repeated remonstrances of petitioners..... That by the aforesaid restrictions to this length of time the petitioners have been gradually and insensibly reduced to such a distressed condition, as to experience what is real indigence in all its horrible shapes, even unable to cover their nature and habitations. That, at this deplorable juncture, it is truly lamentable to see a party of natives styled Escheat Officials, measuring grounds and houses, arbitrarily appraising even the commonest and unprofitable trees, fit only for fuel, in this clime, as also wells and walls constructed by the inhabitants and compelling the exhibition of all docu-

ments in order to realize the whole to the Crown, and, this, it is said, to be exchanged to the Travancore Government; without duly weighing petitioner's ancestral claims to the strips of landed property they live in, by right of inheritance and by right of purchase, at increased prices, in the stability of Allodial tenure, undisputed for upwards of three centuries. That the original documents (now so pressingly called for) of the successive Governments are almost lost partly by havoc of age and partly by the general confusion incident on the war, and on the hasty vacating of houses for storing provisions and for the army as well as by repeated conflagrations; the rest are in Dutch, a language now foreign to petitioners..... That the petitioners beg to observe that should the result of the threatened escheat be so arbitrary as apprehended, the poor and distressed inhabitants will have no other alternative save that of forced expatriation to brave with their numerous families, all its horrors solely attributable to the ever-to-be-grieved and unprecedented oppression. In this exasperated state of feelings petitioners with firm confidence approach Your Lordship in Council, humbly craving Your Lordship to be the medium to avert both the impending evils—the contemplated exchange and assessment—and the petitioners shall, as in duty bound, &c."

To the foregoing memorial, a reply signed by Mr. C. E. Walker, Under-Secretary to the Madras Government, was as follows:—"The petitioners are informed that negotiations are in progress for the transfer of Tangacherry and Anjengo to the Travancore Sirkar. The first claims of the petitioners will receive full attention." This was dated "Fort St. George, 27th November 1865."

In a certain petition which the people addressed to the Collector and Magistrate of Malabar, the leading signatory being "Jno Oliveira," they assert that they held their lands free of all, and every, imposition or tax and refer the Government of Fort St. George to the "14th article of the Treaty of Capitulation entered upon between the Dutch Governor, Sir Vans Pall, and the British Representative, Major Petree under date the 19th October 1795," in support of their contention.

It will be seen that the people of Tangacherry were averse to the contemplated change of rule. They have repeatedly protested against Tangacherry becoming a part of the Travancore Raj, and that this was a probability at one time will be apparent from

the following letter from the Government of India, Foreign Department, Political, dated 18th January 1884, No. 224. I., on the Proceedings of the Madras Government. In 1884 Sir M. E. Grant-Duff held the reins of Government in Madras and the Marquis of Ripon relinquished and the Marquis of Dufferin assumed the Viceroyalty of India. The letter referred to runs:—

"I am directed to acknowledge receipt of your letter, Nos. 683 and 733, dated respectively, the 26th September and the 18th October last, regarding the Pereyar Project.

This project is not only expected to prove a remunerative work in ordinary years, but also to secure, in years of scarcity, a large population from the miseries of famine to which they are now exposed. The land required for the head works, and the water-supply which it is proposed to divert, are situated in the state of Travancore, whose Government after some negotiations has agreed to accept certain terms proposed by the Madras Government. These terms include the payment of six lakhs of Rupees and the secession of Tangacherry and certain pattom gardens to Travancore.

It appears that Tangacherry is a Christian settlement acquired by us in 1795 containing a population of 1,665, of whom all but 7 are Christians. The boundaries of the settlement which comprise an area of only 96 acres are the sea and Travancore Territory. It is leased in triennial leases to the Travancore Government, but the rights of the whole population to continue under the protection of the British Government, in all civil and criminal cases, are especially reserved, the four pattoms included in the present negotiations contain about 57 acres with a population of 169. They are also bounded by the sea and by Travancore Territory, but each of the pattoms or gardens lies at considerable distance both from the other pattoms and the village of Tangacherry. It further appears that these isolated outlying posts of British Territory are of small value, their transfer to the Travancore State would be very acceptable, inasmuch as the shore and the roadstead of Tangacherry are required for the proper development of a harbour at Quilon which is to be the terminus of the proposed railway from Tinnevely. The exchange of the lands which is suggested will therefore be equally beneficial to the subjects of the Native State and to those of the British Government. It will enable the former to complete its system of internal communication and the latter to rescue a large

population from the visitation of famine to which they are, at regular intervals of time, exposed.

To an arrangement so obviously beneficial to the public interests of the two Governments exception has been taken by the small Christian community of Tangacherry. They object to the absorption of the small settlement in the adjoining Native State of Travancore, partly on the ground that their freehold tenure, confirmed by the British Government, may not be respected by the native administration, and partly from the apparent fears of dangers to the quiet enjoyment of their religious rights and ceremonies. It does not seem clear that these objections are well-founded. The protection of their proprietary right is put forward as a consideration of the first importance in the memorial of the inhabitants of Tangacherry, who addressed both the Government of India and the Madras Government on the subject. But there should be no difficulty in arranging matters with the Travancore State so as to secure a satisfactory guarantee on this point. There remains the question of securing the Christian population in the enjoyment of their religious rights. In the Native State of Travancore there is a considerable population of Christians who, it is believed, enjoy a complete liberty of action, as members of the same community enjoy in British India. It is possible therefore that the second objection raised to the proposed secession may be less serious than the former, and in fact merely addressed in support of the arrangement regarding proprietary rights. But at the same time the anxiety of the people of Tangacherry to preserve their religious rights and privileges, if such anxiety be real, is worthy of every consideration; and before orders are passed upon the case the Government of India would be glad to receive fuller information.

I am therefore to request that the Governor of Madras in Council will direct careful enquiries to be made as to the real feelings of the people on the subject, and I am to ask whether His Excellency is in a position to assure the Government of India that Christians are treated in Travancore in all respects as they are treated in British Territory....."

The foregoing letter is very interesting reading viewed in the light of events which have happened subsequently, and the Government of India only did justice to Travancore regarding the liberty of action allowed to Christians in the State. For the rest, it had long been the ambition of the Travancore Government to

acquire the several bits of British Territory in the Raj, viz., Anjengo—that historic strip of land on the coast eighteen miles north of Trivandrum—made famous by being the birth place of Orme the Historian and the sometime residence of Eliza Diaper, between whom and Sterne a warm platonic attachment existed—Tangacherry and the three or four pattom lands (gardens) on the coast line between Tangacherry and Cochin. I have not been able to ascertain the names of these pattoms or trace the history of their occupation. They, however, exist as British territory no longer, and have been given over to Travancore.

As regards the secession of Tangacherry, the protest of the Tangacherry people appears to have weighed with the Government of India, and some other arrangement apparently resulted in the Pereyar Project being carried to a successful conclusion. Anjengo still remains British Territory.

In regard to their free-hold properties too, the Tangacherry people have succeeded in escaping heavy taxation, a fixed quit-rent having been decided on in 1893, Mr. Bradly, the then Collector of Malabar, in reply to a memorial, plainly telling the memoreasants that they could not expect to live forever free of taxes, and that in any case they would have to pay assessment."

From all that I can gather, the Tangacherry inhabitants cannot yet reconcile themselves to this imposition, and periodically plead poverty and inability to pay. There can be no doubt that the inhabitants are very poor, and many of them are unable to pay for the education of their children; but this is so chiefly because the people of the settlement are unable to forget their origin, and because their standard of living and ideas of comfort are so high as to be hardly commensurate with their income. There are undoubtedly some families in Tangacherry who are direct and legitimate descendants of Portuguese or Dutch ancestors; but on the other hand, there are people bearing Portuguese names who have no legitimate right or title to them, and who cannot be differentiated from Christian natives of the soil. On this account chiefly the well-to-do Eurasian communities in other towns in Travancore as a rule have no social intercourse with Tangacherry Eurasians who are, as a whole, somewhat behind their Eurasian neighbours in Cochin and Trevandrum in education and general progress. I mention this here as a simple fact, no idea whatever of deprecating the respectable inhabi-

Tangacherry. As remarked in this paper before, the new generation of Tangacherry Eurasians is inspired with progressive ideas, and many of these have already found success in the wider field of British Indian competition. When the Tinnevely-Quilon Railway reaches completion, in two or three years time from now, this little settlement will be more in touch with the Presidency of which it forms a part; and if the Harbour—mentioned in the Government of India's letter quoted above as being a wish of the Travancore Durbar—becomes a *fait accompli*—a great future awaits Quilon, and with it Tangacherry. The late Mr. Rama-iengar, who was Dewan of Travancore in 1884, had many schemes, for the good of Travancore, in his head, and among them was the opening of harbour at Quilon. In this connection it is worthy of mention that at the U. P. A. S. I. Annual Meeting last year, Mr. Hockin complained of the want of a good harbour on the West Coast of India, and among other ports, that of Quilon was mentioned by more than one Madras Journal, in the discussion that followed, as possessing great possibilities as a good harbour. But I have been wandering from my text, Tangacherry, and I must, before closing this article, give a brief description of some remains still to be noticed. There are one or two old churches which are of some interest; one having been erected in 1841 by the Archbishop of Cranganore, Don Manuel De Sam Joquim Neves, in which repose the bodily remains of that prelate. A very much older church was built in 1789, or just a century ago. Just south of the old flagstaff, which stands no longer, are the British and Dutch cemeteries and the Portuguese cemetery. The former is carefully looked after, and both contain some interesting tombs. Many of the inscriptions are fast becoming illegible owing to the disintegrating influence of the weather. I transcribe one or two for the information of the curious in such matters.

Lememoire

Dejacques Andrade Vallois

Nca Parisle 30 Novembere 1772

Decadeq Quilonde 24 d'Avril

1810.

Another inscription, apparently in some way connected with the above, runs

THE MADRAS REVIEW.

De Jacque Andre De Valois
Native de Negapatamet.

Decede C. 1 Juliet 1819

Agee de 41 ans

Sweercmil regreteee partous

ses Parens et Amis

Ce Monument est eleve parve

Comme un tribut

De leurs

Estimee pour ses vertues.

Many of the letters have to be guessed, and if I have made bad guesses, I must be pardoned.

There is another tomb which I am sorry to say I was unable to decipher the name. It is wholly illegible. All that is, to be made out is:—

I am

to rise again

from this

temporal sleep

and on the other side are the words:

This monument is erected—

the name having been obliterated. A tomb in a very fair state of preservation records that it is

Sacred

To the memory of Peter Vans Pall, Esq.,

Late Resident of Manapar

of H.N. Majesty's Service

—and son of the Late Peter Vans Pall, Esq.
also

H.N. Majesty's late Resident of Tuticorin
who departed this life on the 17th September 1848
aged 53 years 3 months and 23 days

This tomb is erected by his widow.

It is impossible to say for certain what H.N. means before the words "Majesty's service": Probably, "*Not Nared* Majesty's Service" instead of *His Majesty's Navy Service*.

Another inscription tells us that

The remains of

John Lyons Ray Walcott

Lie interred below

He died on the 10th April A.D. 1819.

TANGACHERRY, A TINY BRITISH, &c. 27

To the most genuine benevolence

He joined many virtues and few faults.

Death found him prepared, fortitude never
forsook him. He met his fate as became
a Christian and will long be regretted by

his numerous friends.

One more, records that the tomb is

In Memory of

Henry Sterling Robinson,

Son of

Sir George Abercrombie, Bart.

of

Baptis house in the county of

Somersetshire

and of

Dame Margaret Southwell his wife

He died 6th October 1833.

Aged 27 years.

This tomb was erected by his brother, Francis.

This last tomb is built of a kind of stone not to be found in Travancore and is in excellent preservation. The tomb that covers the remains of "Peter Vans Pall" says that he was Resident of Manapar. I believe there is a Manapar on the Tinnevely coast line, but why, if that is the same town, a Resident should have been stationed there it is impossible to say. Probably, he was a commercial representative to carry on negotiations with the, at that time, powerful Poligar Princes of Tinnevely and Madurai, who have their modern representatives among the Zemindars of those Districts. The Vans Palls are still well known on the West Coast, and there is a tradition among them that a great fortune awaits the Vans Pall who has the ability to prove his descent (to the Dutch Government in Europe) from the original Vans Pall who was Governor of the Dutch possessions at Cochin. Like other once celebrated families the Vans Palls now are very poor, and that fortune, if a fact, will probably never be claimed. The stranger visiting Tangacherry sees nothing but a few old tombs, a crumbling wall, a dense population of Eurasians and native Christians and a grand seascape and that is all; but many memories cluster around it. It has undoubtedly been the theatre of many stirring events and has experienced the sway of three great nations of Europe; it has

doubtless dictated terms to the surrounding Native princes, it has heard the thunder of cannon and its walls have echoed to the trumpet call; over its ramparts have waved the Portuguese and Dutch flags; and under the shadow of the Union Jack it now remains contented and happy. The sun was setting in one unclouded blaze of living light. One evening, when standing on the highest part of the old fort wall, I looked on the living in the shape of the Convent children full of hope for the future playing hide and seek among the nooks and corners of the rugged rock which protect Tangacherry from further invasion by the sea—and the dead in the cemetery hard by—and their work the long line of crumbling wall and ruined masonry. The sun had sunk, a chill breeze crept over the wave and while I still gazed westwards, the darkness enveloped me as the distant Angelus bell sounded as it perhaps sounded three centuries ago reminding the people of their evening devotions. The pomp of power, the pride of martial life, the strength of man and all his works had passed out of sight leaving nought but memories (fast being buried in complete oblivion) and the worship of that Awful Disposer of events who alone remains while the glory of the earth vanisheth.

A. P. S.

THE INDIAN EPICS AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON NATIONAL LIFE.

It is a pleasing sign of the times that considerable interest is being taken now-a-days in various branches of Sanskrit literature. Our Vedas and Upanishads that were relegated twenty years back to oblivion as unworthy of serious thought are now being studied with care by the members of our educated community. Hindu philosophy instead of being discarded as unintelligible and unpractical has become the subject of study for the leisure hours of the most educated of our countrymen. Philosophical publications representing various shades of opinion and conducted with great learning and zeal have become the order of the day. If sound scholarship is still limited to few, a general awakened interest in the Ancient Hindu Religion and philosophy coupled with an earnest desire to unearth our ancient records and extract fully all that may be valuable in them are clearly perceptible everywhere around us. It may be interesting at this moment to present in a general view what our two great epics 'the Ramayana and the Mahabharata,' which head the list of our popular works, have done for the people. Some observations on these epics with regard to the nature of their contents, their position in Sanskrit literature, and their influence on subsequent Hindu life will accordingly form the subject of this paper.

The first remark that will suggest itself to any reader of these works is their unwieldy and gigantic size. The Ramayana, the shorter of the two, consists of 24,000 couplets of thirty-two syllables each and is about twice the size of the two greatest epic poems of Ancient Greece, the Iliad and the Odyssey combined. The Mahabharata is about 100,000 verses or 8 times the size of the Homeric epics above-named. And not content with this phenomenal size, the compilers of the Bharata state that the work originally consisted of a hundred lakhs of verses, that large portions were extant only in the Worlds of Gods and Gandharvas and that a bare lakh was all that was left in this world below to

satisfy the literary cravings of the denizens of this neglected planet. It has to be added though that a supplement to the Bharata exists by the name of Harivamśa, which is about the size of the Ramayana, and is by orthodox people considered part and parcel of the greater work, the Mahabharata. The question now arises whether this huge mass of literature could be the work of individual authors that really lived or whether they are only the present form of various layers of additions made by successive generations to the nucleus of an original work composed by a single author. In answering this question we have to remember that this form of literature supplanted the prose narrations of the legendary Brahmana and was historically the precursor of the Puranas, Tantras, and Agamas whose name is legion. The period commencing from about the 9th or 8th century B.C. to about the 10th century A.D. when the final touches must have been given to our best Puranas, this period of literary activity developed fully the sloka form of narration. The verse possesses an unlimited amount of flexibility; it is practically prose but can rise at a moment's notice to the sublimity of poetry and can convey the loftiest conceptions of the poetical and philosophical mind as well as it can draw out the lowest stories of sectarian prejudices or the silliest fables of an ignorant populace. Its metrical form made it easy to remember as all literature was committed to memory in that period. But the very fact that it was easy to compose made interpolations in the works possible, and as examples of this tendency may be cited the so-called Sthala Puranas which are the works of local bards of very recent dates who extolled their gods and tanks and speciously called the chapters extracts from the 'Skanda or Brahmāṇḍa Purana.' Considerations of this kind, internal evidence, the obvious irrelevancy of various episodes, and observations on the growth of legends from simple to complicated forms, all these have led oriental scholars to conclude that excepting the war portion of the Mahabharata, the rest of it, a full three-fourths in fact, is a later addition. Of the Ramayana, it is conceded that the spurious portion is very small, that the first six kandas are mainly correct to the original text, but that the seventh kanda is an addition of later date. It is perhaps safer to say that the portion of the last kanda relating to the banishment of Sita and the Asvamedha sacrifice are as ancient as the rest of the work, and that suspicion ought to be limited to the other portions of the kanda.

A singular story is mentioned in the Ramayana as to the origin of the sloka metre. The story is pathetic and is interesting apart from its historical value. It may be mentioned that Valmiki, the reputed author of Ramayana, is not a Vedic Rishi like Vasiṣṭha or Viśvāmitra, but is only mentioned by name in one of the later Pratisakhya. One morning this sage, walking in a grove on the banks of the river Ramasa, observed a pair of Krouncha birds or herons singing sweet tunes and enjoying themselves, but suddenly flew at them the sharp arrow of a wicked fowler and down came the birds, the male one writhing in pain, covered with blood and apparently dying, the female uttering woeful cries at the sight of her dying mate. The heart of the compassionate sage almost bled at this cruel sight and he thus poured out his anger at the offending fowler: "Wicked brute, thy life will not endure long here, for cruelly hast thou killed one of the loving pair of birds." These words uttered, the sage reflected a little and was struck with surprise at the new form in which the words had couched themselves. There were four feet of an equal number of 8 syllables each and the rhythm and musical sweetness of the lines was to his ears something remarkable. He called this a sloka and composed the Ramayana mainly in this metre. The poet Valmiki is thence the first *Kavi* and the Ramayana is styled the first poem or *Adi Kavya*. Certain scholars base upon this fact the argument that the Ramayana could not have been long anterior to the kavyas of Kalidasa as all these go by the same name. This view does not seem to be correct. The word *kavya* has two meanings, one, a general one, namely, any imaginative composition proceeding from a single author and another a particular one, namely, a poem strictly so called. When Ramayana is styled the *Adi Kavya* all that is claimed for the work is that it is the first composition in modern Sanskrit as distinguished from Vedic Sanskrit, originating from a poet and treating of a compact subject, like the life of Rama. Native scholars do not style the Mahabharata a *kavya*, not because it is composed by a mythical personage Vyasa instead of a historical human being like Valmiki. For purposes of history Valmiki is as much a mythical personage as Vyasa. The Mahabharata is so diversified in the nature of its contents, is so full of moral texts and expositions on duty that it is by courtesy styled the fifth Veda, especially as it is composed by one who had the chief hand in the classification of the Vedas. For a similar reason the

Bhagavat Gita, an episode of the Bliarata, is styled an Upanishad. This again does not mean that it is of equal antiquity with the Upanishad properly so called but only that it is of equal sanctity, as it also like the Upanishads treats of God, the soul and matter and kindred topics. Again it is argued that as the Ramayana is in chaste and smooth diction and exhibits varieties of metre, it is later than the Mahabharata whose style is comparatively rugged. This is also not quite conclusive. There is no more difference in the styles than what may be expected from individual peculiarities. The soft and lucid style of Goldsmith is in marked contrast to the rugged stateliness of Johnson's verse; but few will venture to base upon this fact an argument doubting their contemporaneity. It is further pointed out that the Ramayana treating, as it does, of an Aryan colonization of the extreme south presupposes the completion of the northern occupations; whereas the Mahabharata treats of a war between two northern nations, the Kurus and the Panchalas, and must therefore be the anterior work. This may be answered in the words of Professor Weber himself that the warfare which forms the basis of the Mahabharata war may have taken place simultaneously with expeditions of other Aryan tribes to the south. Other arguments, based on the alleged weak characterisation of the Ramayanic personae, the apparent effeminate nature of Society in the Ramayana and similar ones, are hardly stronger than those mentioned above to dispute the title of Ramayana to be considered the more ancient work. What I mean to assert is that the strong Indian tradition prevailing for at least fifteen centuries with regard to the earlier date of the Ramayana cannot be disbelieved and upset on such grounds as those cited above. That there was a conquest of Ceylon by a Bengal conqueror Vijaya in the 5th century B.C., that the South Indian Kingdoms of Chola and Pandya flourished from a remote antiquity, that the town of Ayodhya fell into ruins and that a new city Sarasvati arose on the site on which Buddha preached in the 5th century B.C., these are historical facts. But we find no trace of a knowledge of these facts in the poem before us, and if the work is really of a late age the extremely improbable explanation must be made that Valmiki avoided anacronisms with superhuman skill and ingenuity. The result of modern researches on questions of Indian chronology has been to push back the dates of ancient works to a reasonable antiquity. We shall hope that as time advances the forces that had been at work in moulding the

progress of events in Ancient India would be more correctly realized and that the proper intervals of time will be allowed to the Vedic and Epic Ages to allow of these forces producing their natural and uncontrolled effects.

The controversy that has raged in Europe denying existence to Homer and styling his epics to be a mere compilation of previously existing songs, this controversy has had its prototype in Indian literary history. Oriental scholars have come to the conclusion that, beyond the mere fact of the Ramayana being based on an Aryan invasion to the south, no event in the Ramayana has the slightest historical foundation. Sita, the heroine of the poem, the synonym for so much grace, sanctity and feminine excellence, is a pure myth according to these critics and is symbolic of the furrow or the plough, the implement of Agriculture. Rama is but the symbolised husband-man, the plough bearer, who has to protect Aryan husbandry against aborigines, the Rakshasas, and that he is said to do in the Ramayana with the help of other friendly aborigines styled as monkeys in the poem. Such is the view of Professor Weber, the apostle of this creed of Allegory, who further confidently asserts that Rama is identical with Balarama whose favorite weapon was the plough and plays an interesting part in the Mahabharata. How far this view is founded on any argument except the mere statement of it by the learned Professor it is not for me to say. Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, the sympathetic Indian Historian of Ancient India, whose works on India place him in the first rank of India's scholars and benefactors, also agrees with Professor Weber as to the Allegorical nature of the Ramayana. To Mr. Dutt, however, Rama is but a new edition of the Vedic Indra, Janaka is the famous Kshatriya sage pressed into service for his great holiness to be Sita's father and to give her additional dignity. Rama and Parasu Rama are distinct persons, whose rivalry as that between Vasishta and Visvamitra is only an indication of the real rivalry that then existed between the priestly and warrior classes. These are views that cannot be directly controverted. They are entitled to our greatest respect, and we must at present be content to have our very real Rama and Sita and Arjuna and a host of other characters spirited away into vapoury allegorical beings that had no existence except in the busy and creative minds of our ancient poets.

To proceed to the next part of our subject:

Considered as mere works of imagination, the epic poems are

of the highest merit and are a precious heritage, of which any nation may be proud. The grand descriptions of natural scenery form a special feature of *Ramayana* as the stirring accounts of martial exploits distinguish the *Mahabharata*. The human heart, as subject to the emotions of anger, fear, love or hate, is laid bare with such a precision and mastery of its most secret workings, that it is no wonder that the works continue to have such influence over people so distant in time and so different in character as the modern Hindu Nations. The exuberance of imagination and the depth of pathos, with which such touching scenes as the banishment of Rama, the exile of the Pandavas, the outrages on Draupadi, and the harrowing scene of Sita's purification by fire are handled, make the works standing monuments of literary skill in a language which, for wealth and copiousness of vocabulary and adaptability for smoothness of diction, is unrivalled among the tongues of the world. Who has not been moved to tears that has read the heart-rending scene where the unfortunate Kunti makes a last pathetic appeal to Krishna to effect a peace and, that failing, rushes to Karna to reveal to him how in secret he was brought forth by herself and that his hand should not be raised in fratricidal war? That matchless hero sorrowfully replies, his fate is sealed—his die is cast, and he could never think of turning traitor to his benefactors, the Kurus. Or again that grandest scene of all, the closing chapter of the epic wherein Yudhishtra, victorious, and at the zenith of his glory, suddenly becomes disgusted with the crown won through bloodshed and the ruin of his kinsmen, resolves to abandon all and betakes himself, with all his brothers and Draupadi, to the fatal pilgrimage northwards, never stopping, never turning backwards, till one by one all except Yudhishtra fall down dead through weariness and exhaustion. True to the innate nature of the Hindu mind and the utter worthlessness in which it holds the so-called blessings of this world, our poets do not content themselves with the successful issue of their heroes' objects in this life. There is a Beyond to which this life is linked and no life problem is, to us, completely solved till this link is brought into relief and the whole worked into a connected chain. So also in the *Ramayana*, as it now stands, the web of fatality is so woven that Rama, displeased with a breach of duty on the part of Lakshmana, banished him from his presence and when the latter in grief went and plunged into the Sarayu river

and was lost, Rama and, at his instance, his brothers and friends and all Ayodhya went up to the Sarayu and deliberately drowned themselves and thus fulfilled Destiny.

It has been truly remarked that the characters in the *Mahabharata* are strongly portrayed and stand out in bold relief while those in the *Ramayana* are devoid of individuality. Krishna is the Mentor of the poem and is venerated as much for the prowess of his arms and the wisdom of his statesmanlike counsels as for his divine origin or miraculous powers. He is not here the hero of the numerous love stories which are now associated with his name, but is the sober and judicious counsellor of the Pandavas, shrewd but just, bold but conciliatory, revered alike by the warrior and the sage, feared by the selfish Dritarashtra and adored by the good and honest Vidura. Draupadi, strong and patient, noble, virtuous, and fearless, is typical of the Kshatriya lady of the day. Bhishma, the veteran warrior, grandfather of the Kurus and Pandavas, is faithful to the core, though with strong predilections towards the just cause of Yudhishtra and unbounded reverence for Krishna. The gentle Yudhishtra, the mighty Bhima, the accomplished Arjuna, the terrible Drona and the other characters of the story have their individualities so fully developed that they are real existences and not mere phantoms of the imagination to the generality of Hindus. But in the *Ramayana*, we miss the bustle and activity of real life which is so apparent in the other poem. There is an absence of sturdiness in the characters which is dull by its monotony. No doubt Rama is angry once or twice, even Sita ventures to chide her lord, and Lakshmana sometimes storms and threatens and seems to mean business. But all instantly apologise for their ebullitions of temper and seem to consider their transgressions sinful. There is a curious passage in the *Ramayana* describing an outburst of anger on the part of Visvamitra, the warrior priest, which shows how peaceful and quite our poet must have been by nature and how faithfully his mind is reflected in the work before us. The passage occurs in the Balakanda where Visvamitra determined to send the outcast Trisanku bodily to heaven and opposed by Indra is said to invoke terrible anger specially for the occasion and to cry to Trisanku to stop his downward course. The weak characterisation in the poem and the absence of sufficient knowledge of other parts of India and other nations point to the conclusion that the poet must have been a recluse

with scanty knowledge of city life and courts and camps, but of great imagination and natural powers of observation.

We read in the *Ramayana* that this poem of Rama's exploits was adapted to music and sung before Rama himself. The framework of the *Mahabharata* also shows that its contents were continuously read at sacrifices, before great assemblies of sages and princes. A special class of readers originated, whose profession it was to chant these poems, of course with additions, embellishments and explanations which made them popular and impressive. The mere reading of the poem, even the writing of it and presenting copies became acts of great merit and virtue. Every Hindu family of any ancestry had its *cadjan Ramayana* or the *Balarata* carefully oiled, tied up and covered over with silk or shawl and carefully kept in a separate place. The ordinary pious Hindu householder considers it a part of his religion to read a chapter or two of his *Ramayana* especially of the *Sundara Kanda* before meals. This work is to us what the *English Bible* is to a large part of the Protestant world, a book of counsel and advice for consultation in hours of need. It is perhaps well known that in moments of doubt and perplexity our old people open the *Yudha-Kanda* at random and read a line or two and infer their prosperity or the reverse according as the extract favours of success or defeat to Rama. The easy style of the poems and the general familiarity with the story make it a matter of secondary importance that one should be able to correctly construe the language. Apart from private readings, a quiet but effective process of national instruction in religion and morals is going on in the public readings and expositions of the epics before large crowds of ardent listeners. It is satisfactory to note that this species of instruction reaches just those classes of our people, women and illiterate men, who are not directly brought under the influence of our schools and colleges. The *Ramayana* furnishes ideal rules of conduct in trying situations. The inviolability of the pledged word, the duties of the son, the brother and the wife, and the duty of protection at all hazards of the suppliant and afflicted are impressively brought out and inculcated in the *Ramayana*. In the *Mahabharata*, the story of *Savitri*, episode of *Nala*, the *Santi-parva* and the various other didactic episodes of which the work is full, form a storehouse of moral and religious teaching best adapted for popular instruction and guidance. Our ancestors

have always believed that religious and moral instruction should be different for different states of society and that the puranic form of teaching is more influential with the general populace than the highly condensed and philosophical *Vedanta* which may be fit food for the intellectual classes.

The direct influence of the epic poems on subsequent Hindi literature and the consequent indirect influence on national life have been really immense. First of all, in Sanskrit literature most of the extant *Kavyas* and *Natakas* treat of subjects which the greater epics have fully dwelt upon. Two of *Kalidasa's* poems and three, if the prakrit *Sethubandha* is considered his, are based on the epics. The greatest of Sanskrit dramas, the immortal *Sakuntala*, is founded on the episode of *Dushyanta* in the *Mahabharata*. Two of the three dramas of *Bhavabhuti* are stories covering the whole of the *Ramayana* together. The *Bhatti Kavya* is the *Ramayana* in shorter form while the *Naishad* of *Sri Harsha* is the story of *Nala*, a well-known episode in the bigger epic. The poet *Myrari* and the author of *Prasanna Raghava* have built their dramas on the foundation supplied by the *Ramayana*. A host of names of Dramatic works like the *Udata Raghava*, *Unmatthia Raghava* now exist, which show that ancient works on the subject were formerly held in esteem and are now lost to us. *King Bhoja* summarise the *Ramayana* in his well-known *Champu*, and the *Bharata Champu* is a similar summary of the other work. It is not too much to say that in both Sanskrit literature and prakrit literature there is hardly a single work of any note, which does not owe its existence to the inspiration derived from the ancient epics. This is the case not simply with the prakrit literature strictly so called, but also with the various modern North Indian languages which are admitted to be the developments of that literature, like the Hindi, the *Maharatti*, the *Bengalee*, and the *Guzaratti*. The best known works of these languages, those which are cherished as imperishable and indispensable heritages, are translations of the epics or compositions based on portions of the same epics. The developments which some of these, like the *Bengalee* and the *Mahrattée*, have now undergone, and the vitality which they exhibit are entirely due to the vast power and flexibility which the languages have acquired by their ready absorption of Sanskrit words and Sanskrit structure.

The influence of the epics on the South Indian Vernaculars

may be separately considered. These languages possessed structures of their own and had evidently attained to some degree of perfection before the influence of Sanskrit began to operate upon them. But just as the mysterious influence of Brahman life and society gradually pervaded and completely remodelled the lives of the South Indian people, so likewise did the Sanskrit literature act on the languages above mentioned, though in different degrees. Of the Telugu, Canarese, Malayalam and Tamil languages, the last (the Tamil language) has been the most successful in resisting the influence of Sanskrit on its idiom, grammar and metrical arrangements. It is the Vernacular that may be said to possess a literature of its own in the truest sense; the great works of the period of the sangams, the works in fact of authors prior to Kamban, exhibit the minimum of Sanskrit influence and the maximum of native vitality. But as time advanced and the influence of Sanskrit pressed heavily, old authors and old modes of criticism were supplanted by new authors possessing Sanskrit culture and versed in its literature. Inevitably a large admixture of Sanskrit words took place. A grammar *Veerasoliam* on the model of Sanskrit is in existence though of little popularity. The four best known works of later Tamil literature, the Ramayanam the Bharatam of Villiputhurur, the Nalavenba, and the Naishadam are, it will be seen, translations of Sanskrit works. I had once the curiosity to compare and I found on examination that the Tamil Naishada was in some of its cantos almost word for word the corresponding stanzas of Sri Harsha's Sanskrit Naishada. It would be no exaggeration to say that if the Tamil works that are admittedly the outcome of Sanskrit influence were erased from Tamil literature, the loss to it would be immense and could not be compensated by the ancient works referred to of the previous Sangam periods. I have even my suspicions, though I could not be positive owing to my poor scholarship in Tamil, that the so called pure Tamil works like Silappathikaram and others which the learned Pundit Saminathaiyar of Kumbhakonam has been taking so much pains to popularise, whether these works of Jaina authors are not represented by more ancient Sanskrit works. However this may be, there is no doubt, as I have striven to show, that the Tamil literature in its present state owes much to the influence of Sanskrit and its epic literature.

If such is the state of things with the Tamil literature, it goes without saying that the other languages, the Telugu, the

Canarese and the Malayalam languages are more fully brought under Sanskrit influence. The additional fact in the case of these languages is that even their Grammar and the Prosody are copies of the Sanskrit system. It is sometimes amusing to listen to strings of verses in these languages in elaborate and unmixed Sanskrit with fully developed compounds in all the artificiality of their latest form, and then to be told that the verses are Telugu or Malayalam, because there is a single syllable at the end which is not a Sanskrit termination. I must, however, in justice to these languages say that under the influence of writers like the Pundit Verasalingam and the late lamented Chandu Menon a purer style of composition is being fostered, the friendly help of Sanskrit being only sparingly called into requisition. At the same time my observations with regard to Tamil literature apply with double force to the literatures of these languages—viz., that the most valuable part of their extant literature is the outcome of Sanskrit influence, especially of the Sanskrit epics.

Before closing this paper I shall advert to a topic which cannot but be interesting to every well-wisher of India, viz., the future of our literary life. The subject is a vast one, and all that I have space for now are a few general remarks. Every careful observer of the signs of the times sees the strong impetus that has been given since recent years to Sanskrit study, especially the study of the Upanishads and the Vedanta generally. The spread of the Theosophic movement and the emphasis that movement gave to the study of Sanskrit marks the commencement of a renaissance in the history of Hindu literary life. That impetus has been followed up most powerfully by the, to some extent, rival movement of Swami Vivekananda and his numerous disciples. This able philosopher has been proclaiming with wonderful eloquence, complete grasp of subject and command of a charming style, the principles of the Hindu philosophy to English and American, not to say Indian, audiences. The recent discussions on the advisability of forming an oriental side to the University, though they have not been embodied in practical shape, sufficiently indicate the strong feeling of educationists and the Hindu community generally to the necessity of encouraging a systematic study of Sanskrit with a view to rationally understand the principles of our religion and philosophy. Of course, no one but a dreamer can imagine that Sanskrit could be revived as a spoken language

or even as a common language for use in discussions and conversations.

It is my belief that our future lies in so strengthening our Vernaculars that they shall fully represent to the masses the vast stores of useful matter in our Sanskrit literature and at the same time adapt itself to be the exponents of western thought and western influence in philosophy and the sciences. I conclude with an earnest wish that the students of our schools and colleges who adopt Sanskrit as their language will study it up with greater interest than I fear they show now, so that in later life they may usefully supplement it by study and become centres of beneficial influence to large numbers of Hindus around them.

T. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR.

THE TAMILS: EIGHTEEN HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

(Continued.)

THE poems of Nakkirar are full of allusions to contemporary events and show that he was no ordinary bard who cared only to flatter and please his patrons; but was a fairly good scholar who strove to produce lasting memorials of his literary skill. It is from his verses that we know that Karikâl Chôla settled the wandering tribes of Kurumbas⁽¹⁾; that seven kings, whose names he mentions, were defeated by the Pandyan king Nedunj-Cheliyan at Alankânâm⁽²⁾; that the same Pandyan king invaded the Chera territory and went up to Muchirî (the Muziris of Ptolemy) on the western coast⁽³⁾; and that Palayan Mâran defeated under the walls of Madura the large army with which Killi-Valavan had invaded the Pandyan territory⁽⁴⁾. He picks his words and uses the most appropriate expressions to convey his ideas, and his style is always dignified and elegant; but he tries to show off his learning and sometimes pushes his scholarship almost to the verge of pedantry. Besides the Tiru-Murukârûp-padai, nine small poems which are attributed to Nakkirar appear in the eleventh Book of the collection of Saiva hymns. The language of these poems is, however, so modern that no critical student will hesitate to declare them to be forgeries⁽⁵⁾. The legend regarding the origin of these poems is found in the Hâlasya Mahâtmya, a Sanscrit chronicle of the temple of Siva at

(1) *Akam*, 140.

(2) *Ibid.*, 36.

(3) *Ibid.*, 55.

(4) *Ibid.*, 345.

(5) The late Professor P. Sunaram Pillai, M.A., was of the same opinion. *Christian College Magazine* for August 1891, p. 127. The names of the nine poems are as follow:—

1. Koyilai-pâti-kâlatti-pâti-antâti.
2. Konkôy-malai-elupatu.
3. Valap-puli-mam-maig-kôvai.
4. Elu-kûr-irukkai.
5. Perum-deva-pâti.
6. Kâpap-prasâtam.
7. Kâr-eddu.
8. Pôrik-koli-ven-pô.
9. Kannappa-devar-tiru-maram.

Madura, the pious author of which who lived about the eleventh century A.D., appears to have had little or no knowledge of ancient Tamil literature⁽⁶⁾.

Māmūlanār (A.D. 60-90) : many verses composed by this bard are found in the *Akananuru*, and a few in the *Kurunthokai* and *Narrinai*. It appears from these verses that he was a great traveller and visited the Chera, Chola, and Pandya Kingdoms, Panan-Nadu (Wynaad), Tulu-Nad (South-Canara) and Eru-

(6) The poem states that during the reign of the Pandyan king Vankya-Sekaran 48 Pandits from Kāsi (Benares) travelled southwards and settled at Madura under the patronage of the Pandya. His successor Vankiya-Chūdāmani aliās Chanpaka-Māran was one day seated in the royal park, with his queen, and charmed by the fragrant smell of her tresses, wondered whether the fragrance was natural or acquired. In a gay mood he sent word to the poets of his court offering a purse of 1,000 gold coins to anyone who would guess his thought and solve his doubt. The poets who were not thought-readers were at a loss to know what they should do to satisfy their royal patron. A poor Brahmin who heard of this handsome offer thought it a good opportunity to enrich himself, and entering the temple of Siva and falling at the feet of the image of the god, prayed fervently that the god should help him to win the prize. Moved by his prayer the god gave him a palm-leaf with a stanza written on it. The Brahmin received it with joy and hastened to the Poet's hall and presented the verse. It was a gem of poetry: every one pronounced it beautiful in language and sentiment. It was taken to the king who read it with pleasure and ordered that the purse of gold be given to the Brahmin. He hurried back to the poet's hall to receive the prize: but Nakkirar said that there was a fault in his verse, and that the prize ought not to be awarded to him. The Brahmin, sadly disappointed, retraced his steps to the temple of Siva and falling once more at the feet of Siva's image implored the mercy of the god. Incensed at the presumption of Nakkirar in criticising his verse, the god assumed the form of a bard, and appearing in the assembly of poets, enquired which of them had dared to find fault in his verse. Nakkirar replied that it was himself and that the fault was in the statement that women's tresses were naturally fragrant, which he said was impossible. The god enquired whether the tresses of Padmīnis, the highest class of women, were not naturally fragrant? "No" said the defiant Nakkirar. "Are not the tresses of celestial women fragrant?" enquired the god irritated. "No" repeated Nakkirar "unless they wore the celestial Mandhara flower in their hair." "Are not the tresses of Parvati, the goddess whom you worship, naturally fragrant?" asked the god with kindling anger. "No" asserted the obstinate Nakkirar. The wrath of the god was now uncontrollable. The eye in the centre of the god's forehead opened and smited flames. "It is false: even if thou openest a thousand eyes," said the dauntless Nakkirar, carried away by his blind zeal to maintain what was right. The divine eye flashed a ray of fire on Nakkirar, and the latter scorched by the heat fell instantly from his seat into the tank of the golden lotus: and the god disappeared. In humble repentance the poet then composed the poems to appease the wrath of the God.

The *Mahātmya* names Kapilar and Paṇṇar as the contemporaries of Nakkirar during the reign of Champaka Māran. Continuing the narrative the poem states that fourteen kings reigned at Madura after Chanpaka Māran; and during the reign of the fifteenth king Kulesa Pandya, that is, after the lapse of about a century, it introduces again, with no little absurdity, the poet Kapilar and his friend Idai-Kādar.

See also. *Tiru-vilāyādar-purānam* chapters 51, 53 and 56.

THE TAMILS: EIGHTEEN HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

mai-Nadu (Mysore Province)⁽⁷⁾. He frequently mentions "the festive and wealthy town of Venkadāni (the modern Tirupathi) ruled by the generous Pulli," who seems to have been his patron.⁽⁸⁾ He alludes also to several ancient kings: Perunji-Chōrru-Utiyanj-Cheral⁽⁹⁾; Cheral-Athan who conducted an expedition by sea and cut down the Kadambu⁽¹⁰⁾; another Cheral-Athan who was defeated at Vennil by Karikal-Chola⁽¹¹⁾; and the illegitimate Mauriās who led their army up to Pothiya Hill, when Mohoor did not submit to the Kosar⁽¹²⁾.

Kallidānār (A.D. 60-90) appears to have been a native of Venkadāni, which town he says he quitted with his family during a severe famine.⁽¹³⁾ He travelled southwards and found relief in fertile regions on the banks of the river Kaviri, where the chieftains of Poraiyaru and Ambar welcomed him and treated with all the honor due to a minstrel⁽¹⁴⁾. He accompanied the Pandyan army to the battle of Alankānam, and when the battle was over he sang the praises of the Victor Nedunji-Cheliyan and received a share of the spoils.⁽¹⁵⁾ He refers in his verses to the battle in which Kāri, king of Mullūr, defeated and killed Ori, king of the Kolli Hills,⁽¹⁶⁾ and to the battle in which Kalankāik-kanni-nār-mudich-cheral defeated Nannan.⁽¹⁷⁾ A commentary to the Tamil Grammar *Tolkāppiyam* is said to have been written by him, but it is not extant. The poem *Kallidānam*⁽¹⁸⁾ which recounts the miracles performed by the god Siva at Madura is also ascribed to him; but the language of the poem and the numerous allusions to later events contained in it, stamp it as a spurious work.

Mankudi-Maruthanār (A.D. 80-110) or Maruthanār of Mankudi is the earliest poet laureate mentioned in Tamil literature. The Pandyan King Nedunji-cheliyan, victor of Alankānam, speaks of him as the chief of the poets of his court. A few

(7) *Akan.* 15, 114.

(8) *Ibid.*, 61, 294, 310, 393.

(9) *Ibid.*, 233.

(10) *Ibid.*, 316, 126.

(11) *Ibid.*, 55.

(12) *Ibid.*, 250.

(13) *Param.* 391.

(14) *Ibid.*, 385.

(15) *Ibid.*, 374.

(16) *Akan.* 208.

(17) *Ibid.*, 198.

(18) This poem was printed some years ago with a commentary by Maivil-erum-peruthal Pillai for the first 37 stanzas and by Subbarāya Mudaliar for 64 stanzas.

stanzas composed by him are found in the Pura-Nānuru; but the work by which he is best remembered is the poem *Maḍuraik-Kānchi*,⁽¹⁹⁾ which he addressed to the king Neduhj-chēliyan. It is a moral epistle, and the author appears in the character of a teacher and a moralist; but as it is addressed to a restless and ambitious warrior flushed with success, who is his own patron and king, the author has considered it proper to render the moral to be conveyed as agreeable as possible by a profuse panegyric on the king and his prosperous dominion. The poem opens with an eloquent apostrophe in which the justice and wisdom and martial glory of the ancient line of the Pandyas is set forth; then it relates in glowing terms the various exploits of the king which have extended his authority and increased his fame; and extols the personal merits of the king, his love of truth and justice, his faithful friendship and fearless bravery, his high sense of honor and unbounded charity. The monarch is asked to bear in mind the fact that of the many kings, great and good men, who graced the throne of the Pandyas before him, not one is alive! The poem then proceeds to describe with considerable wealth of detail the extensive country which owns the sway of the Pandya, comprising fertile fields, pasture lands, wild wastes, hill-tracts and a sea coast studded with busy ports where fisherman, salt merchants, chank-cutters, and pearl-fishers ply their trade. It describes very vividly the proud and wealthy city of Madura, the scenes in the streets and in the palace, the personal appearance of the Pandya, and the manner in which he receives and rewards his courtiers; and concludes with the advice that the king should follow in the foot steps of his pious ancestors, perform sacrifices, advance the welfare and secure the loyalty of his subjects, and enjoy the good things that the gods give. It will be seen from the poem that the author was an ardent lover of Nature, and a keen observer of men and manners. His descriptions are true to life; but his diction is not as polished and dignified as that of Nakkirar.

Tiru-valluvar (A.D. 80-110). His fame as the author of the *Kural* or *Muppal* will last as long as Tamil is a living language. I have already given a brief summary of the work and described how warmly it was approved of by the poets of the court of Ugra-Pandya. The immediate popularity of the *Kural* is proved

(19) Published by the Tamil Pandit V. Sāminātha Iyer in 1889: the

by the fact that verses from it are quoted by contemporary authors such as Chēethalai-chattanār⁽²⁰⁾ and Ilankō-Adikal.⁽²¹⁾ After the lapse of eighteen hundred years it has lost none of its original favour among the Tamil people, and it is still considered the first of works from which, whether for thought or language, there is no appeal. No less than ten commentaries have been written on it at different times; but the commentary which is most studied at present is that composed by Pari-mel-Alakar⁽²²⁾.

Kovur-Kilar (A.D. 90-120) was a war bard who was very influential in the court of the Chōla kings. Several stanzas composed by him in praise of Ched-chenni-Nalank-killi-valavan, are found in the Pura-nanuru. In the civil wars that raged during the reign of Nalank-killi, between him and his younger brothers, Kovur-kilar was in the camp of Nedunk-killi. When Nalank-killi besieged Uraiyur and afterwards Avur, where his brother Nedunk-killi had taken refuge, the bard tried to reconcile the brothers.⁽²³⁾ He saved the life of Ilan-thathan, a poor minister, whom Nedunk-killi was about to kill on the suspicion that he was a spy.⁽²⁴⁾ During the reign of Killi-valavan, when that king seized the sons of Malayamān and condemned them to be trampled by elephants, the bard saved the youths, by reminding the Chōla-king of the deeds of mercy which had rendered the names of his ancestors celebrated in ancient song.⁽²⁵⁾ When that king invaded the Chōla kingdom and besieged the capital Karur, Kovur-killar and two other bards, Alathur-killar and Marokattu-Nappasalaiyar, were in the chōla camp.⁽²⁶⁾ The

(20) *Mani-mēkalai*, xxii, 208 and 209.

(21) *Chillapp-ad-karam*, xxi, 3 and 4.

(22) Published by the late Arumuga Nāvalar. The names of the commentators are: Dharmar, Manak-kudavar, Thāmattar, Nacchehar, Pari-mel-alakar, Paruti, Tiru-malaiyar, Mullar, Kavip-perumāl and Kālinkar. According to the *Kapilar-Akaval*, which is a spurious poem, Uppai, Uruvai, Ayvaiyar, Ath-karmar, Kapilar and Tiruvalluvar were the issues of the illegitimate union of Bagavan, a Brahmin, and A'di, a Pariah woman. Their parents led a wandering life in the Tamil country, and abandoned each child as soon as it was born: but the children were brought up as foundlings by strangers, and lived to become famous. The story is palpably untrue: for if each child had been abandoned as soon as it was born, the story does not state by what means their common origin was afterwards discovered. It is surprising that Mr. Simon G. Chitty, author of the Tamil *Plutarch* and Mr. J. B. Arnold, author of the *Galaxy of Tamil Poets*, have accepted this story as true.

(23) *Durom*, 41, 45.

(24) *Ibid.*, 47.

(25) *Ibid.*, 46.

(26) *Ibid.*, 36, 37.

following is a translation of one of the stanzas addressed by him to his patron Nalan-killi.

"We are the devoted bards of Nalan-killi, the fierce, and brave warrior king of Chōla-Nad, who riding on a steed, with flowing mane and jewelled trappings, leads an army as vast as a sea and lays waste the lands of his foes. We seek not rewards from the hands of others by singing their praises. Him alone we will sing and bless for ever! Thou lord of fleet steeds! Myself and my minstrel youths, who know not the pangs of hunger, but have always feasted on sweets and rice and flesh fried in ghee (at thy palace) will never quit thy side! Give up thy peaceful habits and start like the hooded white serpent (springing on its enemy) with sparkling eyes and forked tongue. Let thy victorious chariot proceed against the fortresses of thy rival kings, and the whole of this sea-girt earth shall be thine! Every time I strike my war-drum with the short stick with tinkling bells tied to it, thy foes shall tremble!"⁽²⁷⁾

Iraiyanār (A.D. 90-120) author of a grammar of erotic poetry called *Iraiyanār Akapporul*. In later periods the author's name was confounded with that of Siva and his insignificant treatise of sixty Sutras was considered the incomparable production of the god Siva!⁽²⁸⁾

Paranar (A.D. 90-120) Like most of the minstrels of this period he appears to have travelled through the Chera, Chola and Pandyan kingdoms, visiting the mansions of petty chiefs as well as the courts of kings. He refers to a confederacy of nine princes, most probably Kurumbas, defeated by Kāṭikal-Chola who had invaded their territories with a large army⁽²⁹⁾; and to the defeat of Arya kings by Chenkudduva-Chera, the grandson of Karikal Chola.⁽³⁰⁾ He praises the valor and munificence of Thittan, king of Uraiyur,⁽³¹⁾ of Uthiyan, chief of Pali, where gold mines were worked⁽³²⁾ and of Thithiyan, chief of the Pothya hill, who defeated the Kosar.⁽³³⁾ Ten stanzas composed by him in praise of the Chera king Chenkudduva, form part of

(27) *Ibid.*, 382.

(28) Published by Rao Bahadur. C. W. Thamōtharam Pillai, with the commentary of Nilakandan.

(29) *Idam*, 124.

(30) *Ibid.*, 396.

(31) *Ibid.*, 6.

(32) *Ibid.*, 257.

(33) *Ibid.*, 195.

the Pathirup-pattu. The poetess Auvaiyar states that he was present when Kovulur, the capital of Kaṭṭi, was stormed by Nedunjan-Auchi, chief of the Athiyar, and sang the praises of the victor; but the verses uttered by him on the occasion are not now extant.⁽³⁴⁾ The following is a translation of one of the stanzas sung by him on the battle-field in which both the rival kings, Nedunj-cherai-Athian and Peru-virar-Killi died after a most sanguinary conflict.

"The elephants pierced by arrows are all disabled for ever. The splendid chargers are all slaughtered with their brave riders. The commanders who drove in their chariots all lie dead, their faces covered with their shields. The big thundering drums roll on the ground, as no drummer is alive. Both the contending kings have fallen on the battle-field, their perfumed breasts pierced by long lances. Alas! what will become of their fertile countries, in the cool rivers of which peasant girls decked with bracelets made of lily stalks, leap and sport?"⁽³⁵⁾

Perunk-Kāṭṭikanār (A.D. 90-120), a native of Perunkunrar, composed the *Malaipattu-Kadām*, a panegyric on Nannan, son of Nannan, chief of Chenkanma.⁽³⁶⁾ The poem describes eloquently the grandeur of the scenery on the mountain Naviram; the ceaseless din on the hill sides caused by the roar of cascades falling on rocks, the shouts of the elephant trainers, the songs of women pounding millet, the whirl of sugar-mills and the sound of drums beaten by drunken hill-men who dance merrily with their women; the stones with epitaphs inscribed on them set up in memory of departed warriors; the sign-posts planted at crossings showing the names of the places to which the roads lead; the hospitality of the hill-tribes; the rapid current of the river Cheyār which rushes whirling and eddying down the hill; the fort-gates guarded by soldiers armed with swords and lances; and the courteous reception of minstrels by the chief Nannan who welcomes them graciously and expresses his regret for the tiresome ascent up the hill, and waits not till they finish their songs, but feasts them and sends them home loaded with presents.

Auvaiyar (A.D. 109-130) the most famous of Tamil poetesses, is even more popular than Tiru-valluvar as the work of the latter is studied only by advanced scholars, while the poems of

(34) *Puram*, 99.

(35) *Ibid.*, 63.

(36) The tenth poem in the Pattup-pattu.

Auvvaiyar are read by every Tamil student, soon after learning the Alphabet. Her two books of aphorisms entitled Attichūdi and Konrai-venthai, written in the order of the Tamil Alphabet which the learned Boscchi considered as "worthy of Seneca himself," (37) have been most appropriately called "the Golden Alphabet of the Tamils" (38). Being a minstrel by profession, she acquired in her early youth considerable facility in expressing herself in verse, and possessing naturally a literary turn of mind and poetic feeling, she appears to have improved them by extensive learning, so much so that she was soon recognised by her contemporaries as an accomplished poetess. She describes herself as appearing "with a shining forehead, eyelids painted black and wearing a jewelled girdle on her waist." (39) The best part of her life was spent in the court of Athiyamān-Anchi, prince of Thakadūr, who held her in great regard. She says that the halls and towers of Athiyamān's palace echoed daily a day with her songs, which she sang to the accompaniment of a tabor. (40) Her intimacy with Athiyaman is expressed very quaintly by her as follows:—

"Pleasant art thou prince! to us, as the huge elephant is to village youths, when it lies down in the river and allows them to wash its white tusks: but ferocious art thou to thy enemies as the same elephant is when in rut." (41) When the fruit of a certain Nelli-tree (*Phyllanthus emblica*) which was reputed to possess the marvellous virtue of prolonging life, was presented to Athiyamān, he did not eat it himself: but gave it to Auvvaiyar: and the grateful minstrel thanks him in the following words:—

"Thou Anchi! king of the Athiyar! Resistless in war: who wearing a golden necklace and wielding the victorious sword in thy powerful arm which is adorned with armlets, slayest thy enemies on every battle field! may thou be eminent for ever as the matchless God (Siva) whose throat is blue and who wears the silvery crescent on his head! For thou hast given me the sweet fruit of the Nelli tree which grew on the giddy height of a lofty mountain, knowing that it will save me from Death." (42) Athi-

(37) Babington's *Chen Tamil Grammar* Introduction, p. xi.

(38) *Asiatic Researches*, vii, p. 350, London Edition.

(39) *Puram*, 89.

(40) *Ibid.*, 390.

(41) *Ibid.*, 94.

(42) *Ibid.*, 91.

yāmān sent Auvvaiyar once on an embassy to Thondainān, king of Kanchi, most probably seeking the assistance of that king against his enemies. (43) It is not known whether the embassy was successful or not: but sometime afterwards Athiyaman was killed in a battle: and the verses uttered by Auvvaiyar on the occasion are very pathetic.

"If there was little liquor, he would let us drink it: if there was much, he would also share it joyously with us, while we sang to him. Whether it was a simple meal or a grand feast, he would sit to meal with a large company of guests. Wherever bone, and meat were plentiful he would place us: wherever arrows and lances were aimed he would take his stand. With his perfumed hands he would stroke my head. Alas! the lance, that pierced his beloved breast, pierced at the same time the aims bowl of his minstrels, the hands of the poor whom he fed, and the tongues of the learned poets of his court. Dim are the eyes of his dependents, with weeping! Oh! where is he our dear prince? No more are there bards to sing or patrons to reward them. But many are the men who are as useless to this world as the flower of the Pahanrai which blooms on the cool banks of rivers: but is not worn by any one." (44) After the death of her patron, Athiyamān-Anchi she travelled in the Tondai-Nad and some years hence returned to Thakadur, where Elini, the son of Neduman-Anchi, received her very kindly. She describes her reception as follows:—(45) "Early on a dewy morning, while the mild moon was still shining, I stood at the entrance to the palace of Elini, king of the Athiyar, and striking the drum which I carried in my hand, I sang 'Long life to thee Elini! King of the Athiyar! Who stormest thy enemies' forts and ravagest their fields!' Straightway he welcomed me and made me change my dirty dress and put on fine new clothes which he presented. In a golden cup he offered me strong old liquor which fired my blood to a frenzy and he feasted me right royally."

She attended the magnificent sacrifice performed by the Chōla king Peru-nar-Killi, and she had the honor of addressing the three Tamil kings, Ugrapperu-Valuthy, Peru-nar-Killi and the Chera Ma-ven-ko, who were seated together on the occasion. She exhorted them to do good during all their life time, which

(43) *Ibid.*, 95.

(44) *Ibid.*, 235.

alone she said would save them in the future. (46) As a specimen of the pure principles and practical philosophy she preached, I give below a translation of the first eight lines of the Attichudi or the Golden Alphabet—

1. Desire to do charity.
2. Anger should be controlled.
3. Fail not to render what help lies in your power.
4. Prevent not the giving of alms.
5. Reveal not what you possess.
6. Slacken not exertion.
7. Neglect not numbers and letters.
8. Begging is shameful.

V. KANAKASABHAI PILLAI.

(To be Continued).

MUSSULMANS AND MUSIC.

MR. JUSTICE RANADE in his masterly address to the recent Indian Social Conference at Lucknow traced the influences which the Mussulman conquest of India had brought about. Foreign invasions are not always an unmixed blessing to the conquered race. An unscrupulous and aggressive nation bent upon plunder and having no abiding interest in the land of their conquest will naturally try to trample the subjugated race, while the humanitarian instincts of a civilised one will tend to elevate the position of its subjects by its beneficial acts. Mr. Justice Ranade himself says that Mussulmans were themselves winners by coming in contact with the Hindus. "The Sufi heresy gathered strength from contact with the Hindu teachers, and made many Mahomedans believe in transmigration and in the final union of the soul with the supreme spirit. The Mohurram festival and saint worship are the best evidence of the way in which the Mahomedans were influenced by Hindu ideas." It has been similarly pointed out that the Hindus were also benefited by their contact with Mussulmans. How far these influences permeated the later Hindu thought and action must be left to impartial students of history who may trace these effects to their proper sources in the light of the past history of both the nations. Without in any way questioning the beneficial effects of the Mussulman conquest, it may be asked how far abiding these had been, so far as some of the Hindu national institutions were concerned. There seems to be strong evidence to prove the iconoclastic nature of the early Mussulman rulers to whose advent may be ascribed the arrest of development in all directions of Hindu thought. Foreign nations subjugating an alien race have in the past tried to compel the subject people to adopt their customs and manners on pain of extinction, though the same may be repugnant to the latter. In the case of the Hindus, whose proverbial tenacity to their established customs has always baffled the attempt of foreigners, the Mussulmans also failed to introduce reforms on their own lines. I am not here, however, concerned with estimating the sum-total of the influences of the

Mussulman rule on the permanent institutions of the Hindus. My object here is to examine the causes which led Mr. Justice Ranade to affirm that "they (Mahomedans) improved the knowledge of the people (the Hindus) in *music*, instrumental and vocal." This is an assertion whose accuracy cannot be vouched for without rummaging the literary history of both the nations. We have to examine the nature of the musical knowledge of the Mussulmans before their advent into India, and the same among the Hindus in the flourishing times of their indigenous rulers, and also to see how far their knowledge could be said to have improved Hindu music.

A brief survey of the intellectual progress of the Mussulmans will disclose the fact that music was not one of the sciences early cultivated by them. Scholars were early prohibited from hearing, much less studying, music, owing to its supposed degrading associations, the consequence being that music, which is both a science and an art, came to be one of the least worthy of the sciences claiming the attention of savants.

Notwithstanding their progress in the astronomical and mathematical sciences, music was relegated to oblivion, from which their later contact with the noble genius of the Hindus alone could revive it. Such a neglect was not merely accidental and confined to books. A class of rigid puritans arose who thoroughly eschewed music of every kind on all occasions of marriage, and other ceremonies, auspicious or inauspicious. The deep hatred of music imbibed by their descendants still continues in the sect which not only do not perform ceremonies with any kind of music but strictly abstain from all places where it may be heard. While the Hindus have been unanimous in their praise of music and regard it as one of the sweetest enjoyment of life, this class hates it as ignoble and demoralizing. Could music have thriven under such auspices? Their greatest authority, the Koran, is said to prohibit music. Could its followers ever attempt to ignore its sacred authority? When music was utilised by the Hindus in the praise of their gods with due sublimity, and in the heroic recitals of many a king's valor, the more strict among the Mussulman doctors had prohibited its use as irreligious and profane. Some however seem to have been more indulgent. A few, convinced of its excellence but dreading the censure of caustics, had prudently preferred silence. It would be idle to expect a free and untrammelled growth of the science among

a community which regards it "as exhilarating the spirits and as an incentive to the bent of the inclination." But music which is "the imperishable antidote of pain and the voice of every perfected art" could not long be kept in the background, and in course of time became the silent companion of many whose in-born sympathy led them to surreptitious gratification.

It is not known whether, in the courts of the early Mussulman kings, musicians formed a part of the royal paraphernalia, as in the case of the Hindu princes. It does not seem likely that royal patronage would have been extended to a science which was under the ban of law. The cultivation of a science requires the fostering care of patrons by whose active encouragement men of learning are invited to pursue it for its own sake and bring it to a state of perfection. The royal retinue of Hindu princes was incomplete without musicians. This is one of the important reasons for the perfection of the science among the Hindus. Even in much later times when Mussulman rulers of India employed musicians as an adjunct to their retinue, they seem to have retained them more for dignity and royal pageant than for the encouragement of the science which contributed to their own enjoyment.

Sir William Jones relates an anecdote of the perfect indifference and stolidity of a Mahomedan nobleman when he was listening to a musical performance. He says: "I have been assured by a credible eye witness that wild antelopes used often to come to the woods to the place where a mere savage beast, Siraj-ud-dowlah, entertained himself with concerts, and that they listened to the strain with an appearance of pleasure till the monster, in whose soul there was no music, shot one of them to display his archery." This story simply illustrates the apathy of the Mahomedan nobleman who was more anxious to exhibit his power of shooting than to listen to an entrancing strain which captivated an animal to the extent of its forgetting its immediate danger. Such an amiable ruler as the Emperor Akbar himself was little amenable to the influence of music, if the following story told of him is true. It is said that he ordered Nayak Gopaul, a celebrated musician, to sing the Dipaka raga to which a "fiery power" is generally attributed. The musician humbly asserted that the singing of that raga would bring about his own destruction. But the Emperor would listen to no kind of excuse. "He therefore requested permission to go and bid

farewell to his family and friends. It was winter when he returned after an absence of six months. Before he began to sing, he placed himself in the waters of the Jumna till they reached his neck. As soon as he had performed a strain or two, the river gradually became hot—at length began to boil and the agonies of the unhappy musician were nearly unsupportable. Suspending for a moment the melody thus cruelly extorted, he sued for mercy from the monarch, but sued in vain. Akbar wished to prove more strongly the power of the raga. Nayak Gopaul renewed the fatal song. Flames burst with violence from his body and, though immersed in the waters of the Jumna, he was consumed to ashes." Aurangzeb, after ascending the throne, abolished the court musicians, as music was against the Mahomedan law. Mr. Blochmann, in his translation of the *Aini-Akbari*, quotes a curious story from the historian Khan Khan as to what took place when the order was promulgated. The court musicians brought a bier in front of the Jharok'hat (the window where the Emperors used to show themselves daily to the people) and wailed so loud as to attract Aurangzeb's attention. He came to the window, and asked whom they had on the bier. They said "Melody is dead, and we are going to the graveyard." "Very well," said the Emperor, "make the grave deep, so that neither voice nor echo may issue from it." On the other hand the well-known liberality of the Hindu kings had rescued many a genius from oblivion.

The earliest book on the theory of music is said to be Al-Farabi about which very little is known. A writer in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* remarks, "As for music, its study was limited to the practical end, though we may name the important treatise Al-Farabi on theory of music—a treatise itself drawn from Greek sources—we must acknowledge that Acoustics, properly so called, are not at all taken into consideration by him." If this treatise owed its origin to Greek sources, we know that the early Greeks borrowed much of their information on the subject from the early Egyptians and the Hindus. "If it were enquired whether the nation of Greece or Hindustan proceeded further in the cultivation of music, the accounts we have of its state amongst the former, and the living examples, at present found in the latter aided by a review of its flourishing state under the native princes, would decide in favor of Hindustan. The use of a flute, with holes to produce melodies, was early

discovered during the latter ages of Greece, as well as the performance on that instrument as a solo; both of which existed in Hindustan, from time immemorial. It was the instrument on which Krishna played. The Greeks did not play solo, except on the trumpet, till the Pythic games were celebrated, when Socrates of Argos is said to have been the first who distinguished himself by playing on the flute alone." It will thus be seen, that the earliest treatise on Mahomedan music is indebted to Hindu source, though indirectly.

We next alight upon a Persian treatise on music which is found scattered in "a collection of tracts on pure and mixed mathematics entitled *Durrat'ul-taj*, and composed by a very learned man, so generally called Allami Shirazi or the great philosopher of Shiraz that his proper name is almost forgotten; but as the modern Persians had access, I believe, to Ptolemy's harmonies, their mathematical writers on music treat it rather as a science than as an art and seem, like the Greeks, to be more intent on splitting tones into quarters and eighth parts, of which they compute the ratios to show their arithmetic, than on displaying the principles of modulation, as it may affect the passions. I apply the same observation to a short but masterly tract of the famed Abusina, and suspect that it is applicable to an elegant essay in Persian, called *Shamsi lascent*, of which I have not had courage to read more than the preface."

After this, much of their music seems to have been drawn direct from the Hindu sources. Under some of the liberal Mahomedan rulers, arts and sciences flourished and were greatly encouraged. Translations were made of the Hindu Shastras and Puranas and attempts made to study the Hindu philosophy and sciences by men whose genius detected their true merits. Works on Hindu music were translated later on, but these early translations seem to have been only a mixture of gloss and text with a flimsy paraphrase of them both. Sir W. Jones remarks "that a man who knows the Hindus only from Persian books does not know the Hindus; and that an European who follows the muddy rivulets of Mussulman writers on India, instead of drinking from the pure fountain of Hindu learning, will be in perpetual danger of misleading himself and others. From the just severity of this censure, I exempt neither Abulfazl, nor his brother Faizi, nor Mooshani Fani, nor Mirza Khan himself; and I speak of all four after an attentive perusal of their works." "The well-known scholar Mirza Khan is said to have composed in Persian

a book entitled 'Tohfut-ul-Hind,' which gives a minute account of Hindu literature in all its important branches. His chapter on music is based on translations of the well-known Sanskrit works Ragamava, Ragadurpana, Sabhavinoda, and Sangitadurpana. He describes the four musical systems of Ishwara, Bharata, Hanuman, and Callinath. Besides this, Ragadurpan was translated by Fakir Ullah "from an Hindovee book on the science of music, called Muncuttuhub, compiled by order of Man Sing, Rajah of Gwalior. The Sangita Durpan (or mirror of melody) is also a Persian translation from the Sanskrit. To this I am enabled to add the title of another Hindovee work translated by Deenanaut, the son of Bausdheo, into the Persian language on the first of the month Ramjan, in the year of the Hegira 1137, of our Era, 1724. "An essay on the science of music, translated from the book Paurjanthuck the object of which is to teach the understanding of the Rags and Ragnees, and the playing upon musical instruments." This probably refers to Sangita Parijata, which treats of music in all its important details. Col. French who made a careful study of the subject writes: "Indeed, in the South of India, music appears to have been maintained and cultivated as a science, long after it had ceased as such in the North. Mahomedan historians of the period relate that, when the Dekkhan was invaded by All-oo-deen Togluk in A.D. 1294, and the conquest of the South of India completed by the Mogul General Mullick Kaffoor, several years afterwards, the profession of music was found to be in a condition so far advanced of the North, that singers male and female, musicians and their Brahmin instructors were taken with the royal armies and settled in the North. The works that remained on the subject have been examined by competent oriental scholars who have discovered that music as a science held a high place among ancient Hindus and became the subject of learned, though pedantic, treatises on doctrines of sound, variations of scales, accord of musical instruments, discussions of modes, singing and instrumentation."

It has been shown above how works on Hindu music were translated. These translations seem to have greatly influenced their knowledge of music. In the first place, the names of the seven notes of music were adopted from the Hindu music. They are Kharaj, Rekhub, Gundhaur, Muddham, Punchum, Dhavath, and Nikhath, which are no other than the Shadja, Rishabha,

&c., of our music in a different garb. The initial letters were used to express them in writing, as among us, excepting the first which is always expressed as Sur (Swar). Some attempt seems to have been made at a minute analysis of the notes into the srutis forming them. The classification of their musical modes into Raugs and Rangnees is another instance of their adoption of the Hindu music. Some of the names of their modes are borrowed from the Sanskrit, such as Chayanat, Hindol, Sindbhiravi, &c. In the matter of Ragas generally, the system of Hanuman prevalent in Northern India seems to have been freely had recourse to. As for *tala* or rhythm, they have a few similar to those of the Hindu music. But the places where the beats fall are a little different, though its duration is the same as in Hindu music. And the fact that they have only a few talas shows that they have not made much improvement in this direction. Hindu musicians had a high conception of the function and value of time in music, and the elaborate analysis of the various measures of time marks their early ingenuity. A European musician observes "while the modern measures of Europe are exclusively in common time and triple time and their compounds, the Hindus have beautiful melodies with five, seven and other unequal numbers of time or beats in a measure and plenty of musicians to perform them." As for notation, it is difficult to surmise if they had any at all, even to the little extent that they might be said to have improved the knowledge of the Hindus. The various musical instruments in use are only varieties of those that have been in use among us from time immemorial. Musical critics are almost unanimous in awarding the palm to the Hindus for their early invention of several ingenious instruments. It may be here observed, *en passant*, that the Tabla (side-drums) which Mahomedans use in accompaniment to singing, is made mention of in the Sangitaratnacara as having been in use in early times.

A few remarks concerning their mode of singing may not be out of place here. The use of Sruti or drone as an invariable and necessary accompaniment in singing is unknown among them. I refer to the use of the Tamboor among the Hindus, apart from other accompaniments. Hindu musicians have strictly enjoined the same, it being regarded as "the mother of singing." 'Srutir matha, Jajali Pita' (i.e., drone accompaniment is the mother and Tala, the father of singing) is the first thing taught to be kept

constantly in view. The use of *Sruti* consists, in the first place, in greatly assisting the singer to find out the limits and capacity of his voice, with a view to its adjustment. This further enables him to remember the Key-note from which he started. Without such a help he may be apt to wander away and may be at sea when he begins solfaing. The be-all and end-all of all music, being the capacity of freely translating the songs into the language of musical notes, a perfect achievement in this direction is possible only when an accurate perception of the *Sruti* is attained. This solfaing test is unknown among the Mahomedans, although some of their best musicians, trained under our system, use for that purpose, the '*Sarigan*' of the Hindus for want of a similar nomenclature. Captain Day observes "Hindustani music, in some respects, differs from the system previously described, and which is called *Karnatik*. It has been much copied from the latter, but its professors are not men of much education and though many of them are skilled executants, their knowledge of the theory of their art is, as a general rule, but small. In Hindustani music, more attention is paid to the minute distinction between the various *Ragas* than to the actual melody itself. To melodic form the same importance is not attached. The nomenclature of Hindustani and *Karnatik* *Ragas* differs, but musicians everywhere quote the *Sangitaratnacara* as their principal authority." Much space will not be taken up here to establish the undoubted antiquity of Hindu music. The hymns of the *Rig-Veda* and the *Sama-Veda* are the earliest examples of words set to music. In the *Upanishads*, frequent references to music and musical instruments are found. *Puranas* are also replete with similar references. I shall here quote a few European Orientalists who have spoken in high praise of the antiquity of Hindu music. Weber says: "From the high planes of Asia, where many ancient historical traces are found, it followed man in his wanderings through China, India, and Egypt. Like the light of the day, musical enlightenment moved from East to West, from the ancient Chinese, Hindus, Assyrians, and Babylonians to the Egyptians, the Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans." Sir William Hunter writes: "A regular system of notation had been worked out long before the age of Panini (350 B.C.) and the seven notes were designated by their initial letters. This notation passed from the Brahmins, through the Persians, to Arabia, and was then introduced into European music by Guido-d' Arezzo at the

beginning of the 11th century. Some indeed suppose that our modern word gamut comes not from the Greek letter gamma, but from the Indian word *gama* in Prakrit, in Sanskrit, *Grama*, literally a musical scale." "Perhaps the most reliable proofs of the antiquity of Indian instruments can be found, not so much in the Sanskrit, but in the Pali works remaining. For to these Buddhist treatises, it is an easier matter to assign dates that can be tolerably accurate. In the *Milindha Panta*, a Pali work, written a little after the Christian era, is a description of the *Vina*, also of the shell-trumpet (*Sankha*) and the flute (here rendered *Vansa* a reed) and in the *Mahaparambhava Sutta*, a still older work of about 400 B.C., we find mention of the *Bheri*, a word still used for the *Nagara* or large kettle drum, and also of the *mridang*."

We have thus far sketched a brief survey of the state of musical knowledge among Mahomedans before and after their advent into India and also of the state of musical culture among the Hindus long before any foreign invaders set their foot on the Indian soil. We have incidentally seen how their knowledge of music was such as was never calculated to improve Hindu music and how some even of the enlightened Mahomedan rulers themselves were indifferent to the true purpose and appreciation of the musical science. On the other hand it will be seen that the Mahomedan conquest of India really retarded the progress of music which was at its height during the flourishing times of Hindu Kings. Captain Willard says: "The conquest of Hindustan by the Mahomedan princes forms a most important epoch in the history of its music. From this time we may date the decline of all arts and science purely Hindu, for the Mahomedans were no great patrons to learning, and the more bigoted of them were not only great iconoclasts, but discouragers of the learning of the country. The progress of the theory of music once arrested, its decline was speedy; although the practice, which contributed to the entertainment of the princes and nobles, continued until the time of Mahomed Shah, after whose reign history is pregnant with facts replete with dismal scenes."

I shall next consider the question whether Hindu music is susceptible of any improvement. I shall here confine myself to the Southern Indian music. The highest end and aim of Hindu music is the skilful singing of *Ragas*, which implies a

thorough knowledge of the component notes of each, and of the embellishments peculiar to each. The singing of a Raga, implies a facility of transposition and combination of notes. The peculiar use of the graces employed here has early differentiated it from its sister in the North. Accordingly certain stereotyped forms of composition have come into use so that Ragas cannot be improved by any internal changes. This is the peculiar characteristic of all classical Ragas. There are however some popular melodies which seem to have been influenced by foreign contact. But such influences are confined to stage music, which has of necessity, to suit the tastes of various classes and, for the matter of that, various nationalities. Though some of the Hindustani Ragas such as Biag, Kafi, &c., are very melodious, and are very popular, still they cannot be said to have been incorporated into the classical music of the land. Classical compositions are very rare in these Ragas, although popular demands have called forth some compositions. It is clear, therefore, that notwithstanding foreign contact the music of the land has continued to retain its peculiarities. The same is the case as regards Tala.

I have thus far attempted to show in a more or less detailed manner how the knowledge of Mahomedans in music could not improve Hindu music in any of its details. On the other hand, the reader would have remarked that their music had considerably improved by their contact with Hindus. Their indebtedness to Hindu music in the development of their theory cannot be over-estimated, and an impartial student of history cannot fail to draw his own conclusion from the materials placed before him.

C. TIRUMALAYYA NAIDU.

LEGENDS OF ANCIENT MADURA.

MADURĀ, or as it is properly spelt Madhurā, was once the metropolis of a kingdom both large and powerful, the seat of learning of many kinds; of pious Hindus, from the earliest times, she was the favourite resort. Her earliest days under the rule of kings who promoted the material prosperity and happiness of their subjects would have been lost in utter obscurity, were it not that under the guise of fable they have been recorded by the Rishi Vyāsa as all true Hindus believe. He, it is said, wrote the work ascribed to him and known by the name of the Madhurā St'hala Purana, but it is declared that he gleaned his facts from the sage Agastaya. The latter with other Rishis was one day worshipping the *linga* at Kasi, when his company asked him to tell them the name of the holiest book in the universe, of the spot most holy and the water more holy than any. In reply he said that there was no book more holy than the Skanda Purana, seeing it spoke of the praises of Sundaralinga, that is of Siva; that the Kadamba forest, where Madhurā was built, was more holy than any other spot not only naturally but also because the most holy *linga* was there; and that the holiest water was the *Scarna push-karini* or "pool of the golden lilies" in the Kadamba forest. Then he began to recite to his audience some of the miracles performed there.

Many ages ago it happened that Malaya Dhwaja, the Pandyan king, married the daughter of Shutra Sena, the Raja of the Chola country. He tried in 10,000 years to beget an heir but failed. Thousands of wives and concubines filled his seraglio to no effect. Despairing of issue he at last performed the *putra-kameshti* sacrifice, whereby pious men obtain children; and his desire was fulfilled, as out of the sacrifice Ishwari or Minakshi, Siva's wife arose as a child. But great as was the queen's joy, her concern was greater when she and her husband found that the female child had a third breast situated between two proper breasts. Just when their anxiety was at its greatest a fairy appeared and assured them that the unsightly excrescence would

disappear so soon as the child saw her future husband, and at the same time advised the Pandyan to call the child Thata'thakei and to crown and make her his successor, which was accordingly done. When Thata'thakei came to proper age she assembled a vast force of horse and foot, chariots and elephants. She led it against and defeated first all the kings of the earth, then the gods of the eight quarters and lastly Indra himself. Next she invaded Kailasa, the heaven of heavens and routed Siva's troops. Now Siva himself came forth to do battle. The instant Thata'thakei beheld him her abnormal breast disappeared; and she hung down her head in shame, being made aware that she saw her future husband. Knowing this himself Siva promised to wed on the approaching Monday. Thata'thakei now wended her way back to Mad'hura where her prime minister Samatli made immense preparations for the marriage. All the kings of the fifty-six countries that composed the world were invited to attend; the city was decorated with the greatest magnificence; and the hall of marriage shone with the resplendence of jewels. When the appointed day came round Siva appeared in the form of a youth, seated on his celestial bull, attended by Vishnu and Brahma, and escorted by a vast retinue and also by Indra and all the gods. While the procession was approaching Mad'hura the bride's mother went out to meet it, and washing Siva's feet garlanded them. Then she bade him accept her daughter and the throne. In gracious acceptance Siva smiled and entered the marriage hall. The wives of Vishnu and Brahma, Lakshmi and Sara'swati, with rarest jewels decked the bride till her face shone like the concentrated rays of a thousand suns, and then placed her at Siva's right hand. All things being arranged the service was performed by Brahma, the bride's hand being placed on that of the bridegroom by Vishnu who pouring water upon it declared the queen to be Siva's consort. Delightful melody was now heard; sacred verses were chanted by Rishis and Brahmans; and the most pleasing ceremonies were observed. The marriage rite now having been duly celebrated, Siva was crowned king of Mad'hura, after which he assumed the name of Sundara Pandyan. Now the company sat down to a sumptuous repast. But two Rishis named Patanjali and Vyag'hraputtra excused themselves, for, said they, "before we eat rice our invariable custom is to see day by day the sacred dancing of the God Siva at Chidambaram." Hearing

this Siva graciously vouchsafed to them, in the Silver Hall of the Mad'hura Pagoda, a vision of the sacred dancing. There, in the Pagoda he danced before them on his right leg alone, keeping his left stretched straight over his head. Siva's kindness and condescension so delighted the Rishis that they prayed that such dancing might daily be witnessed in the Silver Hall; and to this day there it may be seen.

The banquet over, the bride pointed boastfully to the enormous quantities of food left unconsumed, although so much had been eaten. Heaps of *cooked rice* were in thousands, whilst vegetables and other special dainties were to be seen lying about on all sides. But Siva quickly showed his bride what his power was. Into the belly of his attendant dwarf Kendodana he caused the all-consuming fire *Balaba-Muk-hagni* to enter; when the dwarf was seized with so unabateable a hunger that not only was all that was left devoured but he also asked for more, avowing he was hungry, consumedly hungry. So ravenous indeed were his cravings that Siva was compelled to summon Annapurnishwari, the Goddess of plenty, to furnish the hungry wretch with abundance of rice and buttermilk. And she stayed his hunger. And nothing could assuage the thirst that followed the satisfaction of his extraordinary hunger. Not a well, not a tank in the country but was drunk up, and yet "more, more," cried the dwarf. Siva now being moved with compassion thought he would call upon the Goddess Ganga to do something for the unhappy dwarf. While so cogitating the Goddess appeared before him, coming out of a lock of his hair and agreed to satisfy his servant's thirst on the condition that Siva would consent to make her more holy than the river Ganges and would also grant her the boon that the bones of all corpses thrown into a river, which she said she would cause to flow past on the instant, should become *lingas*; and also that all who bathed in it should be forgiven whatever sins they might have committed in former lives. The boons were granted, whereupon Ganga caused the river Kritamala to flow north of Mad'hura; into which the dwarf entered and quenched his thirst. To drink the more copiously he sat between the banks and stretched out his arms on either side, thus forming a dyke.

Later on, the bride's putative mother, Kanchanamalâ, became seized with the desire to purify herself from the pollution of sin. So she considered how

about her purification. While so thinking she happened to meet the sage Durvāsa. Hith she consulted. And his advice to her was this:—"Bathe in the sea which is especially holy, for, mark, therein flows all the holy rivers." Siva hearing of this and desiring to save the ancient dame the inconvenience of a journey caused the springs of the seven seas to be brought straight on to the neighbourhood of the Madhurā Pagoda. And even to this day there the springs may be seen. Now, just as the old lady was about to plunge her limbs into the sanctified bath of the springs of the seven seas and whilst the Brahmans were chanting sacred verses it was discovered that no widow who had not had a male child could possibly purify herself in the manner proposed unless she went down with the water holding the tail of a calf. How troubled was she then! But Siva came and removed her difficulty without much effort. He caused her deceased husband to leave Paradise and appear before her. Holding the first finger of his right hand she descended into the water, washed her sins away—and died! And with her husband went she into the abode of the blessed. After this, on a fortunate Monday, Thata'thakei was brought to bed. The star Ardra was then in the ascendant. And the child born was a male with body-marks that would bring great joy to his subjects and much grief to their enemies. Long and prosperously would he reign. He was named Ugra Pandya. He grew in intelligence; and acquired much scientific lore. It happened that when it was time he should get married that his father considered the propriety of uniting him to Kantimathi, the daughter of Somashek'haran, the Chola king of Kanchipuram (Conjeevaram) a descendant of the race of the Sun. Strangely enough it happened that the intended bride's father himself dreamt that his daughter would be sought after by the Pandyan king. The marriage was duly celebrated; and then Sundara Pandyan, making his son king, presented him with three gifts whereby he could conquer Indra, the god of the seas and Mount Meru. These weapons were named *Valaya*, *Shakti* and *Chentla* respectively. Having made these donations to his son, Siva or Sundara Pandya, retired from the world locating himself in the *linga* in the Madhura Pagoda, the queen, his wife, locating herself in the image of Minakshi in the same place.

Ugra Pandya now performed ninety-six Ashwamedha sacrifices, four more entitling him to rule in Indra's heaven. That

deity becoming alarmed ordered the destruction of Madhurā by Varuna who in his turn directed the god of the seas to overwhelm the city; and shortly afterwards the waters of the sea flowed right up to the very walls of the Pagoda and threatened to sweep it away. But the Pandyan having been advised by Siva in a dream to do so hurled his *Shakti* at them, and the waters were immediately dried up, and the city thus saved. After this, there was great drought in the Pandya, Chola and Chera countries. The kings of those countries therefore met in conference, and agreed that they should consult the sage Agastya as to the cause of the calamity and what they should do to avert its evil consequences. The sage explained that the reason for there being no rain was that Mars, followed by the Sun and Venus, had been moving irregularly—and that therefore there would be drought for twelve years. But Indra could help them. So he advised them to go to Madhurā and observe the Somayāra fast there; and urged that by doing so they would obtain access to Indra's heaven. He further explained how powerful a means of grace and strength this fast was, and what miracles it enabled the great gods to work when they kept it. In keeping the fast, he said, the following procedure was to be adopted. The fast should begin on a Monday, a full-moon Monday, if possible, in the month of Kārtiga, only one full meal having been taken on the Sunday previous. Then the faster should purify himself in the golden-lily tank and anoint and worship the *linga*. If he required a meal after this he should take it at noon; but some did not eat until the stars appeared; others fasted till the next morning, others again fasted and watched till noon; while some passed the night fasting and praying. The three kings attending to the rishi's instructions strictly reached heaven where they were kindly received by Indra. Below Indra's throne three seats were set for them and in two of them sat the Chola and Chera kings; but the Pandya with much haughtiness declined to take the third, and seated himself beside Indra on Indra's throne. This rudeness annoyed Indra so greatly that he turned his back on the offender and, addressing the other two promised to send them rain. Before sending them away he placed on the Pandyan's breast a *hira*, or breast-plate of great weight, with the intention of crushing him therewith, but the Pandya bore it as if it were a chaplet of flowers. Then reproaching Indra for his treachery he stalked away. He thus

earned for himself the title of *Hāradhari Pandya* or "he who bore the *hāra*." Now it happened that the Chola and Chera kings' countries were favored with plenty of rain, but the Pandyan land had none. One day as the Pandya was returning, from hunting he saw the four clouds grazing. Whereupon he seized them and confined them in his capital. Enraged at this outrage, Indra descended from heaven on his white elephant and attacked him. But the Pandya with his magical *Valaya* smote the God such a blow on his crown that it broke into fragments, when the God fled in dismay. Indra now wrote a letter promising to send rain if the captive clouds were set free. But the Pandya declined to do so, till a wealthy proprietor of villages offered to stand security for them. They were then released, and there was sufficient rain in Madhurā and much fertility in consequence. But before this victory over Indra the Pandya had relieved his subjects to some extent from the terrible effects of the drought. Having had a dream, he went in consequence to Mount Meru and summoned the spirit dwelling there to discover to him the immense quantity of gold buried in the rocks. The spirit did not appear. But the Pandya struck the mountain so terrific a blow with his *chenda* that the spirit came forth awed and submissive, and did what was required of him. Thus Ugra Pandya obtained the three victories promised him by his father Siva when presenting him with the three magical weapons. So Ugra Pandya died at last after crowning his son Vira.

E. H. B.

THE JOINT FAMILY-SYSTEM, AND THE GAINS OF LEARNING BILL.

(An untenable plea of those who oppose it.)

For one, did not expect any serious opposition to Sir Bhashyam Iyengar's "Gains of Learning Bill," because all the time the Bill was pending before the Madras Council, and it was pending for a long time, there was practically no note of dissent or opposition to the Bill, anywhere in the Presidency. If it be said by those who clamour now against it, after its passing, that they did not expect it to pass, and therefore did not think it worth their while to agitate against it, it looks to my mind a futile argument. The cry is now raised that the bill is very far-reaching in its consequences, that it will prove a blow to the joint family system, and that public opinion is strongly opposed to it, &c. The opposers of the Bill may be taken to have known from the beginning that all that was required for the passing of the Bill was a majority of votes in the Council, and yet, what made them hold their tongues in a mood of false prophecy that it had no chance of getting through the Council, is what one cannot understand.

(The true test.)

Nevertheless, it is worth considering whether even this too-late-opposition has made out a case, strong enough to justify the dropping of the measure. The strength of the opposition is not to be gauged by so-called mass-meetings, especially of the sort held in the Conjeevaram-temple; when it was crowded in perfect innocence of the gains of Learning Bill, and in all probability dispersed too in the same blissful mental condition about it, nor could it be gauged by memorials and signatures, that could be obtained without the signatories knowing what they are signing. The only safe and feasible way of finding out the strength of the opposition, is how far it carried conviction to the minds of those who are responsible for the good Government of the country. The measure itself having emanated from Sir Bhashyam

Iyengar—the embodiment of caution and forethought—is a sufficient guarantee that it is not due to any ultra-radical who wants to run in advance of our necessities.

(The necessity for the Bill.)

To realise the necessity for the Bill, one must realise the changes that have come over the system of Hindu joint family under the British Government. But for these changes, the Bill would not have been called for. Within less than half a century of British administration, the joint family system has broken up with marvellous rapidity, perhaps for the first time in its history. Population, and with it the struggle for life, has been hourly on the increase under the British Government. Education has created as well as supplied a demand for comforts and conveniences of life, never before known. In fact, there is no concealing the fact, that it has introduced a different ideal of life altogether in the joint family from what it was accustomed to, all along. Railways have scattered members of a family to the different corners of the country, for their living. Families are *joint only in name, not in reality*. Brothers don't meet and can't meet except once in a few years. Most of them have to depend strictly on their own individual earnings. Instances where they could draw from any ancestral joint property, are the exception, not the rule. When living was so cheap that, on Rs. 5 a month, a whole family could live and marry and propagate up to great-grand-children under the same roof, there was necessarily no great pressure for earning and therefore no necessity for treating the earning member very differently from the non-earning member of the family. All were happy without much exertion. Now a graduate and his wife with two or three children find it *honestly* difficult to manage with Rs. 100 a month, and he is very often in debt. So, then, it behoves us to realise that the break-up of the joint family has become complete in fact, and it has only to be accepted in theory.

The present keen struggle for life cannot but awaken the members of a joint family to a sense of the conflict of their interests in the family. Individuality is developing fast, and with it a sense of individual responsibility to one's own wife and children. The idea of merging himself and his family in the joint family has become unjust and impossible. The idea of looking upon his brothers and their children, as entitled to *his* earnings,

quite as much as his own wife and children, has come to placing him betwixt two perpetual fires, by which he is incessantly burnt up. To him, therefore, there is no means of escape, except by recognising sooner or later the principle that every member of the joint-family must become the centre of his own circle of wife and children. A system, therefore, that was once the happy-go-lucky one of giving protection under its roof to every coparcener, and putting no one in particular to much exertion, is *now* proving the wreck of many a hard-working bread-winner, and what is more miserable still, it is proving the wreck of his wife and children. It is a system that, by the force of altered conditions of life and living, gives the earning man no peace during life, and none alas! after his death, to those nearest and dearest to him. Who can make the tide go back? Who can prevent this mighty march of the individual, through stress and strife, debts and difficulties, tossed hither and thither by his very kith and kin, and eaten up by an endless domestic war, before which death may be mercy itself? This is the great ordeal through which the country is passing for the sake of Domestic Emancipation which lies at the root of Freedom in the largest and best sense of the word. The hand of the clock none can set back. History shows that individuality is indispensable for progress, because above all it carries with it a sense of duty, justice and fair play. If it should resent tyranny abroad, it should first be trained to resent it within the four walls of the sacred home. If it would stand up for Justice and Right in the State, it should be prepared to shed its blood for the victims of social and domestic inequity, which sap manliness, kill conscience, and encourage duplicity and cunning as the only weapons, offensive and defensive, to an extent one can hardly conceive.

The time for the application of the true and correct principle of life and living,—*that the fruits of labor shall go to the laborer and his family*,—has long since come, and what would bear legislation even as a matter of pure equity, was necessitated by the state of law itself on the subject.

: : (Will it make us more selfish?).

This principle is dreaded as having the effect of stifling all gracious and noble impulses in a family, and as tending to accentuate selfishness. Thank God! I have known instances among Englishmen of affection, attachment and love, to near and even

distant members of the family as pure, lofty, and disinterested as any you can find in Hindu Society. I have found the mistake of supposing the English people to be bereft of those qualities of the heart, which are said to be pre-eminent among us, in the domestic circle. I have known cases among ordinary soldiers and sergeants in the Army, who won't marry, because they have to support a mother, or sister. Their sympathies to brothers in trouble, their help when they need it, and the feeling of sorrow their death or misfortune causes them are all, to my mind, quite as keen and noble as examples we may cite among ourselves. But there is this difference, to *their* advantage. Theirs, not being forced love and their help not being forced assistance, both their love and help are all the more noble and graceful, natural and genuine, than ours. Heart is the greatest of Democrats and slayer of tyrants. You cannot force it to love, or compel it to feel, when it is not prepared for either. The love of a joint family is often forced and false, and like a hot-house-plant, its life is feeble at best. Freedom, not compulsion, is the soil on which the sacred affections of the home should be planted: and when you do grow them on this soil, the growth is marvellous, true and life-giving. If I am asked to define the place, to which the wicked are sent for punishment, I would define it as a house in which men live *together* without loving each other, and keep up a cruel farce of being bound together by common ties, while, in fact, they are more like loose marbles which are more ready, when brought near, to hit each other and break away. One can see hundreds of instances of men among us, helping their brothers and even distant relations, out of mere love and good-feeling. There are many who bear cheerfully the yoke of a joint family without being compelled to do so. These noble instances of goodness and greatness of heart will not die, as long as human nature is what it is: and there is nothing in Hindu Law or the present day-life, to compel those to be generous to their brothers, who cannot afford to be generous: just as there is nothing to punish a man for not being generous when he can well afford to be so. There is not, among us, even the public opinion which is brought to bear upon Englishmen to keep up their position or discharge their various social and political obligations. A miser, with lakhs hoarded, is among us, less subject to the wholesome influences of public opinion to which an Englishman

would be subject: and if that miser wants to be *intensely*, selfish, cruel and unjust to his relations, nothing can check his evil course.

(Other objections to the Bill.)

Some object to the Bill on the ground that it is unnecessary as a sufficiently large number of cases have not arisen to justify legislative interference. If so, there can be no harm in having it on the Statute-Book. If we are so happy, that cases do not arise at all for decision, presenting any difficulty in the matter, the Bill will lay down a principle for guidance, and that cannot affect anybody. It can be no interference with religion or custom inasmuch as it does nothing more than apply an ancient principle of Hindu Law to modern necessities and requirements. If the ancient Hindu Law was to the effect that no member of a joint family can earn anything, in any manner, without making it joint family property, and if the present Bill was passed in the face of such a law, then the cry of "custom and religion in danger," might be raised, with reason. Nor can it be said, as the Hon. Mr. G. Venkataratnam put it, that we should wait until the people are prepared for the change. By the way, the Hon. Mr. Venkataratnam was the last person from whom I expected opposition to the Bill. The expression "people are not prepared for it," is more often than not, meaningless in this country. Here is a law obviously and admittedly vague, defective and leading to endless litigation, causing domestic misery of the bitterest sort, and yet it is said people are not ready for placing that law on a secure and satisfactory footing. Does it mean that people want misery and litigation? Does it mean that people want a vague and bad law to give them work in law courts? That may be the cry of a few interested men who might desire to prey upon the people, but it *cannot in the very nature of things be the people's wish*. I don't see the reason for the existence of a body of legislators in the country, if their function is not to free the people from doubtful and defective laws. It caused me a great deal of painful surprise to see that a gentleman of Mr. Cröle's experience and knowledge of the country should have fallen into the blunder of objecting to the Bill. His reason is that it will put a stop to the education of a brilliant boy in the family, to the exclusion of the rest, as there is no longer any chance of recouping from him what is spent on him, for the benefit of the family as a whole.

Mr. Crole virtually ascribes prophetic powers to the Hindu parents, in that they can discover beforehand the dunces or failure as well as the would-be fortune-maker, of the family and sacrifice the one for the other. The unexpected happening is nowhere more true than with reference to what our sons are going to become, and nothing short of divinity would be needed to extort from futurity, her secrets as to who are the *failures* and *successes* of the coming generation. As a matter of fact, the Hindu father does his best to all his sons, as far as means will permit, and perhaps if you take account, the dunces and failures have had more care and money spent on them than the intelligent ones. The dunces, on account of their being so, are often the pets of mothers, whose maternal instinct goes involuntarily to help those who need help. This is so true that, to this day, the love and sympathy of the mother is for the weakest irrespective of ideas of justice.

(From the women's point of view.)

There is *one* point of view from which the question should be looked, more than from any other, and that is, from the point of view of the *women* of the house—the wives of the coparceners themselves. If the present Bill would break up joint family more than anything else, I am sure none would welcome it more than the women of the household. I would ask those who oppose the Bill to consult their wives about it, and give us their opinion. I consider it essentially “*The Hindu Women's Bill*,” a Bill that would place many a widow beyond the legal nets of unscrupulous coparceners. It is a Bill that would, by stimulating the *failures* and *dunces* to more exertion and independance; gladden the hearts of the wives of the very *failures* and *dunces*, who are now smarting under a sense of humiliation and wrong that their men have reduced them *literally* to the position of drawers of water for the joint family. They prefer a 15 Rs. monthly of their lords and a separate house for themselves, immensely, to their present abject dependance in the family. They are panting for independance, for a little free air and light, for a little freedom from the mother-in-law, brother-in-law, sister-in-law, and all the other laws and facts in the family which make her life not much worth living. More than three-fourths of the domestic quarrels and misery of the joint family, during the lifetime of all the coparceners, is due to incompatibility of temper.

between the women, the petty jealousies they indulge in, and the authority one wants to exercise over the other, which the latter resents until at last, men go to partition, “as the women won't agree.” The wife of the earning man feels more keenly than others *her position*: because, she is not the mistress of the house in a joint family though her husband may be earning a lot and all the rest are only dependant upon him. She becomes the target of criticism to all the rest of the family. She is pulled by a natural and wholesome desire to look to the welfare of *her* children, and that is abused by the rest as *mean selfishness*. While whatever he or she does to please the others, is looked upon as *duty*; what they cannot or do not do for them, is marked and commented upon. For the sake of social opinion she tries to serve all as much as possible, all for “a good name”: but she succeeds in pleasing none, although she has reduced herself to the position of nothing more than a mere servant of the household.

(The earning member.)

What about the earning member? He comes home after a hard day's work, arguing a case, or writing long depositions. What is it that awaits him at home? Quarrels and complaints, long-faces and tears. Fortunately now-a-days the file of cases between mothers-in-law vs. daughters-in-law are very much on the decline. They were at one time very heavy, and the poor man who had to decide them, found life at home a real misery, and had peace only when he got out of his house.

(The joint family system.)

What then is the joint family system, *as it is*? It is a partnership of earning and non-earning members, in which the earning member's liability is unlimited, that of the non-earning members being necessarily *nil*. And it is more often than not an insatiable gulf: for with early marriage to healthy and strong idlers or failures, the needs of the family are ever on the increase, and beyond the earning man's capacity to maintain. It is a mill-stone that crushes with all its weight the earning man, the stay and prop of society, but sits lighter than a feather on the non-earning man. In fact, it is a socialism which equalises the Newton and the Idiot, and enables the latter to get an equal share of the former's property, on the basis of a pernicious fiction. Could anything be more unjust, cruel and monstrous than that a non-earning man should, after the earning man's death, rush

into Court and take an heirship certificate as undivided member, and proceed to enforce his half-share of property, in the making of which he had as much hand, as the proverbial man in the moon? How can people oppose a Bill that has for its object the righting of this wrong?

K. S.

THE HINDU GAINS OF LEARNING BILL.

THE Hindu Gains of Learning Bill introduced into the Madras Legislative Council in 1891, was passed at its last sitting, and is now awaiting the sanction of His Excellency the Governor of Madras and of His Excellency the Governor-General. No one who reads the debate in the Council on this measure can fail to be struck by the extremely unsatisfactory manner in which it was dealt with. The European and official members, as the Hon'ble Mr. Arundel pointed out, adopted an attitude of neutrality, the measure in question being one in which the native members were far more competent to form a sound opinion and to act on behalf of the great mass of their countrymen whose interests were in their keeping. Such discussion as there was, relating to the Bill was singularly inane and academic, and there was a touch and go and lackadaisical style in the manner in which the Bill was huddled in the Council and passed. This is all the more remarkable since, as Sir V. Bhashyam Iyengar observed, he was the only Member of the Council as it was constituted in 1891 when the Bill was first introduced. Honourable Members who generally leap to their feet and have something racy and vigorous to say when, for instance, the matter for discussion is the annual Budget, upon which no division can be taken and their opinions therefore are held not of much consequence, were content on the present occasion to let a Bill which, as the Honorable Mr. Justice Benson observed in his minute, "is essentially a matter which should be determined by the weight of Hindu opinion," pass without a word of approval or dissent. One Honourable Member indeed said that he had formed no opinion on the measure and more than one other Member who outside the Council has been known to be warmly opposed to the measure, failed to give articulate expression to his views in the Council. This fluidity of opinion is not peculiar to the members who deliberated over it at the time of its passing. When after the lapse of more than six years, since its first introduction.

four hundred thousand invalids are cared for in the hospitals. Seventy thousand old and infirm persons live in almshouses: there are seventy thousand foundlings. Finally the prisons lodge four hundred thousand individuals. Without doubt, it is necessary that every population should have its refuse element, but it is terrible to find it amounting to so enormous a figure." Later on he says "To speak generally, it is too true that modern civilisation is becoming more and more a mercantile civilisation in which social position, choice of a profession, manner of life, marriage, even the duration of existence, has become a question of money in which a ruling class has grown up not less powerful than the old aristocracy, and social influence is based solely on money. Well or illacquired, gained or acquired, money in our contemporary civilisation seems to hold the place of all the virtues."

Without going so far as to say that the Gains of Learning Bill will work a revolution in Hindu Society, it is well to bear the above observations in mind when we attempt in however small a degree to improve and refine upon the existing social fabric. It is also well to enter a protest against the cant too often indulged in by not a few of our educated countrymen regarding the uneducated members of the family who are stigmatised as drones and who are certainly troublesome encumbrances and drawbacks on their ambition for high living. As the learned French writer above referred to points out, if the individual has not to pay and maintain his poor relations, the State will have to undertake the task, and the demoralising results to the national character from a considerable section of the population being thrown for maintenance upon the Government need hardly be enumerated. Sir V. Bashyam Iyengar however says "I may state without hesitation that I am not prepared in the present state of the Hindu Society to suggest or advocate any measure which would in any way be calculated to cause disintegration of the joint family system. Apart from what may be urged pro and con on such a question on economic and other grounds, it is enough to say that such a change will be revolutionary and out of the question." He then goes on to say "How this measure can in the least produce the apprehended result of breaking up the joint family system passes my comprehension. If anything it will have just the opposite effect." We may without irreverence exclaim how it can have just the opposite effect passes our comprehension—and that not a few of

into the Council, the Bill was reintroduced by the Hon'ble V. Bhashyam Iyengar in November 1897, we find that three out of the five elected Hindu Members of Council had not arrived at a decisive opinion in the matter. The Hon'ble Mr. N. Subba Row said :

"I do not wish to pronounce a blessing or a curse on the Bill at this stage. From some it has evoked enthusiastic support and from others, whose opinions are also entitled to equal weight, it has received strong condemnation."

The Hon'ble Mr. P. Rungiah Naidu seconded the re-introduction and said that by so doing he should not be understood to be in favour of the measure and that he reserved to himself the liberty to vote as he thought fit at the final stage. He also said that "the opinions that have already been collected are those of a few educated gentlemen and not those of all classes of the community."

The Hon'ble Mr. Jumbulinga Mudaliar was not also in a position to pronounce a blessing or a curse, but observed :—

"Unless it has the approbation of the whole community, or a very large portion of the community have an intelligent understanding of the Bill and its ultimate result and unless we have such a strong consensus of opinion, I submit that it will not be safe to pass this Bill."

Since leave was obtained six years ago to introduce the Bill, the Bill has been published in various languages, but my own impression is that the outside public, those who are not classed as barristers or pleaders, have not understood anything of the Bill, having given no attention to it."

Thus both in 1897 and 1900 the attitude of the bulk of the Hindu section in the Council was pretty much the same. This is a state of things much to be deplored since on this matter the views of Hindu members ought to be calculated to afford light on the matter in hand, and also because the European members who rightly looked forward to their native colleagues for knowledge and guidance on the question were entitled to treat the absence of a serious opposition to the Bill on the part of the native members who are the accredited exponents of public opinion as indicative of all but the unanimous verdict of the country on the soundness and utility of the measure. The fact however cannot be disputed that on the merits of the proposed law, there is a sharp division of opinion, and

the statement of Sir V. Bhashyam Iyengar that "the opposition to it is but little and that based upon an entire misapprehension of the scope and effect of the Bill," cannot reasonably be maintained in the face of the eminent native gentlemen Mr. P. Chentsal Row, Mr. Seshiah Sastriar, Mr. P. Rajaratna Moodaliar, Mr. Nagoji Row, D. B. Srinivasa Row and others, who have opposed the measure, and in the light of the outburst of opposition which has followed the passing of the Bill. Sir Bhashyam Iyengar says "The measure has been before the public for nearly nine years and ample opportunity has been afforded for the expression of public opinion thereon." If, as has been shown above, gentlemen in the position of members of the Legislative Council whose duty it was to form their opinions and acquaint themselves with what was thought of the subject by the classes whom the measure was calculated to affect, failed to do so, is it a wonder that the unlettered masses who have no organised methods of agitation in this country, and a large majority of whom were most likely ignorant that such a law was proposed to be enacted, did not exhibit any signs of emotion? It must be borne in mind that the members of the legal profession, who generally take the lead in educating the masses in matters of public importance and help to formulate their views, found as a class that it harmonised with their interests to support the provisions in the Bill. The fact that no agitation was set up against the Bill during the nine years it was pending in the Council is a proof either of the lethargy of the people or of their approval of it. If the latter is the true conclusion how comes it that, as soon as the Bill is passed, the country is alive with keen opposition to it. The fact is that during the long period the Bill was slumbering in the Legislative Council, nobody took it seriously and the attitude of several of the members of the Council was such as to induce a feeling of security that the Bill would not be passed into law.

It is not our purpose at present to deal with the various problems which the subject involves. The author of the Bill as may be expected has brought to bear a vast amount of learning and industry on the discussion of the question. He is supported by men of light and leading in the community. But the opposite position is equally maintained by a considerable body of educated and cultured opinion deserving of every respect. There has however been no attempt made to ascertain the opinion of those

the supporters of the Bill hail it on the ground that it will dissolve the joint family system is to our mind proof positive that our view is correct. In any case there is a clear and irreconcilable conflict of motives and objects on the part of those who advocate the measure. The question then may be asked whether it is worth while throwing society into a ferment over the proposed experiment. Sir Bashyam Iyengar's reasons for the law are.

Firstly.—That the present law is very uncertain and leads to ruinous litigation and expense. This statement is challenged by the opponents of the Bill and it is, if true, capable of easy demonstration. We believe that family disputes in matters of this kind seldom reach the courts and are settled by mediation and friendly arbitrament among the relations themselves which in the long run make for family harmony and mutual good will. Sir K. Seshadri Iyer says on this point "As a matter of fact, at the present day, earning members of families though supporting those dependent on them are willingly allowed to keep the great bulk of their gains as their own property and suits for partition of such property are rare."

Secondly.—That the Bill simply proposes to effect by means of a legislative enactment what now every individual has the means of getting done through partition and therefore there can be no great harm in the law being enacted. The opponents of the Bill answer that the remedy by partition is sufficient for all practical purposes and cases in which this is not effected are mostly where the individual concerned is deterred from taking the step from social or moral considerations which it is not wise to overcome by enacted law.

Thirdly.—That the existing law offers an inducement to educated men to enter into Benami transactions and offers a premium for dishonest concealment of property acquired by them. We venture to question the accuracy of the statement that some of our educated men are open to this imputation, but if the fact is true, we should decline to support any measure calculated to open a royal road to honesty and fair dealing to educated men in which all bewitching temptations to go astray shall be kept out.

The present legislation is advisedly undertaken on behalf of a minority of educated Hindus who are placed at a great disadvantage, as the author of the Bill puts it, by the present law. The disadvantage when stripped of all gloss being that men in a

position to ask for partition have not the moral courage to ask for it and are obliged to mask the ownership of the properties they acquire under false names. If the non-earning members of a family, as Sir Seshadri Iyer testifies, do not covet the gains acquired by the earning member and allow him to have the bulk of his gains and if partition can be had for the asking, we fail to see what necessity there is for the enactment of a new law.

We forbear to touch upon many other considerations which render inexpedient the passing of a measure of this kind. There can be no doubt that the new legislation is intended to enure for the benefit of the classes as against the masses and that in a matter between an articulate minority against a voiceless majority, the Government would act rightly to pause before sanctioning a measure prejudicially affecting the rights of the latter. The writer we have quoted from before, says that some nations have "decayed and died in consequence of an organisation of property fatal from a social and moral point of view, by the triumph of egoism over altruism." All that we need say is that the gains of Learning Bill is looked upon with misgivings by many thoughtful men.

THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF SOME OF THE CASTES IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

INTRODUCTION.

THE question of caste in India is a vast one. The main subdivisions have been *Brahma*, *Kshatria*, *Vysia* and *Sudra*; and they are said to have grown from the head, the arms, the legs and the foot respectively of Brahma, the Creator of the Universe. The more rational explanation seems to be that these divisions only show the different avocations pursued by the respective classes. The castes now extant in India are no longer confined to the above four classes, but they have multiplied without limit, and there is no knowing where this growing congeries of castes will stop. In a country where the caste system has prevailed from time immemorial, it is quite natural that the teeming millions of this country of Hindustan should constitute themselves into as many guilds and corporations as there are arts and persuasions, and style themselves by the euphonious terms of so many castes, mostly indicating their avocations and the duties they have imposed upon themselves. The castes having been denominated *high* and *low*, we find in the sequel the native community of India split up into countless castes which neither eat, drink, nor marry with one another. An investigation into the manners and customs of this vast community of castes does not land us on any interesting sphere of enquiry, as one may imagine, disclosing as varied and diversified a feature in the customs and habits as there are castes. It is one monotonous story marked by the same general features with considerable differences of detail. This leads us to the irresistible conclusion that this heterogeneous mass should have originally separated from a common homogenous whole; and if they show anything, they show the tenacity with which the eastern races cling to their customs, unaffected by the examples of those who live near them and other foreign influences. In this connexion another important fact should not be lost sight of; the process of assimilation has been going on, and each caste, as it grew in worldly prosperity, began to imitate

the higher castes in all their customs, as will be evidenced by the simple fact that widow-remarriage has become extinct in most of the castes that have the religious sanction to perform the same and which followed such mandate in the beginning; and that polyandry practised in many of the lower castes has become a thing of the past, except in out-of-the-way corners and in isolated instances, as in the case of the Kullars of Madura, &c. In consequence, one is struck by the extreme similarity, if not the absolute identification of all the ceremonies, connected with birth, marriage and death, &c., nay, in dress and ornaments. It is probable that most of the prevailing customs had been in existence even before the advent of the Aryans and that the Brahmin supremacy has only given a religious gloss to them.

2. Now turning to the main sub-divisions of Brahma, Kshatria, Vysia and Sudra, the two middle classes, viz., Kshatrias and Vysias, have almost become extinct, though some of the castes now pose themselves as the Vysias. We shall not therefore be far wrong, if we classify the existing castes under the comprehensive terms of *Brahmins* and *non-Brahmins*.

3. *Name, origin and traditional occupations.*—It is not possible to trace out the name or the origin of most of the castes, except those that are glaring on the very face. In these days of high culture and enlightenment, when the privileged classes have lost their assumed superiority and the several industries are not confined to the respective castes as of yore and all citizens now enjoy the high privilege of pursuing those occupations that are most congenial to their tastes, it is not possible in some castes to find out the traditional occupations either.

4. *Relative position among castes.*—This has again become difficult to determine. Brahmins are undisputedly considered to be of higher caste, so far as the non-Brahmins are concerned; among themselves each division, I fancy, considers itself superior to the other. Among the numerous castes of non-Brahmins, the relative position is ascertained by the fact of one caste dining in the house of another caste. Even this data now fail, as practices vary in different parts and castes, as they improve in material prosperity and get enlightened, change the old order of things and make their own resolutions not to take meals in the houses of other castes, as will be made manifest from the following instances. Some of the Tondamandala Vellalars of the South do not

dine even in Brahmin's houses, as also the Sathanees, a recently sprung-up caste, and Cammalars. Vania Chettys do not now dine in Mudaliar's or Naidu's houses. Vellalas and Beri Chettys dine together at Madras in some cases, while the distinction of right and left hand party is so strong in the Mofussil that a Pariah will not dine in Beri Chetty's house.

5. *Sub-divisions and Religion.*—The sub-divisions among the Brahmins have a religious origin and they are Smarthas, Madhwas and Vaishnavas that follow, respectively, the three systems of philosophy, viz., Adwaitam, Dwaitam and Visishtadwaitam, propounded by Sri Sankara Chariar, Madhwa Chariar and Ramanuja Chariar. These main divisions are now split up into many sub-divisions too numerous to be mentioned so much so that not only for purposes of intermarriage, but even for purposes of dining together among the last class of Vaishnavas, only a few families now form a unit. This applies equally to the non-Brahmins. Various causes have contributed to this splitting up of the castes. Time, place and circumstances had their full sway in bringing about the same. One important feature to be noticed is that almost all the Tamil castes have their exact counterparts in Telugu, and as a rule the Tamils follow the Tamil customs and the Telugus the Telugu customs. This can be easily traced to the place of their settling, viz., Andra and Dravida meaning North and South. The different castes among the non-Brahmins should have sprung up, as already adverted to, from the arts and manufactures they have betaken themselves to, as their names mostly indicate. In religion, the non-Brahmins mainly follow the Sanyasa mattam or the Ramanuja mattam or style themselves *Sivas* and *Vaishnavas*. This religious division in the same caste does not stand in the way of their inter-dining or inter-marrying except in rare cases of extraordinary bigotry. There are no real sub-divisions among the castes, except for purposes of inter-marriage. The Hindu family tie is so strong that they wish to have their sons and daughters near themselves and most of the less enlightened do not even now take advantage of the railway. They marry their sons and daughters in a small circle and form a *colony* by themselves. Some of those that migrated to other places for purposes of merchandize, &c., by adopting the customs and manners of their place of domicile, not only differ from the common stock, but confine their marriages to those families that have

settled with them and become a sub-division by themselves. Thus sprang up the numerous sub-divisions of the castes, and it will be observed that most of them inter-dine, but do not inter-marry.

6. *Thread-wearing and priests.*—Thread-wearing is no longer confined to the twice-born races. Any caste selects out a guru and obtains from him the sanction or *upadesam* to put on the sacred thread, as do the Vancars (வனக்காரர்), Pallis (பள்ளி), Potters (காசை), now-a-days. Almost all the castes have Brahmin priests; only a few castes like the Kannadiar, the Sivas of the South, &c., follow their own caste gurus or priests.

7. *Birth, Marriage and Death Ceremonies.*—The ceremonies connected with birth, marriage and death are almost the same in all the castes. This is easily explained by the fact that Prohitis administer the ceremonies in all the households and they have a set form to do them as ordained in the Shastras. These ceremonies are generally expensive and the lowest classes that are mostly poor do not at first follow any of these ceremonies, but when they get the wherewithal to do the same, they invite a Prohit, who gladly avails himself of the opportunity as being remunerative to him, to perform the ceremonies. The ceremonies are thus inaugurated into the family and they are imitated by the other caste men.

8. *Birth ceremonies* divide themselves into two functions, viz., those before and those after birth, for the first born. When the girl or woman is advanced five months in pregnancy, a ceremony called the fifth month's ceremony or அஞ்சுமாதா விழா is performed. This is done generally in the girl's mother's house, for which purpose she is carried home by the parents from the husband's house; the relations and friends are invited and the pregnant girl is regaled with various dishes of rice, (viz., sweet, sour, saffroned, mixed with curd, with gingely seeds, &c.,) cakes and other rare eatables, as pregnancy is believed to develop a taste for everything sour, and the invited guests partake of them. At the seventh or ninth month is observed another ceremony termed *Srimantham* சீரமந்தம் when also invitations go round to all relations and friends, as a matter of course, now from the husband's house, wherein the ceremony is generally observed. The pregnant girl is placed on a platform bedecked with jewels, and the Sumangalis (i.e., married women, not widows) pour saffron water over the girl with a small golden leaf made for the purpose.

It is termed முதுகிக்குத்துதல் i.e., pouring saffron water over the back. These two ceremonies are confined to the first pregnancy. In this connection, it may also be stated that some of the non-Brahmin castes which resort to non-Aryan forms of worship propitiate *Katleri* or the blood goddess at the seventh or ninth month for a safe delivery, as she is feared to cause miscarriages among women.

9. After birth, a purification ceremony colloquially termed தீட்டுக்கிழித்தல் is performed on the 8th, 9th or 11th (to be postponed to any date up to a maximum of three months, if the mother or the child do not keep good health, as the ceremony comprises bathing), when the family prohit utters the usual mantrams and makes Punniathanam, spills cow-urine throughout the house and gives Panyokaviram, composed of the five ingredients of milk, curd, ghée, honey, cow-urine or excrement. The *Namakarnam*, the naming of the child and the *Jathakarnam*, the drawing up of the horoscope, are then done. The former is performed by the family members; the oldest member of the family, generally the grandmother of the new born baby, cradles the child in an auspicious hour and names it. The child is named after the grandfather or the grandmother according as it is a male or a female, or the great-grandfather or grandmother, if the former are alive. The lower classes in some cases follow the English custom of naming the child after the father. The *Jathakarnam* is done in first instance by the family prohit; if the party is a rich man, he sends for distinguished astrologers and marks the horoscope of a son, rarely born to him. The naming of the child is postponed to three or six months in certain of the lower classes. Then follow the hair-removing and ear-boring ceremonies, after the child is grown to five, seven or nine months; till the child attains the first year, the above are the favourable months, even for purposes of removal from one place to another, generally from the girl's mother's to mother-in-law's house or *vice versa*. These ceremonies are performed generally, by both sections of *Vishnavites* and *Saivites* alike on any Saturday in the month of Purathasi (15th of September to 15th October nearly) which is dedicated to Vencata Chellapathi of Tirumalai (Tiruputti Hills), either at home or at the shrine, except in cases where special vows are made to perform these ceremonies at particular shrines of gods or goddesses. In some classes, the anniversary of the birthday is celebrated,

but it is not universal. After the child reaches the sixth or seventh year, *Asharappisam*, i.e., his education, is commenced. All these ceremonies are marked by much *celat*, feasting, &c., commensurate with the rank, position and wealth of the party, accompanied by parents from relatives and friends.

10. *Marriage*.—The ceremonies connected with the marriage are generally the same. Here again the Hindu begins with propitiating all the gods and goddesses by *pongol* (cooking rice) and other offerings from the street Vinayagar to the *lope* village goddess and invokes thereby their blessings on the couple to be united in wedlock. If the rice is early and easily cooked, it is a sign that the gods are pleased; otherwise the god is in wrath and should have to be appeased by other offerings. On a day ranging from three to eleven days, previous to the wedding-day, a post for the marriage pandal, called the *pandakkal* (பந்தக்கல்), is planted in an auspicious hour, lifted by three or five *Sumangalis* (married-women, not widows) and accompanied by music; then commence a ceremony called *nalangu* both for the bride and the bridegroom in their respective homes and is continued to the wedding day. The *nalangu* consists of the women of both houses congregating in their best festive suits with the bride or bridegroom seated in their midst similarly decked; each lady goes up to either party and smears his or her hand as far as the elbow, with sandal and other scents. Music is played throughout and the women of both households sing verses or songs composed for the purpose and the occasion. The bridegroom is invited to the bride's house on an auspicious day before the wedding day, and he goes with pomp or simplicity according to the capacity or tastes of the parties. This *Nalangu* ceremony seems to be only a preparation of the bride to appear in public and the bridegroom to receive the homages due to him in a new household, as he is then the cynosure of all eyes (women) for the time being, inasmuch as the critical eye of the women of the bride's party will spare him no delinquency in dress, manners or in his very conducting himself as a man. Of course, the bridegroom has his bestman to direct him and to meet the jokes and taunts of the women by intelligent replies and repartees, as he (the bridegroom) himself accepts and returns them only by nods and smiles. Once in her life the Indian woman has a free tongue at the marriage festive occasion; the young and the old, nay the little ones, throng together and cram the room, and what with

their wit and humour, fun and frolic, accompanied by peals of laughter, the very acme of feast is reached and enjoyed by all parties alike. If the bridegroom is a shy, reserved youth not accustomed to such usages, he feels himself on his trial, and at its wit's end in spite of the best help rendered him by his own sister, brothers' wives and even mother, and aunts. The bridesmaid is the much condemned *Dasi* (dancing girl) against whom the social reformer of the day is preaching a crusade, not only against her existence in society, but also against this pernicious custom of allowing a common harlot to profane the very sanctity of a marriage occasion by her baneful presence. This practice seems to be only an innovation, introduced after the ladies of the household have become *purda nashin*, not only by position and increasing wealth, but also by the comparative youth at which the women, now-a-days, become mothers-in-law, as it is not even now strange in country families and villages to find the lady of the house or some Sumangali relation of the bride acting the bridesmaid. While we have said that the bridegroom is on his trial, the bride is actually in torture; she makes her first debut in public on the wedding-day and all eyes are turned on her. She has to squat by the bridegroom on a plank hardly sufficient for a comfortable seat for hours together without moving a limb or lifting up the head; her very wishes have to be anticipated by the bridesmaid and her very movements foreseen and attended to. The chanting of the Mantrams goes on by the *prohit*, all the time above the buzz and noise of the assembly now and again joined in a chorus by the other Brahmins who are more anxious about the amount of *thakshanni* (largesses by the bride and bridegroom's party) they may get and the class in which they may be placed by the presiding *prohit* and for which they apply either entreatingly or threateningly to him (*prohit*) and appeal to either marriage party as their man in the midst of their chanting operations, than the mantrams which they chant automatically. If amidst this confusion, the bride, in a spirit of curiosity, steals a glance at her lord and master to see how he is like, whether handsome or otherwise, or out of intense pain lifts up her bent form and head, lo! the fiat at once goes forth, if not from the men, at least from the women that she has not proved herself 'a good girl,' but may be taken for a most forward girl.

11. When the wedding day is reached, the marriage proper

commences; all the preliminaries of marriage are gone through and the beginning is marked by the tying of *kanganam* (கங்கணம்) which consists of a saffron tied in a string. This string is tied, one on the right wrist of the bridegroom and another on the left wrist of the bride; then follows the tying of the *tali* (தாலி) which is the most essential part of the wedding. The *tali* is of two forms; it is either a gold ornament made in a grotesque form with two horns or a *pottu* (பொட்டு), i.e., a gold plate shaped into a concave form. The *tali* is run through a saffron thread and is passed round the assembly, placed in a plate with a coconut daubed with saffron, by the *prohit* for being blessed. It is generally a moment of excitement for all; the *lakkanam* agreed for the tying of the *tali* is passing away or approaching, the *prohit* is hurried on and the musician is lashed on, mantrams are chanted at the top of their voices by the Brahmins, and all are on the tip-toe of expectation of the *tali*-tying; the *tali* is handed to the bridegroom, who grows more nervous than ever at the time, with instructions by the *prohit*; the bridesmaid slightly lifts up the head of the bride and moves the neck-load of jewels to make room for *tali*, the crowning jewel of all for a Hindu woman, to take its sovereign place.

The bridegroom reaches the bride with shaky hands—just then a friend whispers into his ears 'brother pray to God to bless your marriage'—and ties the *tali* amidst showers of flowers, *ashathay* (saffroned rice), and the blessings of all. It is a moment of supreme satisfaction, and joy gleams in the face of all interested. There is a pause and a sign of relief all round that the *tali*-tying ceremony is over. The bridegroom wipes off the drops of perspiration standing on his forehead and is given letters and messages of congratulation from absent friends and relatives. In some castes this important function which is the *sine qua non* of making a woman wife of a man that ties the *tali* is performed by Brahmin women. Presents of cloths in the good old days, but now of any kind, from rupees to a suit of anglicised dress or a bicycle are made afterwards and then the elders assembled bless the bride and the bridegroom by throwing three handfuls of raw rice in front of each. This is termed *Sesha Oman* (சேஷா ஓமன்). Then follow *Sabha palace*, the bride and the bridegroom go seven steps hand in hand (not English fashion, but the bridegroom holding the last finger of the bride by his own last finger) round the fire. When this is done, an interesting function is per-

formed in most castes by the little girls of both households and of the guests, that have not attained the age of discretion; the galaxy of young beauties decked in their best suits and ornaments are arrayed and arranged in a row in front of the bridal party; and they go round the green pandal or the temporarily erected marriage pandal with four posts. This going-round is termed (அரசாணிகால் சுத்தித்தல்), i.e., going round a post termed *arasainkal* which is planted with due ceremonies in the earlier stage of the marriage. The piloting of the youngsters is generally entrusted to the eldest of them all who heads them with a plate full of colored water and a lamp in it; three rounds are gone through and at each post she stops and *coins* are thrown into the plate now by the one party and now by the other party. The girls are very clever in extracting a good round sum, by stopping as often as they please and not budging an inch till the money expected by them is obtained; the parties, if they are rich, vie with each other in pleasing the girls by liberal contribution towards this. The money thus collected is, of course, divided equally among the girls, the head girl getting double share. This custom, ancient or modern or however conceived at its inception, seems pregnant with much meaning, as seen in everyday experience. The best of matches are made from this exhibition of girls; it is not strange to hear in one corner of the assembly a gentleman or lady exclaiming ah! that girl will suit my boy admirably, whose daughter is she? The girl is kept in view and negotiations are made and completed after she is of age. This completes the wedding day's ceremony and the festivities are continued for three or five days. The gist of the ceremony devoid of the religious forms and festive portion of it amounts to this, viz.; that the man and woman bind themselves before God and man and above all, before Agni (fire) that they will be loving and faithful towards each other. In this connection it may not be out of place to state that the Indian woman, though she seems to occupy a much lower position in the social scale to foreign eyes, is virtually the presiding genius of the household and reigns supreme on such important occasions as marriage, &c. The very disposal of her daughters, nay, the finding of suitable wives to her sons is entirely at her disposal; the consummate skill with which she gets round her husband, who, the autocrat of the house as he is, despotically lords it over in these matters and other household functions, and the remarkable tact with which

she gets off such prodigious ceremonies as marriages, &c., without a hitch, betokens a fund of common sense and potentiality which mark the province of the social world all her own, in whatever nationality she may be, and, however, restrained her liberties may be.

12. Now turning to our subject, the *prohit* performs all the ceremonies; certain castes like the Kammalars (*smithis*) have dispensed with the services of Brahmin *prohits* and some of their own castemen act as *prohits*, having learnt the mantrams and the modes of performance. The Konga Vellalars of Coimbatore and the adjacent country of the ancient Seranad (சேரநாடு) likewise perform their marriages without the help of Brahmin *prohits* by their own castemen termed *Arumakaran* (male) and *Arumakari* (female). This seems to be a relic of the old custom that must have prevailed before Aryan influences. It is indeed strange that this community should have stood impervious to such influences, in the face of the universal submission to, and adoption of Aryan forms. Among Vaishnava Brahmins and the Curum caste, there is a practice peculiar to themselves. Before the *toli* is tied in the latter class, the yoke (உதட்டை) of the cultivator's plough is brought washed and adorned with mango leaves, &c., and the *toli* with the string is passed round the yoke three times. Among the former, the *toli* tied to the yoke similarly adorned is placed on the bride's head and the *toli* is afterwards tied round her neck. This is called a remnant of *Yukavivakam*. *Yukam* = yoke and *Vivakam* = marriage, and it is traced to the following myth. In the old days, a Kandarva woman by name Appala (அபபா) made a long *thapas* (penance) to win the hand of Indra, the king of Devas. In response, Indra appeared on his chariot and Appala expressed her wish, viz., her love towards him. Indra assented to her wishes, but stated that the ceremony of marriage should be gone through. The woman persisted in its being done at once. Thereupon the Rishis assembled, and as there was nothing on hand to perform the ceremony of marriage, took the yoke from Indra's chariot, placed it on Appala's head, uttered the usual mantrams and united the pair in wedlock. Thenceforth, the marriage has been termed *Yukavivakam*. It is strange that this custom should be confined to the above two classes.

13. Almost all the castes follow the above marriage ceremonies, except the Koravars and other forest tribes that are still

in the primitive stage. The chucklers during the time of marriage resort to a cluster of Avarahi (cassia-auriculata) plants and there tie Kanganiam, return home and perform the *tali* tying without any ceremony.

14. Cohabitation as a rule takes place only after puberty. Even when infant-marriages are practised, a separate ceremony is performed called *sobaniam* after the girl-wife attains the age of discretion, when cohabitation takes place. This ceremony is observed by almost all the castes either after the kanganiam is untied or three months after the marriage. The very idea of cohabitation before majority is repudiated with repugnance by all the castes. Thus the 'age of consent' Act was neither a desideratum, nor an infliction in this part of India.

15. There is another ceremony called *புட்குடித்திறுது* which may well be disposed of under this head. When the girl attains her puberty, she is separated from the other inmates of the house and kept in a room for ten days; on the tenth day the girl is seated, decked in clothes and ornaments, and rice-pudding (*புட்கு*) is offered and given to the dhoby of the house. This ceremony in which all are invited as usual is probably a proclamation, in a way, that a girl is available in the market for marriage, among castes where adult marriages prevail. This simple ceremony has now grown to such dimensions that they beat outright even the marriage ceremony in pomp and splendour.

16. *Death*.—The dead are either buried or burnt. The milk ceremony or the spilling of milk over the buried or the burnt remains of the dead is done on the 2nd, 3rd or 5th day. On the 10th, 12th or the 16th day is performed the *சுண்ணிதிறுது* or the purification ceremony. As usual, the Brahmin prohibit ministers. The ceremonies performed refer to the Pithur Devas so that the soul of the dead may rest in peace and many offerings are made to these gods besides gifts to the Brahmins and the poor in expiation of the sins of the dead. The funeral ceremonies are performed by the son to parents and in the absence of issues, the youngest brother performs the ceremonies to the elder brothers and their wives; in their absence by the first cousin or any other near relation according to circumstances. The night previous to the last ceremony, if a married woman loses her husband, the *tali* tied round her neck with so much acclamation during the marriage ceremony is taken off amidst great wailing and beating of breasts, widows only assembling round the newly made widow.

If she happens to be a young widow, she is smeared with saffron and decked with all ornaments for the intervening days till the night's ceremony of taking off the *tali* is performed, as that will be the last occasion on which she will be entitled to the saffron—an emblem, of *sumangali* (married woman) and most of the jewels which widows are forbidden from wearing. The last ceremony is termed — *தாலிவாங்குதிறுது* or *தாலியறுத்திறுது* i.e. taking or tearing off the *tali*; this ceremony is performed at home by some castes and by others at the river side or the public place where the 16th day's ceremony is performed. Among some castes, the *tali* is kept on, till the thread gives way of its own accord. The male that performs the funeral ceremonies takes off his whiskers on the day of death, as a mark of sorrow, and those that have Suthagam keep off flesh till the 16th day's ceremony is performed; on that day, the brothers and dayadees take off their whiskers also. After the last day's ceremony, the inmates of the house, as well as the near relations bathe in oil and resort to their usual modes of living by taking flesh, &c., and the deceased member is said to be numbered with the dead. Though the anniversary of the birthday is not generally observed among the Hindus, the anniversary of the day of death is observed most rigidly every year by the children of the dead, and it is termed the annual ceremony.

17. *Marriageable age*.—Among Brahmins girls should be married before they arrive at the age of puberty: this is mandatory and no option is left them in the matter. This Brahmin custom is now imitated by the *Komathies*, Beri Chattees, Vania Chettees, Sathanies and some other castes. With the numerous other castes, marriage after puberty is the rule and infant marriages, the exception. There is no limit of age for the males and it generally begins at their teens.

18. *Re-marriage of widows*.—Among Brahmins and also among a large number of non-Brahmins, widow re-marriages do not take place. Though it is stated that the Shastras permit the re-marriage of widows among non-Brahmins that do not come within the pale of the twice-born races, it is not in practice observed by them. Only a few castes, viz., Pallis, Kannadier, Kai Kolar, Sembalavin, Oddar, Korumar, Pariahs, &c., practise re-marriage as a rule.

19. *Divorce*.—It will be noticed that only in castes where re-marriage of women is practised that the sexes enjoy the equal

privilege of divorce. In the other castes, which form the majority, the husband alone has the right of divorcing the wife, which results generally in her excommunication from the caste. This extreme social penalty is visited only in cases where the wife proves unfaithful to her husband and becomes guilty of adultery. Above all, the Hindu prizes a woman's chastity as of inestimable value and as her crowning ornament, so much so, that their works are replete with the undying devotion and the unprecedented self-denial of Indian women that have left their land-marks in the annals of India. Though there is 'alloy' in every success and a 'black sheep' in every fold, and every nation carries in its bosom paragons of female virtue and glories in such a possession, yet a girl widowed long before her teens, going through life's dreary voyage, shut to all comforts of life, with a fame unsullied and a character unimpeachable and a devotion to her dead lord unexampled, is a phenomenon only to be seen within the confines of the land of Ind. A Hindu will, indeed, be wanting in his duty, if he will not ungrudgingly pay his deserving meed of praise and tribute of glory to the womankind of India.

20. *Social Constitution*.—There was indeed a real constitution for social purposes in the good old days among castes as indicated by the appellation of the headman, Nattamkar, among the Tamils, and Desayee among the Telugus, but the disintegrating and levelling influences of civilization have so far broken the constitution and the facilities afforded by the railway and other advanced means of communication have so far scattered the families that composed a clan, that only the very vestiges of these constitutions are seen in some of the lower castes. Castes-panchayets composed of members, chosen for the time being, have taken the place of their constitutions in some castes and in others, the relatives dispose of the matter, as they please. It is only among Kaikalars, a Tamil weaving caste, there is anything approaching the real constitution, now-a-days. Among this caste, the whole extent of their constitution is divided into 72 Nadus for purposes of social Government over which Congee Nadu or one situated at Conjeevaram, the capital of the ancient Shola kingdom, reigns supreme. Each Nadu has a Nattan as its head and has one or more Pernr (பெரு), important villages, under it wherein is placed a Manthri (மந்திரி), minister who is subordinate to the Nattan; each village has a *gramany* who is subordinate to both. All caste transactions, such as marriage, divorce, &c.,

should be communicated to the *gramany* who in his turn informs the *Pernr* or minister who carries the same to the Nattan. The Nattan disposes of all disputes, divorce suits, &c., subject to an appeal to the Congee Nattan. Congee Nadu has the power of appointing and dismissing other Nattans under it; these appointments are generally hereditary but in cases of incompetency of an incumbent or paucity of competent men in the same family, they devolve on other competent castemen. The Nattans have the power of inflicting fines on parties which are appropriated to the social funds and this sum goes to defray the expenses of mahamad or caste congregation or other religious purposes. The reasons are not far to seek why this caste should have continued this old institution in tact; to work the mediæval loom at which the Kaikalars are employed several hands are necessary and the loom will cease to work if the clans are disbanded and the families scattered. This dependence of one on the other has kept them perforce together.

21. Divorce and other social punishments such as excommunication, &c., are effected by the caste-panchayets or the relatives themselves, where secrecy is desired. In castes where the husband and wife enjoy equal privileges of divorce, if the husband has no objection to keep the wife condoned, even after proof of adultery with the same casteman, a sum of money is recovered from the adulterer for his having debauched another man's wife and is paid as a compensation to the injured husband or appropriated to general expenses; the husband and the wife live together as hitherto. If the husband, however, declines to keep the wife, his marriage expenses are recovered from the adulterer and paid to the affected husband and the woman is afterwards legally married to the adulterer. This is done in cases, where the woman commits adultery with the same casteman, but in other cases, she is excommunicated as a matter of course. In case, the woman desires to divorce the husband, if the husband also agrees to such a divorce, her *tali* and the *parium* or jewels given by the husband to the wife are recovered from her and returned to the husband; the man and the woman are then left free to marry whomsoever they please.

22. *Titles*.—The titles vary in different parts according to the places of their domicile and the occupations pursued by the castes. It will be strange to find that in some places of the

northern parts, the Brahmins style themselves Koundèn, *கவுண்டன்* Reddi and Naidu.

23. *Food, drink, dress and ornaments.*—There is nothing peculiar to the several castes under the above head, as castes advance in circumstances and enlightenment, they adopt the fashion of the day without any restriction. The castes are either vegetarians or flesh-eaters. Drink is practised in almost all the castes to a smaller or larger extent, though the nation has an aversion for drink generally and imposed a social penalty on drunkards in the old day.

24. After this introduction, the several castes are treated *seriatim* *Brahmins*. The traditional etymological signification of the term is the descendants of Brahma, the creator; the probable signification is those that attained *Brahmagyandm* or the highest spiritual stage. The main sub-divisions are Smarthas, Madhavas and Vishnavas. *Smarthas*, i.e., those that follow *Smriti* or the *Vedas*; their traditional occupation is Vethathyanam or the chanting of the *Vedas*; present occupation they resort to all occupation except those of the artisans or of the lowest calling. As *Brahmins* they are of the highest caste. They follow Sankaramattam or the Adwaita philosophy of Sankara Charriar, who is their guru. The sacred thread is worn from the 8th year and upwards, when a ceremony called Upanayanam is performed. The purification ceremony after birth and the jathakarmam and Nama-karnam are performed on the 11th day—Marriage five days compulsory, tie *Pottu Tali*, in a string of black beads and perform Sabthapathy on the 5th day. They burn the dead and bury their gurus, perform the milk ceremony on the 2nd or 3rd day and purification on the 10th day; on the 12th they bathe at home. The former is called River ceremony and the latter house ceremony. Marriage of girls at any age before puberty and divorce only by the husband. The various Sangra Charriar mattams have gumastahs for each centre; the gumastha assembles the family relatives and disposes of divorce suits according to the opinion of the majority, subject to an appeal to the Sangra Charriar of the mattam. Re-marriage of widows is neither permitted, nor practised, though under the present reform movement, there have been a few instance of re-marriage of virgin widows. Their title is Aiyar-Row-Sastry, Buttar, Sirmā, Achariar, Thi Keshithar, Shrowthi, Athviri, &c. Food strictly vege-

tarian and drink prohibited. The main sub-divisions are (1) Vadama, (2) Brahmacharnam and (3) Cundramainekam; among Vadama, there are Vadathera Vadamal (North Telugu), Thakshana Vadamal, (South Tamil), Erugi (உருகி) Vadamal. In the former, the Telugus follow Madhva customs and the Tamils, Vishnava customs. Brahmacharnam has similarly three or four minor sub-divisions, viz., (1) Sakamangalam, (2) Tiruvannamalai, (3) Milagu (மிலகு); and (4) Mazhanadu Brahacharnams. Inter-dining allowed among the sub-divisions but no intermarriage.

Madhvas are those that follow the 'Dwaita' philosophy of Madhwa Charriar; as a class of Brahmins, they perform all the ceremonies as described above. They belong to separate mattams termed (1) Oothrathi mattam, (2) Viyasaroja mattam, (3) Raghavandra Charr mattam, and (4) Sripatharoja mattam. *Title*—Row, Achariar, Aiyar and Aiyah. Sub-divisions; (1) Desastas, (2) Kambalavar, (3) Aravativakkulu (60 houses), (4) Patakanad, (5) Murikivatte, (6) Oolchakambi, (7) Arievelee, (8) Niyogi, (9) Viyabari, (10) Hydrabadee, (11) Dravidi. Inter-dining permitted among the sub-divisions, but no intermarriage.

Vishnavas are those that follow Vishnu or the Visishta Adwaita Philosophy of Ramamuja Charriar. Vadagalais or U marked follow Desikar and Thengalais or V marked follow Manavula Munni, as priests. Among this class of Brahmins, besides the yoke ceremony described in the *Introduction* during marriage, one *tali* is tied by the bride's house and another by the bridegroom's house. *Title*—Aiyangar and Achariar. Sub-divisions. Andra Vishnavas (Telugu) and Tamil. The Vadagalai widows shave their heads, while Tengalai widows do not. The other customs are like those of the rest of Brahmins.

25. *Non-Brahmins*.—The so-called *Vysias*—*Beri Chetty*—Traditional and present occupation—merchandise; they style themselves Vysias, but caste-people do not eat in their houses generally; they are either Sivites or Vishnavites, wear thread from the 7th year, failing which from the time of marriage; marriage from 3 to 7 days; some of them tie double Thoppa tali (tali with a big belly). *Tali* is removed in the river. Marriage of girls before puberty from 8 to 12 years. Divorce suits, &c.; disposal of by relations and street Periathanakaran. Some are vegetarians and others flesh-eaters; drink practised; *Title*—Chetty; no sub-divisions except for purposes of marriage.

26. *Komats*.—Traditional occupation commerce. No castes

take meals in their house. They wear thread from the time of marriage; are either Sivites or Vishnavites; have Brahmin priests, bury or burn the dead, marry girls before puberty, marriage 5 to 7 days, and tie Pottu Tali. No marriage of widows, and divorce only by the husband. There is a small constitution consisting of a Periathanakaran for disposing of and settling caste disputes. For every five or six villages, there is a goddess termed Karni-ga Parameswari; the Periathanakaran of the village wherein the goddess is located assumes superiority over other Periathanakarakans, irrespective of other considerations. This headman disposes of divorce suits, &c., assembling the relations, according to the opinion of the majority. They call themselves *Chetty* and have no sub-divisions. One good feature among them is that they suffer under no restrictions for purposes of marriage in the caste. The other ceremonies are usual.

27. *Vania Chetty*.—This is the oil-monger caste; term themselves *Vysias*; no caste people eat in their house. It may be noted here that until recently this caste was considered one of the ordinary classes and was taking meals in the house of higher castes. Mullanram Gnanasiva Chary prevailed on this class of people to accept him as their guru and initiated them to put on the thread. There is an interesting legend connected with this caste. It is said that they have fallen low owing to the despotism of one of the Pandyan kings. A Pandya in a frolicsome spirit conceived the idea of exercising his Kshatria right of marrying a woman in each caste. The other castes yielded to the inviolable commands of the ruling magnate and when the turn came for the Vaniars, the king, in an evil hour, lighted on a Vania girl known for her remarkable intelligence who succeeded in outwitting the prince by defeating his aims and desires and eventually leaving the country unperceived. The king's retainers pursued her, but at a river cross, the limit of the Pandian country, she persuaded her millionaire father to scatter the bullock loads of navaratnam (nine-diamonds) carried along with them as a bait to slacken the course of the pursuers. The plan succeeded so well that she crossed the river unmolested and then invoked the goddess of water, Gangabavani; who in her feminine sympathy came to the rescue of the distressed maiden and filled the river with freshes, thus frustrating the king's attempts to capture the runaway beauty. At this, the wrath of the discomfited monarch knew no bounds and the fiat went forth from

the incensed Pandya's lips to exterminate by massacre the whole class of the Vania caste that proved disloyal to him. This necessitated their migration and their consequent insignificance. Gnanasivachary is said to have raised them from the mire to their present status. The above myth is, more or less a folklore. Their occupation, merchandise, mostly oil-mongering; Sivas and Vishnavas, wear thread, have Brahmin priests, marriage of girls before or after puberty, divorce only by the husband, caste headman and relations dispose of divorce suits, &c. No re-marriage among widows;—call themselves *Chetty*;—flesh eaters; drink practised. No sub-divisions except for marriage purposes.

28. *Vellalas* from வேலாயுதம் (Velaumai).—Agriculture, i.e., tillers of ground. This class forms by far the largest in the Southern Presidency; cultivation is their calling, rank high among non-Brahmins, follow *Siva* and *Vishnu*, wear no thread except during marriage and death ceremonies; have Brahmin priests, except the Saivas of the South; birth, marriage and death ceremonies the same as above, the Toppai thali (தோப்பைதாலை), take off tali in the house, perform சதுரதிநாள் on the 10th, 12th or 16th day; marriage before or after puberty of girls, no re-marriage of widows, divorce only by the husband for adultery, no mahavadu as a rule; the relatives dispose of caste disputes and divorce suits. The titles of Vellalas who are generally termed *Mudaliars* and *Pillais* vary in different places as shown by the following stanza, viz.:—கரைய - ரெட்டி, கலசபாக்கம் - செட்டி, வந்தவாதி - வண்டியாள் - படவெரி - வண்டன் - வரைய - பிள்ளை, i.e., at Karai (Village) they are termed Reddi, Kalasapakkam (Village) செட்டி, Wandiwash, Oodayan, Padavedu, Koundan, Varaiyar, Pillai. These divisions intermarry, though they apparently bear different titles. They are also known as செவ்வகாரன், Servakaran. It is probable that the clans assumed the titles of those castes whose occupations they had pursued, some are strictly vegetarians, others flesh eaters; drink practised. This caste is divided into numerous sub-divisions among the Mudaliars, the main being Karunguliar (கருங்குழியார்), Poonamalliar (பூநாமல்லார்) and Ponnariar (பொன்னாரி); the two former do not intermarry with the latter. As in all other customs there is an interesting tradition connected with the cause of this sub-division; it appears that the members of both the sexes of these clans plunged into the river for bath on a common occasion; some of the women bathed with their cloths on while the others divested them of their

clothing. As the latter, Ponnariar, did so devoid of all shame, they are termed of the lower class and intermarriages were forbidden thenceforth with them. All these are termed Tonda Mandala Vuyar Tholuya Vellalar (தெண்டை மண்டலம் உயர் தொலுவேளாளர்) and a lower order termed Agamudiar (அகமுடியார்). There is another sub-division termed சேத்துப்பட்டார் (Setpettar) and this is a class in which widow-re-marriage was practised and hence termed low in these days; they are called கட்டுப்பேண்டுகாரை *i.e.*, those that married a widowed woman. The sub-divisions in the South are (1) தொலுவேளாளர் (Taluva), பாண்டியவெள்ளாளர் (Pandya), சேரகுலவெள்ளாளர் (Sera), சேழிய வெள்ளாளர் (Salia), செத்தலைவெள்ளாளர் (Tenthalai), பட்டத்தலைவெள்ளாளர் (Padathalai), கர்க்காத்வெள்ளாளர் (Karkat), தெந்திசைவெள்ளாளர் (Thenthesa), &c, &c. There is also a class called கும்புதுசட்டி வெள்ளாழர் (Kumbudusatti), in the North, meaning thereby those that carried the pot with burning twigs in it now carried by the son or whoever puts the kolli (கொல்லி) (*i.e.*, setting fire to the funeral pile) of a deceased person. The main sub-divisions have references to places in the North and South Arcot Districts which were, probably, the centre of their colonisation; it is also probable that those that served under or ministered to the wants of the richer classes among the same caste assumed a name and became a sub-division by itself. The Southerners are mostly pillays; of them hereafter.

There is another caste which had better be disposed of under this head. They are termed Vellalan Chetty (வெள்ளாழஞ்செட்டி) and comprise the enterprising and prosperous class of Nathukottai Chettys. This is the trading sub-division of Vellalas and so known by the common denomination of Chetty. They follow the Vellala customs, but have the tali in the case of widowed women till the thread gives way. They are also known by the name of பவழக்காரசெட்டிகள், coral dealers.

29. *Kavarai*.—This caste may be called the Telugu counterpart of the Tamil Vellalas; otherwise called *Balgavallu*, *i.e.*, those that manufacture and sell glass-bangles. Present occupation cultivation, &c., rank high in the caste, all Vishnavites, rarely Sivites, wear no thread, Brahmin priests, birth marriage, death ceremonies usual, the Pottu (பொட்டு) tali, marriage few days, burn the dead; take off tali in the river, marriage before or after majority, divorce only by the husband, no re-marriage of widows. *Title*—Naidu or Chetty, flesh eaters, drink practised. Sub-divisions

(1) கவரை, (2) வளைமக்காரகவரை (those that make bangles), (3) தேசா ல்செட்டி (desai), (4) பவழக்காரகவரை (coral), (5) உப்புசவரை (salt), &c. The Desais tie Tamil tali. These interline but do not intermarry. No. (1) Kavarai is sub-divided into (1) குண்டு கும்மல் வள்ளு (Kundu kummal Vallu) = wearing a round earring, and (2) முசக கும்மல் வள்ளு (Musakamul Vallu) = wearing a flat-earring. The above sub-divisions are equally ranked, but there are others that come under the common denomination of Kavarai, though of a decidedly lower rank, and they are ஜைப்ப கவரை (Jaiappa-Kavarai) = those that weave gunny bags from the fibres of the hemp-plant, which fibre is called ஜைப்ப வரைய (Jaiappavarai); and சாராயக் கவரை (Saraya Kavarai) those that manufacture the country-liquor. The former have Lingayat gurus and among them, the tali and toe-ornament, a silver ring, are removed on the tenth day in the river; re-marriage of women is allowed among them and hence divorce by both the husband and the wife.

30. *Kammavar* is also a Telugu caste, occupation, cultivation mainly, caste class, Vishnavas and Sivas, wear no thread except during death ceremony, have Brahmin priests, birth, death, marriage ceremonies usual, tie Pottu tali, remove tali in the river on the 11th day, marriage before or after puberty, no re-marriage of widows, divorce only by the husband for adultery of wife, no constitution, flesh-eaters and drink practised; *Title*—Naidu or Naicken. Sub-divisions (1) கம்பா கம்மவர் (Kampa Kammavar) *i.e.*, kampa bask, (2) முசக கும்மல் Musaku = veil, *i.e.*, those that put on the veil, (3) Pagada mukkeravallu—those that wear coral nose ornament, (4) Kodacadaravallu—those that hide behind the wall, &c. These interline, but do not intermarry.

31. *Reddi*.—Also a Telugu caste. Cultivation is their main occupation, Sivites and Vishnavites, wear no thread, have Brahmin priests, other ceremonies like the Telugas, marriage five days tie pottu tali, burn or bury the dead, take off tali in the river, marriage before or after puberty, divorce only by the husband, no constitution, no re-marriage of widows, *Title*—Reddi; flesh-eaters, drink practised. Sub-divisions (1) Pakanad, (2) Pokanad, (3) Elmad, (4), Erramareddi, &c.

32. *Edayan* or the shepherd caste, Tamil and Telugu. Occupation—tend and graze cattle, all Vishnavites, wear no thread, have Brahmin priests, other ceremonies usual according as they are

Tamil or Telugu, Tamils tie achutali (அச்சுதலி), Telugus pottu tali; the former keep tali till the thread gives way and the latter takes off in the river on the 12th day. Marriage before or after puberty, divorce only by the husband, no constitution, remarriage allowed of widows, Title—Manthadi, Konan, Servaikaran, and those raised in rank and status Pillai, flesh eaters, and drink practised. Sub-division (1) Tamil Edayar, (2) Punugu, (3) Edayar, (4) Telugu Edayar, (5) The native Gollavalu, (6) Erra Gollavalu, &c.

(To be continued).

Note.—I must state that the information contained here has been obtained mostly from the caste heads; they are neither exhaustive, nor any attempt has been made to put them as high, or low in any order. It is therefore particularly requested that no offence will be taken by any caste or community at the order or any misstatement unwittingly made.

A. RAJAH BAHADUR MOODALIAR.

REVIEW OF BOOKS.

Valda Mansm—By D. H. Pryce—Messrs. MacMillan & Co., Ltd., London.—This romance of a Turkish Harem, as the author calls it, is admittedly founded upon a careful study and intimate personal knowledge of the Osmanlis (Turks) and their ways; the author, though he says in his preface that he does not attempt to lay bare the history and betray the secrets of any actual Turkish household, as it would be a base return for the kindness, confidence and hospitality experienced by him in generous measure from his Turkish friends, has undoubtedly succeeded in exquisitely describing the little peculiarities of the Turkish character—the generally harmless intrigues, plots, plans and piccadilloes of a Turkish household—which are at first a puzzle and quite incomprehensible to an English mind. The chief character in the novel is *Valda Hanem*—the heroine of the story—the most superbly beautiful, but passionate wife of the Pasha—who falls madly in love with a gallant British military officer. The story begins with the appointment of an English mistress—the sweet young Margaret—to the only son of the Pasha. How Margaret at first found it difficult to understand the peculiarities of the Turkish character and the secret intrigues of a Turkish household, but gradually succeeded in this and ultimately became the trusted friend of her Mistress, how the fair Valda Hanem, who had some inherent and unaccountable liking for the tall English youths—their appearance and good manners—first happened to meet the English officer, how she fell madly in love with him, how Margaret was prevailed upon to aid and help her Mistress in the pursuits of her amorous inclinations, how she ultimately connived at the secret meetings of the lovers, how the voluptuous Hamida Hanem, the pleasure-loving friend of Valda Hanem, helped her friend by arranging secret meetings for the lovers, how the British officer tried for an elopement with the lady, how in the end she was able to withstand his entreaties to fly with him to England, —these, one and all of them—have been very successfully and beautifully depicted.

The character of Hamida Hanem, the wife of another rich Turkish gentleman—a coarse-minded, pleasure-loving, voluptuous and vulgar woman, the enforced seclusion of life, the idleness of her hands, the activity of her brains and her voluptuous habits had

urged her into many a secret adventure when she was young, and who, when her charms were waning and her opportunities for amusement and pleasure becoming fewer, was quite delighted to have an affair of some one else's to conduct and who by arranging secret meetings for the lover and carrying billet, etc., aids and abets her friend in her treacherous love affair with the British captain—is very exquisitely portrayed.

The story though not true and the description in it though not intended to apply to any particular Harem, is told with perfect ease and naturalness, besides being narrated in a very neat, elegant and easy flowing style; and we have no doubt that all who read this book will find it of absorbing interest from beginning to end.

Young April—By Egerton Castle—Messrs. MacMillan & Co., Ltd., London.—There is a tide in the affairs of men which when properly and timely directed would lead to the effacement of their baser qualities and the evolution of their better nature. It was so in the case of the young Duke of Rochester who is the hero of this novel. When he was in his boyhood, he was sent over to the continent under the charge of an ambitious and scheming clergyman who hoped that, by moulding the plastic mind of the young Duke in the most impressionable period of his life in this manner, he could acquire an amount of ascendancy over him which might be turned to good account in the promotion of his material welfare. But the Duke, amidst the weaknesses that fall to the lot of youths, fortunately possessed a decision of purpose added to a strong temperament that proved ultimately to be too much for the wily ecclesiastic. At a time when the restraining influence of the tutor was proving a drag upon the youthful propensities of our hero, there came the news of the death of his father. This sudden and unexpected occasion of importance put ideas of a not very healthy character into the Duke's head and while they went very near running away with him the clergyman found his authority suddenly slip through his fingers by a clever stroke on the part of the pupil. However, at this time there occurred an amusing episode in the life of our hero which involved him in a nasty escapade out of which he emerged a sudden and a wiser man. On the very day of the announcement of his elevation to the Dukedom of Rochester, there turned up at the hotel a dashing young beauty who was bound for the capital of Tuscany. Our hero was so pierced with a passion for this beautiful creature, a try if not a bid for her affections. Disguising himself as a coachman, he drove her to her destination trusting in the meanwhile to the chapter of accidents to accomplish his object. On the way the trick was discovered by the fair occupant of the coach and his identity was revealed. The prima donna (for

she was none other) had a keen sense of humour and anxious, not to spoil the dramatic interest of the situation was urging our hero to complete the self-imposed task when there appeared upon the scene another actor who was the lover of the lady in question and who had come home upon the wings of love to escort her to the city. When he saw that his ladylove was the object of attention of a markedly warm character on the part of one whose handsome exterior and noble bearing contrasting, as it strangely did, with the dress he wore, nevertheless proclaimed him to be a gentleman who could hardly keep his self-possession. The result was a duel—that most interesting of all combats—interesting because it is always undertaken, with the tremendous sacrifices involved in it, for the assertion of your manly courage and not infrequently for the unsullied preservation of a lady's honor. The most gratifying outcome of this was the springing up of an affectionate regard on the part of the Count towards our hero who is subsequently introduced to another character in the novel. His name is Spencer—the philosopher who all through the length of the novel treats the reader to the highest and noblest discourses upon his favourite study which, without tiring our patience, elevates the tone of the novel. The introduction of the prima donna into the Court of Tuscany creates quite a flutter and the serenity of its atmosphere is disturbed as well from the charming personality of the woman as from her fascinating accomplishments. Even the presence of such a stern moralist as Spencer was not able to elevate the morality of a Court into which the author allows us a good peep and an attempt on the part of our hero and the Count to institute a scrutiny into the life of the king drew down the royal displeasure and the three were banished the kingdom. Here came the parting of ways; our hero returned to England a sadder but a wiser man chastened by experiences acquired on the continent. On the whole the book is very readable with beautiful illustrations and quotations *galore* from Shakespeare, Victor Hugo and others which appear to be a new feature worked into the present day fictions.

Via Crucis—By Francis Marion Crawford—Messrs. MacMillan & Co., Ltd., London.—"The sun was setting on the fifth day of May, in the year of our Lord's grace, eleven hundred and forty-five." These the first words of this novel, point to the period during which the incidents—partly historical and partly imaginative—recorded herein occurred. This period, the middle of the twelfth century was one of confusion and unrest in England in consequence the alternate victories and reverses of Stephen of Blois whose claims to the English Throne were vigorously disputed by Empress Maud, backed by a large number of faithful barons and knights of Norman blood.

Among them was Raymond Warde, who was devotedly attached to the Empress and whose only son was Gilbert Warde, the hero of this book. Gilbert Warde was but a boy of eighteen years of age when his father died. He would have been the rightful heir to his father's lands and castle; but his mother, Lady Goda, who had not much liking towards her husband, and who had been carrying on amorous intrigues, even in her husband's lifetime, with Arnold de Curboil, a friend and neighbour of Raymond Warde, married Curboil after her husband's death and thus disinherited Gilbert of all his father's property. Being greatly offended at his mother's unfaithful conduct, Gilbert left England and went to Normandy and thence to Paris where he joined the Crusaders led by the king of France. Eleanor, Queen of France, who was the most beautiful woman of her day and who was very unhappy in the selection of her husband, was attracted by the English-man's grace, symmetry of form and nobility of heart; and she loved him, at first sight, as ever, a woman loved man. But her love was quite unrequited, because though Gilbert was struck with the almost super-human beauty of Eleanor, the thought of Beatrix, the playmate and friend of his childhood, and the daughter of his stepfather Curboil, did not allow, the looks and words and caresses of the most beautiful woman to affect him. His love of Beatrix originated in the cradle and it was his will that it should vanish only in the grave.

Eleanor, though disappointed was always courteous and kind towards Gilbert; for, many a danger he encountered on the Crusader's way to Jerusalem; many a battle he fought for the Holy Cross and many a risk he ran, in the mountainous tracts of Syria—and all these in obedience to the sovereign command of the beautiful Queen of France. In the army of the Crusaders, was the Queen's Regiment of 300 Ladies, clad in bright armour and determined to fight the way of the cross. Beatrix, who had escaped from her father's castle and come to the court of Paris, was also in the Queen's Regiment of Ladies; and thus Gilbert and Beatrix occasionally met and enjoyed the opportunity of developing and maturing that tender affection which the poet describes as:

"The silver link, the silken tie,
That hand to hand and mind to mind
In body and in Soul can bind."

After a long and tedious journey, the King, Queen, and the army of Crusaders reached Jerusalem and there Gilbert rescued Beatrix from the jaws of death and once more "Kissed her till it hurt." Thus ends the story.

The characters of Gilbert and Beatrix, the hero and heroine of this story, are beautifully drawn. Gilbert is brave, noble-hearted—

and ever mindful of his duty—not flinching from it even by thoughts of love as lovers are apt to do; and Beatrix is a modest country girl bold to her lover, always high-minded and never envious. Eleanor is also worthy of our best consideration. In her health, wealth, beauty, power and greatness which make one the "cynosure of neighbouring eyes," are all combined. She combines in herself the qualities of a born Leader of Men and of a loving woman—courage—strong will—high-mindedness—courtesy and kindness.

This book is moreover interesting as it contains a dozen illustrations painted exceedingly well. The book further gives us an insight into the social and moral side of the Continental Nations, chiefly the French, Romans, and the Greeks in the twelfth century, which was the age of chivalry, the age when God, Honor, and woman made up the simple trinity of a man's belief and reverence.

Richard Carvel—by Winston Churchill Messrs. MacMillan and Co., Ltd. London:—

This is a biography of Richard Carvel, who lived in Maryland (America) during the latter half of the eighteenth century. His parents died while he was young, and so he was brought up by his grandfather. Bold and daring to a fault, he won the admiration of all who came in contact with him in his childhood. Of his early associates, only two of his playmates require mention. The one, Miss Manners, was certainly the living illustration of Scott's description of "a woman." Now touchy, now gushing, this girl was too deep a mystery for him who loved her as no one had ever loved. Patty Swain, the other, was a shy and self-sacrificing little baggage. His daughter, being a beauty beyond compare, Mr. Manners took Dorothy to England so that she might win a coronet and he might get a lordly son-in-law. She became the rage of London and was wooed in vain by men of distinction. Richard's uncle fearing that his father would make him his heir instigated some pirates to remove him from his path and he was accordingly abducted. Agreeably to the adage "There is many a slip between the cup and the lip" Richard was released and taken to London by a captain. Want of funds drove him to Debtor's Prison from which he was rescued by Lord Comyn with whom he had fought a duel in America. Nothing could in those days better cement a man's friendship than fighting a duel. To us why cry out "Police, Police" at the slightest insult or an attempt at it and who live in an age in which duel is prohibited by legislation, this, to be sure, will appear inexplicable. Well Richard now becomes half-fellow-well-met with Fox, Walpole and others and gives himself up to drinking, gaming and other fashionable vices. From the snares set by Lord Chartersea (a rival suitor to the hand of Dorothy) with a murderous intent, he escaped

and on hearing of his grandfather's death, hurried back to America only to find his place usurped by his uncle. Then it was that Patty Swain came to his rescue. Cast adrift in the wide world without help or hope he was taken good care of by Patty's father. He was severely wounded in a seafight during the American war of independence and was again taken to London. Like a "ministering Angel" that she was, Dorothy nursed him during his illness for weeks together. She did more. She declared her love for him openly as she could no longer conceal or control her feelings. As his uncle sided with England his possessions were confiscated and Richard became not only the owner of the Carvel Hall and estates but the happy possessor of a handsome wife in Dorothy. Although she loved Richard more than any other, Patty Swain, true to her unselfish nature became Aunt Patty to his children.

Notwithstanding the numerous nautical phrases and expressions which would take Captain Marryat's breath away and the want of a plot popularly so called, the book under review is interesting as it gives a real insight into the manners and customs of the Englishmen of the eighteenth century. Even then, as now, it was usual for mammas to put their marriagable daughters for sale. The ladies swore like drunken sailors and were as well versed in oaths, at once rare and choice as in social amenities. The church was in a rotten state and its pillars—namely—rectors, priests *et hæc genus omne* were not what they ought to be. Fox-hunting and gaming were only too common and their ecclesiastical garb, like charity, covered many faults. The way in which the scions of the aristocratic family became hardened rakes in their teens is very well represented and the topography of London as she then was is worth perusal. The author paints Fox and other historical personages in vivid colours. It is certainly surprising to learn that these men held such opinions in politics as their personal advantage required and courage of conviction was quite unheard of. Charles Fox who was an incorrigible gambler and drunkard and who "twisted fiction into fact and fact into fiction" to the unspeakable admiration of those of even a different political persuasion, Lord North, the then prime-minister who had the reputation of going to sleep standing like a horse, Horace Walpole, the author of the castle of Otranto, Junius, the "Terrible Unknown"—all come in for some comments from the author. The knowledge that money "the devil's pass-key" was everywhere respected in London and poverty made a crime, must have given a rude shock to the conception of our American hero, just in the same way as the continuance of that pernicious system even now, is food for our deep regret.

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THE FEUDATORIES OF INDIA.

SPEAKING at the historical city of Agra, with its magnificent buildings and surroundings, the Pearl Mosque, the tomb at Sekundra, and the Taj Mahal, and amidst the pomp, circumstance and magnificence of an Indian Durbar, Sir John Lawrence, then Viceroy of India, told the assembled Princes and Chiefs, among whom were the Maharajah Scindia of Gwalior, the Rulers of Jodhpur and Jeypore and the famous Begum of Bopal, that the standard by which the paramount power would henceforth estimate the worth of each one of them was not his long line, his wealth or his power, but his determination to govern well; and that that Chief who made his people happiest would be the best friend of the British Government. These words, uttered nearly thirty-five years ago, indicate the spirit and enunciate the policy which guide the British Government in its relations with the Native Princes and Chiefs. Sir John Lawrence was not a dreaming sentimentalist, but a practical administrator and ruler of men. He had long been in India, had studied Indian society in all its aspects. He had administered Districts, had ruled over Provinces, and, in the course of his long official career, had come in contact with Native rulers and had seen Native systems of Government. Indeed, as a member of the ruling race and an official of long experience, he had his partiality for the system of Government which he represented; and it was not likely therefore that he would have readily acknowledged the superiority of Native over British administration. Nevertheless, he was not a

supporter of the policy of annexation which had been but too freely carried out by Lord Dalhousie, and to which many Englishmen in India appear to have been much devoted. He recognised the force of the argument for the maintenance of Native States in the outlet which they give and which, under direct British rule, was and is still denied to the talents and abilities of Native Indians of rank and respectability. And while, therefore, generally setting his face against the annexation of Native States, he was not for tolerating their existence except on the condition that their rulers governed their subjects with wisdom, justice, and benevolence. He realised that many of the Native rulers, such as he addressed at Agra, did not possess the necessary intellectual and moral qualifications, that some of them had entirely given themselves up to a life of luxury and ease and had either neglected the affairs of the state or acted cruelly towards their subjects. He therefore thought it necessary to impress them with a due sense of their duties and responsibilities. In his Durbar speech at Agra, he said: "it has often happened that after a Chief has passed away, he has not been remembered as a good and wise ruler. Great men when living often receive praise from their friends and adherents for virtues which they do not possess, and it is only after this life is ended that the real truth is told. Of all fame that such men can acquire, that alone is worth having which is accorded to a just and beneficent ruler. The names of conquerors are forgotten. But those of virtuous and wise chiefs live for ever." He therefore exhorted them to govern their people well and thus conduce to their own good name and their subjects' happiness.

In the days of Sir John Lawrence the Native Princes of India were in a state of transition; the old despotic rule had to give way to the new influences of British rule, and the new principles which that rule had introduced, had not found general acceptance among the Native Princes. Nor were they adepts in the language, the ethics or the methods of Government best appreciated by their western masters to whom their religion was superstition, their Government an anachronism, and their notions of dignity and rank an intolerance. Sir John himself did not hesitate to tell them that, instead of vying with each other for precedence and feeling aggrieved at the position which they occupied, it would be much more to the purpose if all would try which could govern his con-

try in the wisest manner, and that the British Government would honour that Chief most who excelled in the good management of his people, who did most to put down crime and improve the condition of his country. The time has, however, long gone by when the Indian Prince, proud in his ignorance, insolent in his isolation, and dreaming of greatness which he did not possess, preferred the pursuit of his own pleasures to the duties and responsibilities of administration, and allowed himself to be an instrument in the hands of selfish and scheming ministers who degenerated into a set of parasites, who encouraged their royal master in vicious indulgence, while they themselves wasted the resources of the State and filled their own pockets. The average Indian Prince of to-day is a well educated man who has travelled in different countries, has seen a wider world than his own State, and has imbibed notions of enlightened and progressive Government. He is frequently reminded that there are men greater than himself, endowed with higher capacities and blessed with more of the good things of this world than himself, and that he forms a comparatively insignificant item in the wide empire into which he is incorporated. There are at present conspicuous instances of personal accomplishments among Native rulers and of model governments in their respective States. And there is also among them a keen competition for success and distinction as wise and beneficent rulers. This result has been brought about partly by British influence, but chiefly by the sagacious way in which the Government of India and the respective Local Governments have been recognising and rewarding exceptional merit and success wherever shown.

Indeed, there is often much that is spurious in the brilliant accounts, that are published to the world, of the administration of Native States. They exhibit only those that are calculated to fascinate the eye of the reader. A prosperous and progressive finance often saves a state from all its faults, from its corruption, from its oppression and tyranny, and with a friendly Political Agent, the records of years of maladministration can be palmed off upon the British Government as evidencing a brilliant feat of statesmanship and administrative ability. The British Government is accordingly now and then misled in its attitude towards Native Princes and States, while the people who experience all the hardships of misrule have no means of making their voices effectively heard in the proper

quarters. They have no constitutional Government, no constitutional methods of representing their grievances to the Government of India, no freedom of the Press, and no adequate constitutional safeguard against arbitrary or oppressive proceedings. With the strong arm of the British Government at the back of every Native Prince, he has nothing to fear from the disaffection among his people, and popular dissatisfaction and discontent can no longer show themselves in popular revolt as of old. However much therefore many of the Native Princes may be capable and well-intentioned, the continued exercise of unrestricted authority must develop some of the worst features of despotic rule, and despotic power long enjoyed is apt to be abused by the best of men. The British Government therefore, while undertaking to afford protection to every Native State under its influence against external aggression and internal disorder, have imposed upon itself the duty of ensuring good Government to the subjects of those States. In the days of Lawrence, this duty seems to have been kept more prominently in view than the obligation to maintain the dignity and privileges of the Princes. With the progress of time, with the progressive development of Native rule, and with better appreciation by the British Government of the efforts of Native rulers in behalf of good Government and of their loyalty and devotion to the British Empire, it is only natural that their rights also should be thought of along with their duties. And Lord Curzon's speech at Gwalior in November last contains at once a happy acknowledgment of the one and an emphatic insistence of the other. Addressing the young Maharajah His Lordship said: "The British Government alone of governments has succeeded in the wise policy of building up the security and safeguarding the rights of its Feudatory Principalities and to this are due the stability of their organisation and the loyalty of their rulers. I rejoice wherever I go to scrutinise the practical outcome of this policy, to observe the States consolidated, the Chiefs powerful and their privileges unimpaired. But I also do not hesitate to say wherever I go that a return is owing for these advantages and that security cannot be repaid by license or the guarantee of rights by the unchartered exercise of wrong." Incidentally it is of interest to note that the very two States of whose good government Lord Curzon spoke with enthusiasm in November last, viz., Bhopal and Gwalior, were precisely the two

States whose governments were considered by Sir John Lawrence as having long furnished and still furnishing models for other Native States. And there is no doubt that, at least for the last half a century, these two States have acted up to the expectations of the British Government and fulfilled the conditions which Lord Curzon has laid down in the above paragraph.

Lord Curzon, we are sure, is actuated by the most generous feelings towards the people and princes of India, and His Lordship's words of sympathy and encouragement have gone far to reassure the minds of both that, under His Excellency's rule, justice and fair treatment are ensured to all. It is apparent that, under Lord Curzon, a new era is impending in the relations between the Imperial Government and its Feudatories; for His Lordship's utterances and his action have tended to create such an impression in the public mind. The eastern ideals in many respects have given place to the western, and a government which is controlled by the democracy in England can by no means allow the eastern ideal to prevail in regard to the government of a country. The eastern rulers were nursed in the feeling that God created the country and the people for their unmolested enjoyment, and they accordingly spent the revenues of the country more upon themselves than for the benefit of their subjects. But modern democracy would make short work of such pretensions; and Lord Curzon as one brought up in a democratic country and accustomed to a democratic Government is unable to give up his own political creed and accept the exploded theory of the divine right of kings. In the course of the same speech from which we have quoted, Lord Curzon described the Native Prince as his colleague and partner in the administration of India and as the master and servant alike of his people. "The Native Chief," His Lordship said, "has become by our policy an integral factor in the imperial organisation of India. He is concerned not less than the Viceroy or the Lieutenant-Governor in the administration of the country. I claim him as my colleague and partner. He cannot remain *vis-à-vis* with the Empire, a loyal subject of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress and *vis-à-vis* with his own people, a frivolous or irresponsible despot. He must justify and not abuse the authority committed to him; he must be the servant as well as the master of his people; he must learn that his revenues are not secured to him for his own selfish gratification, but for the

good of his subjects; that his internal administration is only exempt from corruption in proportion as it is honest and his *gadi*, is not intended to be a *divan* of indulgence but the stern seat of duty..... His real work—his princely duty, lies among his own people. By this standard shall I at any rate judge him; by this test will he in the long run, as a political institution, perish or survive."

It is impossible to conceive a higher or more enlightened ideal of duty for any ruler of a state to place before him, and yet it is by no means an impossible ideal to attain. Hindu kings in the past have acted up to that ideal and have left an enduring name behind. Among a people long accustomed to personal government, the personality of the ruler is an all-important factor, and his guiding example must accordingly be the inspiring force in the administration. He must guide the machinery of the state, he must give tone to the administration and he must see that each component part of it is in fully working order. His is the moral force that ought to pervade the Government in all its branches; and his is the supreme influence which ought to keep every part in its place. As Lord Curzon said "if he expects his officials to follow an example, he must himself set it; if he desires to conquer torpor or apathy, he must exhibit enthusiasm. Everywhere he must be to his people, the embodiment of sympathetic interest, of personal authority, of dispassionate zeal." A Prince who, in these days, acts up to this conception of duty has a wider field of public service, of distinction, of fame and of reward than his ancestors of a generation or two ago. The contentment, the happiness, the good-will and the affection of his subjects are the most important returns for his efforts and his services, but beyond them are a wider public whose watchful interest in, and sympathetic appreciation of, good work done in Native States find expression, in the public press, on the platform and even in the Councils of the Empire. And above these is the approving testimony of the Paramount Power which shows itself in the marked distinctions which are conferred as a reward for conspicuous good work and successful and beneficent administration. It is no small rôle for a Prince of India to play in the grand Imperial organisation, as a participator in its responsibilities and burdens no less than in its prosperity and glory.

While ensuring to Native Princes the due enjoyment of

their rights and privileges and securing to their States, protection against foreign aggression, the British Government requires from them nothing more than loyalty and adherence to the British flag and good government to their subjects. Nevertheless these Princes have difficulties to grapple with—difficulties arising from the injudicious interference of Political Agents, and from local factions and intrigues which are not always put down but countenanced and encouraged by the latter. The three chief sources of power and influence in a Native State are the ruling Prince, his Dewan and the local representative of the British Government; and there are always people trying to play upon the weakness or the failings of one or the other of these. The moral influence which the Political Agent exercises over the affairs of a Native State is indeed great; and in many cases his influence operates in the direction of good, enlightened and progressive government. The existence of the British representative is a check upon the irregularities and idiosyncrasies of the Native administration which regards the good opinion of the Paramount Power as an essential condition of its very existence. But unless he is a man of exemplary character, of rectitude of purpose and of good intentions, he often becomes a clog in the wheel, an obstruction to good work, and an upholder of injustice and wrong. An ideal Political Agent is one who keeps himself above all influences of local faction and intrigue, who abstains from interference with the authority of the Prince and his minister, but who keeps a watchful eye over the administration and regulates its course more by his personal influence and prestige than by injudicious meddlesomeness. The institution of Political Agent no longer serves the purpose for which it was originally intended. In times gone by, when British Supremacy had not yet been firmly established, there was need to guard against the unfriendly attitude and acts of Native Princes and to watch their movements and foreign relations. That need no longer exists. Self-interest, and peaceful security long enjoyed have made them staunch and loyal adherents of British Power and Supremacy; and they know that their very existence as a political institution depends upon the maintenance of that Power and Supremacy. If therefore the Political Agent is not able to influence the affairs of a State for its benefit and advantage, it is far better that this costly show of British power at the Native Court is forthwith put an end to.

was disallowed from England; and we think that in this matter the Home Government acted most wisely. For although as a matter of course it is the minister that rules the country, in the generality of cases he does so under the authority of his master and not independently of him or in spite of him. And while he is at liberty to do his best for the well-being of the people, he has no inducement to act in opposition to the Prince, to disregard his commands or to despise his authority. To make him independant of the Sovereign in any respect would be to make him a tool in the hands of the Political Agent. Such an arrangement is hardly conducive to the dignity or the self-respect of Native Princes; it would merely reduce them to the position of District Municipalities in the Madras Presidency where the Government virtually appoints the Secretaries and compels the Chairman to permanently assign the real powers to them. No better proposal could have been made if it was the intention of the Government of India to make the administration of Native States a department of the Government. The Dewan would lord it over the Prince, the Political Agent would lord it over the Dewan, and the Foreign Department of the Government would lord it over all. And the Prince in his own State, amidst the gorgeousness and circumstance of his palace and surroundings, would be a perfectly impotent personality worse than his own subjects. It was well that the Home Government refused to perpetuate Native States under such an arrangement.

In practice, however, even now the Political Agent actually interferes with the discretion of Native rulers in the appointment of their ministers and sometimes even of subordinate officials, as he interferes in several other matters without the authority of his Government. Although they feel the inconvenience of such interference and are often irritated by it, the peculiar delicacy of their position renders it inexpedient, if not dangerous, for them to protest. Such a state of thing is hardly conducive to that amicable and cordial relation which ought to subsist between the British Government and the Native Princes, and hardly conducive to the due maintenance of their dignity and position among their subjects. It is a positive humiliation to them to have it to be known to their subjects that their position in their own States is dependent upon the will of the minister or his subordinates, and a ruler so humiliated and distressed is hardly

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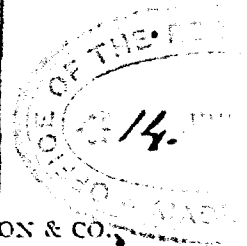
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the person to throw his whole heart into the business of the administration and to devote his time and energy to the good of his subjects. Lord Curzon's declared desire to respect their rights and privileges as Rulers of their respective States and as his colleagues and partners in the Imperial Organisation must reassure them of the earnest desire of the Government of India to maintain their dignity unimpaired, and their rights uncurtailed, and to support them in their endeavours to promote the happiness and prosperity of their subjects. It now remains for His Excellency to investigate the whole question of the relationship that is now existing between Political Agents and Native Princes, to prescribe the limits of their admonition and interference, and to depute none but men of exemplary tact and discretion to Native Courts. It is indeed a difficult matter to regulate these things by despatches and regulations, but seeing that many of the troubles and scandals in Native States have risen from the incompetence and perverseness of Political Agents, we cannot but regard the subject as one deserving the most careful and delicate handling. And none is better fitted for the task than His Excellency Lord Curzon.

It is important that Native Princes should have a guarantee that they shall not be condemned unheard on the one-sided representations of the Political Agent. At present in any case of conflict of opinion between them, there is no independent inquiry or investigation by a person in whom both the parties have confidence. The Government is naturally inclined to support its Agent, and the Prince is often unable to effectively explain himself and avoid the danger of misrepresentation. The Political Agent may be a well intentioned and honest man, but he may be weak enough to allow himself to be influenced by all sorts of stories which may be conveyed to him by people inimically inclined to the Prince or interested in serving their personal or factional interests. The complaint, one often hears from Native States, is that no hearing is given to the Prince in cases where charges of incompetence and maladministration are made against him, and instances have not been rare of Princes being virtually deposed and deprived of all powers on the sole representation of Political Agents. The decision of the Government in such cases does not receive that amount of public approval and support which is accorded to a judgment arrived at after a due investigation of all the facts and mature and dis-

passionate consideration of the *pros* and *cons*. If it is important to secure the confidence of the public in the ordinary matters of administration, where common subjects of the Queen dispute about private or personal rights, much more important it should be to secure the same confidence in dealing with the authority and rights of ruling Princes. An unjust decision arrived at in their case is very apt to engender suspicion and unrest in the minds of all Feudatories as regards the good faith of the Paramount Power, and sound policy requires that nothing should be done which is calculated to diminish their faith and confidence in its benevolence and justice. In all matters where it is deemed necessary to indicate the displeasure of the Government towards a Prince or to interfere with his rights and privileges in the interests of good government, the most politic course will be to precede the verdict by a satisfactory inquiry. In view to the great moral advantages which such a procedure is sure to bring about, Lord Curzon cannot do better than lay down in clear terms the right policy to be pursued in the future in matters of conflict between the ruling Prince and the Political Agent, a course which, while it will secure confidence in the good intentions and sense of justice of the British Government, will also induce British representatives in Native Courts to be more cautious and circumspect in their relations with the Princes.

It is needless to insist on the importance of Native States to the British Empire of which they form the most valuable auxiliaries of influence and power. They constitute one-third of the area, and contain one-fifth of the population, of India and possess infinite possibilities of development and progress, unfettered by the restrictions which imperial considerations impose upon the British administration in India. Experiments in administrative reform, in legislation, and in measures intended for the moral and political progress of the people may there be tried without harm; and with wise and beneficent administrators there is no limit to the achievements of good government and successful statesmanship. There is besides no better field for the development of Native genius and capacity for rule; in fact, they furnish the sole opening for the highest Native ambition and for the highest achievements of Native intellect. The Government no less than the people of India have therefore the deepest interest in the maintenance and security of Native States; and great will be the hope among all classes of people that Lord Curzon may

signalise his rule no less by internal reform and progress within British India than by the consolidation of Native States as powerful and enduring units of the British Empire.

THE HINDU GAINS OF LEARNING BILL.

THE passing of the Hindu Gains of Learning Bill marks quite an epoch in the social evolution of the Hindu community governed by the Mitakshara Law. The event must immortalise the name of the originator of the measure. But whether that immortality is of an enviable kind or the reverse, the future alone can determine. The change introduced is one of a drastic character affecting the mass of the Hindu population socially, morally and religiously. It is nothing short of unhinging the joint family system which is bound up with the most sacred traditions and which rest on altruistic principles of the highest level ever reached by human forethought and wisdom. The grace of the Hindu home-life will be gone, and the people concerned contemplating their present condition, cannot but look upon the innovation as a national calamity, a death-knell to the tenderest domestic ties and affections, family cohesion and social economy. The great Hindu law-givers of old have calculated on preserving an effectual barrier against the encroachment of individualism and self-seeking so natural to man. This barrier has withstood the shock of ages and has been left intact in spite of successive political changes. Even Mahomedan iconoclasm would not touch the Hindu social structure. The British rule has been all along sympathetic, characterised by an unswerving policy of non-intervention in matters of Hindu law and usage. Now for the first time in Indian history, a departure comes to be made—a departure of so portentous a nature. The fault is not to be laid, of course, at the door of the British policy, which happily continues as steady as ever. We have to blame mainly the native element in the Legislature, but for which so violent a hand would never have been laid on the Hindu social system. It is an irony of ironies that what should be held as the bulwark of the system and the jealous guardian of its integral interests should turn out such a source of danger. It is notorious how the non-official element in the British Indian Legislature is deplorably weak, and when there happens to be a split there, the result must be worse.

In the case under discussion the opposition came from a single member. He had the courage of his conviction and he did his best. But he was no match to the Hon'ble Mover who had consequently everything his own way. One Hon. Non-official Native Member held completely aloof, contenting himself with an expression of doubt as to the necessity of legislation. Another was for an important modification which found no support. As for the council taken as a body composed mostly of the European element, they professed neutrality. The Government too were declared neutral, though it is difficult to conceive this position of Government after they permitted the introduction of the Bill, in the face of the adverse views recorded by many Hindu gentlemen consulted at the initial stage.

Such opposition, be it ever so small in numerical strength, should, especially in the absence of any step to sound the voiceless masses, have induced the Madras Government to pause—and there would have been nothing amiss if they had done so. In the case of the Malabar Marriage Bill, there was a special Commission and a special local enquiry to ascertain public feeling. The present measure is of much larger concern. Yet one plausible argument urged by the Mover seems to have been sufficient to waive the necessity for public enquiry, *viz.*, that the Bill was long before the public and no opposition was evinced. Such an argument is simply hollow. The mass of the natives of India never stir themselves except when their pockets are directly touched. Their general ignorance and their implicit faith in the British Raj are well recognised facts. Had there been a fair representation of their interests in the Council, the Bill in question would hardly have become law. The non-official native element, poor as it is, does not yet own any individual absolutely unconnected with the administrative machinery. None of the purely independent sections—agricultural, mercantile, &c., who cherish orthodox traditions of the joint family system and live in peace and contentment have ever been taken in. It is the Bar that now supplies the non-official members, and it is a quasi-service class. There is election, but it imposes no definite responsibility to the public. In a constitution like this, there is the great danger of the weak non-official element being used in the name of the vast public, when measures of social changes are proposed and pressed forward.

The Hon. Mover would have it believed, and no doubt it is

his *bona fide* conviction, that the enactment in question does not effect any change in the Hindu Law, but merely removes the difficulties and conflict of views which beset the operation of the existing law. But these very difficulties and conflicts constitute a guarantee against rushing to litigation and against selfish and heartless propensities. Unfortunately for the Hindu society there has already been a growing tendency towards family disintegration,—and the present legislation will only stimulate and accelerate it and have a demoralising influence. It is worth while to quote here that reputed and experienced statesman—Mr. Seshia Sastri. He says: 'I would rather trust the established Courts of the land in each case as it comes up before them on its own merits as has been the course hitherto,—a course with leaves a wide door for generous proposals and sensible acceptance of compromises by members of a joint family—a door which will in most cases be shut against them if there was a law to back those who are ungrateful and ungenerous to the parent stock after fortune has singled them out for her favors.' In his opinion, 'a law of the kind will grate against the sense of the whole Nation.'

Even the Anglo-Indian Press is not free from misgivings as to the bearing of this piece of legislation. The *Madras Mail* shrewdly observes: 'A very strong incentive of higher education amongst Hindus will have been removed; and not only a strong incentive but a very powerful lever, for the joint family system and its joint fund give a chance to many a promising Hindu youth who would otherwise have to be content with only an ordinary and inexpensive education.'

All honour to Mr. Crole, who, as a member of the Council spoke his mind fully at an early discussion of the Bill. Though an outsider, as he called himself, and alien in thought and feeling, he was able to grasp the situation and point out in eloquent terms the gravity of the impending evil. It would seem as if he had an inspiration from Manu himself. His protest must command the gratitude and admiration of every true Hindu to whom the joint family system is a gospel of faith in which all his concerns, temporal and spiritual centre. Under ordinary Hindu law, he said in all sympathy and earnestness, the property as a whole belongs to the family; if anybody says, 'No, it belongs to me, it was acquired by me under special circumstances, he has to prove it. But the Advocate-General wants to say that such property, provided it is obtained by gains

of learning, is not to be supposed in the first place to be the family property, and in the second place the family has to prove, that it is the family property. In fact it surprises me that the Hon'ble gentleman should in his speech make the assertion that he is making no change in the Hindu law. My assertion is that he is making a very great change—that he is turning Hindu law upside down. Before the Council makes up its mind to adopt the principle of the Bill it should obtain from the people concerned their assent to the principles of this Bill of such a convincing character, that there can be no doubt as to what they understand, as to what is meant, and as to what they agree to." In another part he says: "A family stinting themselves, starving themselves, pledging the family property up to the hilt in order that some particular member whom they think promising and likely to be a success in life may have an opportunity of doing so, patiently bears the strain. And why? Not for themselves, but that the family may increase in importance, and that the family property may increase. Now the principle of this Bill, the way in which it is cast, will enable that boy to take away everything he can out of this poor family, and the moment he has got every thing out of them to say in effect, 'I want partition.'" He very properly characterises this as meanness and contemptible immorality, in which the law steps in to help him. Then in the instance of a boy sent to England to study for the Bar, for the Civil Service, or at a Mining College to become a Gold Mining Engineer, or from a village in Tanjore to Madras to enable him to take his B.L. Degree, Mr. Crole asks 'would he' the (Mover) 'consider it fair and just that he should encourage that boy, to chouse his family, cast himself adrift, take advantage of all that is spent upon him and give back nothing? That is what is provided for in Section 3 of this Bill, which proposes, in short, to shift from the individual to the legislature the responsibility for the doing of a mean thing which the unwritten laws of native society now appear to condemn.' Another telling remark of his is, 'a late Viceroy said that righteousness exalteth a nation, but I do not see how we can be proud of our righteousness if we pass this Bill in the present state of our knowledge of the feeling in the country.' In conclusion, he says, 'we run the risk of a verdict being passed against us of having injuriously affected the family life of millions of persons, who must lie on the bed that we will have made for them.'

According to the wording of the Act, the earnings of a Hindu shall absolutely form his separate and exclusive property even though his education which served as the means of those earnings was acquired with the aid of the joint family funds. Though a member of a joint family, he is, so far as his gains of learning are concerned, to be on the same footing as if a division had taken place, and as if he had separated from the family. The rule is rigid admitting of no exception. The investment of family funds in his education, whatever its extent, is to count for nothing. An exception, however, seems to be contemplated where the use of family funds is the proximate cause of acquisition coupled with the acquirer's skill and learning (*vide* the penultimate para of the statement of objects and reasons). This exception is far from reconcilable with the object stated in the preamble to remove an uncertainty and, to provide a uniform rule.

Now, what does proximate cause mean? Does it admit of degrees, and by what standard is it to be determined? It is difficult to conceive cases where the skill and learning of the acquirer and the use of family property concomitantly constitute the proximate cause. Both could not operate simultaneously. Ordinarily one receives one's education with the aid of family funds and then with the aid of that education begins to earn. Here one cause is, of course, remoter than the other. Sometimes a person, as he continues his scholastic career, obtains an appointment. His earning is too small and he has still to depend on the support of the family funds to complete his studies. Again, the full course is gone through. He takes his degree, say, in law. He seeks to be enrolled as a Vakil, but has no means of his own to meet the initial cost. He derives help from the joint family property and enters upon a career of earning. Which of these cases will fall under the exception contemplated? In the last instance, the use of family funds is a more proximate cause of earning than in the first two. In the second illustration, the earning commences at an intermediate stage, and it may be a nice point to determine whether the earnings at this stage form the exclusive property of the acquirer notwithstanding the fact that he still depends on the joint funds. Proximity and remoteness are relative terms, and the test to be applied must vary with the circumstances of each case. The distressing uncertainty and the conflict of views which it is the object of the measure to remove are likely to return in a new shape.

No system of law, however carefully devised, can bring within the scope of its letter all the problems which its practical working may give rise to. The independent judgment of tribunals charged with the adjudication of individual cases cannot well be dispensed with, however hard and just the rule may be and however clear and simple its dictum. This independent judgment obviously implies possible divergence of views. Following this line of thought, I can hardly see any substantial ground for legislative interference. The first and essential condition of legislation is absolute necessity. Has this been established? Have the people or the Courts ever moved for the change? No one can say 'yes.'

It strikes me whether a measure quite the reverse of what is now enacted may not be moved for, and adopted with equal, if not better, reason. Let there be a declaration that the earnings of a member of a joint family shall be partible so long as he continues as such, irrespective of other considerations. The mere fact of the family being undivided shall be the sole criterion. Such a measure would be more consonant with the genius and spirit of the Hindu Shastras, with immemorial usage, and with the cherished traditions of a Hindu home bearing on the temporal and spiritual concerns of an elevating character, and more on the side of social ethics. I would here refer to the case quoted in the statement of objects and reasons, in which that eminent Judge, Mr. Holloway, has wisely and unequivocally held 'that the gains, at all events, the ordinary gains of learning and science which have been taught at the expense of family funds or by any member of the family were divisible among all the members of the family.' This ruling was fully concurred in by the Chief Justice, who remarks that this is not bad law, having regard to the usage of native society. In short, the Hindu law has been here interpreted in the spirit in which it has been generally understood. The departure now made by the Legislature is at a great discount. It is heartless and has no moral core. It offers a high premium to selfishness, ministers to the baser nature, and tempts family disaffection. No more family cohesion and family allegiance! Family atheism will be the order, and this is worse than political and religious atheism.

The Hindu joint family system is centuries old and has stood its ground admirably well amidst various adverse influences of a foreign type and amidst changes wrought by the progress of time and events. The system is sufficiently elastic to satisfy

individual interests. It provides for partition. If a member of an undivided family elects to effect a severance he has full liberty to do so. This remedy is ample enough for all practical purposes. I note the remark of the Honorable Mover on this point. He holds that the remedy is not practically so simple as it sounds in theory. No doubt there arise considerable difficulties against a smooth partition. But it is not so in ordinary cases. If delicacy of feeling and the fear of displeasure operate so powerfully on an earning member as to deter him from asserting his legitimate rights, it is not reasonable to suppose that those sentiments would vanish under the new law. On the contrary his position would be more embarrassing than before. With other feelings, there would be jealousy at constant work, and no opportunity would be spared to use suasion and even pressure to incorporate his earnings with the family stock. There would be anything but peace in the family where he has to live a sort of double life, a position in common with his coparceners and another in relation to his self-acquisition, engendering a struggle between two forces. When, at last, matters are pushed to a crisis nothing short of litigation can afford an effectual remedy. Complications might be created so as to stagger all law and equity. Litigation would assume a new form and prove far more ruinous than ever, to say nothing of the bitterness of feeling that must leave a permanent taint, scandalous and disgraceful. The joint family system has not been known to have worked any public grievance. On the contrary, the feeling generally entertained towards it is one of reverence. To tinker with it in any way, therefore, a much stronger case should have been made out than what was before the Council. Society is not a plastic mass to be moulded as one fancies. It is an organic body, and when every day experience points to the difficulty of dealing with *individual* humanity, it is simply ridiculous that one should feel confident of one's ability to deal with embodied humanity. 'Citizens, not one-thousandth of whom he knows, not one-hundredth of whom he ever saw, and the great mass of whom belong to classes having habits and modes of thought of which he has but dim notions, he feels sure will act in certain ways he foresees and fulfil ends he wishes.'

Among the moral lessons written for children there is one—it will not be amiss for grown-up people too—which should be treasured up and practised like a creed by every member of

society in his daily life. The maxim laid down at the end is in these words—

Parents should seek their children's good,
And children show their gratitude.

The story itself is this: A professional joiner who was successful in his calling and was amassing much wealth, when questioned by a neighbour as to how he employed his large earnings, answered, 'with part of my money I pay my debt, and the other part I put out at interest.' 'Bah!' said his friend, 'I know you have no debts nor invested capital.' The joiner explained, 'all the money that my father and mother expended on me since I was born I regard as a debt and one which it behoves me to discharge. On the other hand, all the money I spend on my children, in order to educate them well and to place them in a respectable position, I consider as a capital which they will reimburse with interest when I become old. As my parents have spared nothing to give me a good education I will neglect nothing to secure the same for my children, and if I regard as a debt the pleasure I experience in rewarding my parents for their kindness, I hope that my children will discharge what they owe me with as much exactness as if they had entered into a legal contract. Nothing can be nobler and more elevating to humanity. It is the true basis of moral and social philosophy; no statesman or legislator, if he is worthy of his public trust, can treat it as an idle sentiment.

The reciprocity of benefits and obligations is the soul of the Hindu law of inheritance. What underlies the joint family system, fosters and sustains it, is a well-recognised principle of cohesion—a community of interest. The individual is sunk in the family and individual interest is held subordinate to the joint concern. Sentiments of religion and charity and all that has a humanising tendency are interwoven into the framework of the system. Within the family group all the individuals—drones as well as working members, the unfortunate as well as the successful, the weak as well as the strong, are cared for alike; gains and losses are matters of common concern and bear on the common stock. Self-interest and self-seeking find no toleration as against the organic whole. The bond of union is essentially altruistic and is swayed by an avowed spirit of generous protection to all within its sphere.

A Hindu family stands on a peculiar footing. Temporal and spiritual interests are so knit together as to create rights and obligations indissoluble in their nature. Their ordination lies in the higher and eternal purposes of life beyond the short pan of worldly existence. The law of joint property is an accentuation of this feature, and self-acquisition forms the nourishing element, as a matter of creed. Indeed, no joint stock can possibly be created and maintained without the contribution of individual earnings. It is its corporate character that constitutes the strength and excellence of the system. It is something like the physical system, in which all the members work to feed the body for their own support and strength. If any progress or development has been achieved by the Hindu community under the influence of Western civilization it is traceable mainly to the beautiful arrangement by which power is reposed and concentrated in the family for the equipment of its members. If industrial activity and material expansion have not proportionately advanced, it is due to other conditions which differentiate the Indian from European society. If I remember rightly, the Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court spoke, not long ago, in terms of admiration of the Hindu joint-family system, as an important factor in social economy. I felt the force of his observations when I read them in the newspapers. While all Europe is the scene of an ever-widening gulf between wealth and poverty, while wealth accumulates enormously in the hands of a comparatively few and pauperism is becoming rampant among the many, while the absorbing problem of the day which racks the brains of the philosopher and the statesman is how to remedy the growing evil, and to check the vast spreading epidemic of anarchical and socialistic spirit which desperate pauperism is rousing, while agitations are keen to have all idle wealth disgorged as the only feasible means of curing chronic pauperism, we have here in India a self-adjusting principle in the Hindu joint-family system which prevents extremes and preserves a healthy balance. Owing to the *inherent* rights of property which every member has by virtue of his birth and the corresponding obligations imposed on him to incorporate his earnings with the parent stock, while he remains undivided, a fair distribution of wealth is going on as a natural consequence. No poor law nor work-house is known, because it is not absolutely needed. The family saves the State to a palpable extent from

what the latter is ultimately called upon to do in the way of relieving starvation. The India of the Hindu is poor compared with England. But the poorest Hindu is better off than the poorest Englishman. On the other hand no Hindu, however successful in life and however much he may earn, can ever hope to reach the standard of wealth obtaining in England. The family system and the social functions in which religion and charity play a conspicuous part have their demands which leave no plethoric margin. The depression caused by famine in India would have been far worse and far more telling on public funds than now, had it not been for the distribution engendered by the family system and the initial protection it affords. But under Sir V. Bhashyam Iyengar's new law, this state of things must change. An era of regeneration for the Hindu society has dawned with a vengeance. The authors of the Hindu Shastras are cast into the shade. The new Avatar tells you that he has introduced no change. Leave the joint-family system to itself. Your claims to the family property you still have—only you keep your own earnings yourself. The law fully arms you now for this purpose. This is the new gospel published. The love of money and the love of self form the dominant idea. Kith and kin, gratitude and self-denial are only secondary considerations. Can anything be more degrading and mischievous? No words can be too strong to condemn the innovation. It is an adulteration at which Hinduism must blush. It pollutes the pure and bracing air of the Hindu home.

As the Act in question comes to be widely known and applied, a reactionary spirit will set in. The base nature of man will be brought into play. I know how many poor families strain their limited means and spend the last cash on the education of their sons, which is now a costly item. They go to the length of borrowing and undergo all manner of self-denial. The mother sells her jewels, and the father even undertakes to carry his son's tiffin to school. They are of course spurred and fed by the hope that they would rise to fortune and honor through the success of the boy in life. Even in the scholastic career there is many a slip between the cup and the lip. The boy may prove an utter failure, in which case the investment brings the family to positive ruin and beggary. Add to this natural precariousness, the element of mistrust created by the *changed*

attitude or, as Sir V. Bhashyam Iyengar would have it, by the *assured* attitude of the law in regard to self-acquisition. The youth may be a full blown graduate and be fortunate enough to get a fat appointment with splendid emoluments. But what guarantee is there that gratitude and family affection will prevail over the influence of a law which provides a clear way for him, free from family entanglements. Public opinion falls into the shade of the law. The prospect to the parents is rendered gloomy and they must be more than human if they venture on so unreliable an investment. They would rather be content with their lot and allow their sons to be hewers of wood and drawers of water than reduce themselves to destitution, with the risk of not only reaping no benefit, but of being treated to ingratitude and insult.

Take the case of a family in the middle station of life. Say, there are two sons, the elder of whom is put on the management of the family estate, and the younger sent to school to go through a course of collegiate education. The latter goes on consuming a good portion of the income from the patrimony which, of course, could not be helped, while the former gets on well in his stewardship, improving and enlarging the property. He gets no special consideration for his work though done in *joint* interest. The law won't give him credit for his earnings, because they are not 'Gains of Learning.' On the other hand the younger brother would be entitled to an equal share of the family property without any reduction on account of what has been spent on his education. What is worse, his self-acquisition he can keep to himself as his exclusive property. There is no even justice. Yet such is the worship paid to "Gains of Learning." The elder brother might insist legitimately on partition as a preliminary step, and if this had been effected, the junior would have had little chance of any scholastic learning at all.

In the case of affluent families it is all the same whichever way the law is turned. These are but few, and it is seldom that the children of such families care to enter the portals of learning and win marked success. Owing to habits of ease and luxury, their mental powers suffer generally from chronic torpor. A careful study of statistics relating to public education in the Madras Presidency will show that it is not the plutocratic but the middle and the less fortunate classes that supply the best and

the largest quantity of material for higher education. It is a well recognised fact that education in India is not sought for its own sake, but for pecuniary gain, which, however, is far less alluring than before in spite of the greater stimulus offered by the State. The market is becoming overstocked, and a graduate would consider himself fortunate if he could obtain a footing in the service on 10 or 12 Rs. With such low profit for the investment on education and the divorce now declared between family property and gains of learning, the most sanguine optimist must hesitate to aver that it augurs well for higher education.

I see the apologists of the Act have appeared, who show more zeal than judgment in defending the measure. Their cartridges, however, are all empty. Their special pleading only exposes the weakness of their cause all the more. They condemn the joint-family system which implies a conscious belief that the measure in question is out of joint with it. They go into a wrong analogy with the English system. By all means recast Hindu society on the English model. Do away with the inherent rights of property so sacred to the Hindu. Introduce the law of primogeniture. Sweep off caste, marriage restrictions and other peculiarities of Hindu customs and usages. Unless our Anglicised brethren can do this, and as long as the social conditions remain in the main what they are clung to by the bulk with vested interests as complex as could be found in any society, it is anything but graceful to kick the ladder by which such would-be reformers have risen. Let them remember the extreme importance still attached to religion by the mass of Hindus. Every other thing gives way to this aspect of Hindu life. In religion the Hindu lives, moves and has his being. His whole action, his whole thought, all that he does day by day is tinged with religion. And the joint-family system is the heritage which has been handed down to him with the sanction of religion and under its sacred guarantees. It is his great national pride and honor.

PROSPECTS OF HINDUISM IN THE WEST.

NOW that Hindu Missionaries have gone to Europe and America to gain a hearing for our religion, it will be instructive for us Hindus to investigate how far their efforts are likely to be crowned with success; or in other words, what are the circumstances and tendencies of Western thought which will facilitate the task of Indianising the West?

During the last half a century, great changes have come over the intellectual atmosphere of Christendom. The progress of science by popularising the Reign of Law has produced an intense disinclination to believe anything except on irrefragable evidence, and by discrediting the miraculous element, which enters so largely in the framework of Christianity, undermined belief in the characteristic Christian doctrines. The doctrine of evolution slowly and surely began to change men's ideas of universe and gave birth to a new cosmogony entirely different from the old one fostered by the Bible, "containing within itself the seeds of a universal revolt against the dominance of all the old tyrannies along all the old lines of thought." The development of the science of religion reduced Christianity from the unique position of being the only true religion, as its adherents fondly imagined, to be one among several religions all putting forth equally extravagant claims. The so-called "Higher Criticism," especially very active in Germany, by dissecting book after book of the Bible, proved the latter to consist of a collection of books of different times, containing truth and falsehood alike, thus cutting at the root of the doctrine of Literal Inspiration. And last but not least, the progress of culture and ethical ideas brought into use new and powerful canons of criticism, and by fearlessly appealing to first principles, made it more and more difficult to rest satisfied with ideas and doctrines, however credible and beneficial in an earlier time.

From the above causes, the result has been that the ship of faith has been completely wrecked. While men still cling to religion as fervently as ever—for the religious spirit in man can be dulled

but never destroyed—there has become prevalent an aversion to pin one's faith to any dogma. The many distinctive Christian doctrines like those of Virgin Birth, the Ascension, and the Descent into Hell, which are the foundation of that faith and which hitherto held sway over millions, have been completely thrown overboard, religious men being content to simply contemplate the personality of Jesus, as though that can be the be-all and end-all of religion.

It may be asked how can these circumstances help the cause of Hinduism in the West. It is the fact that side by side with this vague religiosity there are also manifest efforts at criticism, which disclose a frame of mind peculiarly promising for the reception of Indian ideas. As an instance in point, let me take the Christian doctrine of future life.

According to christianity, all men after death lie in the grave till the day of Resurrection, when they are awakened, judged, and awarded eternal happiness in heaven or eternal misery in hell, according as they were good or bad while living. This doctrine, simple as it seems, is better than nothing at all, and operated most beneficially on the minds and morals of the people as long as it was implicitly believed, as all doctrines of future life do, and was, according to Gibbon, one of the most powerful recommendations for early christianity in its proselytising career in the Roman Empire. After holding sway over millions of people for good these many centuries, it has become the subject of criticism. The idea of an eternal hell holding forth the hope of no ultimate redemption has become repugnant to the highly refined moral feelings of the day, coming as it does sharply into conflict with the conception of a God whose prime attribute is love. Let me give the state of opinion on the subject at present, by quoting a few writers whose views may be said to be typical of those held by a large number of people,

Rev. Agar Bret, in an article intended for the edification of young men, says namely :—

"In view of the coming judgment, Christ divides all men into two classes, who will receive respectively eternal life and eternal ruin. To us this division seems insufficient. We seem to need a third lot for those not bad enough to be destroyed and not good enough for the company of the blessed. But for this third class no provision is made in the New Testament. The fate of such persons, if such there be, lies

hidden under the mystery which covers so much of the solemn subject before us."

Professor St. George Mivart,* a bigoted Christian and a Roman Catholic to boot, who from a docile follower of the Church of Rome bids † fair to become one of its most active opponents mainly on account of this dogma, says:—

"The mental agony of despair in addition to extreme physical torture was recognised as the inevitable lot of the multitude of lost souls. It was also of the essence of this belief that the agony should be eternal and known to be eternal by the wretched inmates the 'perduta gente' of that 'città dolenti,' that city of despair. But the modern mind has come to feel an abhorrence for beliefs which were viewed with complacency or accepted without difficulty for so many ages. And not only the sentiment of our day, but what we take to be its more highly evolved moral perceptions are shocked beyond expression at the doctrine that countless multitudes of mankind will burn for ever in hell fire, out of which there is no possible redemption. Our experience shows that not a few persons have abandoned christianity on account of this dogma, which also constitutes the very greatest difficulty for many who desire to obtain a rational religious belief and to accept the church's teaching."

Annie Besant in her Adyar lecture on christianity said :

"With the loss of Reincarnation, came into existence another doctrine in which christianity is unique—the doctrine of an eternal hell. Heaven and hell equally eternal became the outcome of one's short life here. A man born into the world with his character already marked upon him, with vicious or virtuous tendencies, as the case may be brought with him from the womb and stamped upon him in the cradle, that man by living twenty, forty, sixty, one hundred years, was to fix the whole of his eternal destiny and go either to heaven or hell for evermore.

"Happily, this is a doctrine almost of the past; Christian after Christian is giving it up; teacher after teacher is proclaiming the opposite. Canon Farrar preaching in the pulpit of Westminster Abbey, pro-

* Vide "The nineteenth century December 1892," Mr. Mivart has, in an article in the January number of the Fortnightly Review, used still stronger expressions. He says "I still regard the representations as to Hell which have been commonly promulgated in sermons and meditations, as so horrible and revolting, that a deity capable of instituting such a place of torment would be a bad God, and therefore in the words of the late Dr. W. G. Ward, a God "we should be under the indefeasible obligation of disobeying, defying and abhorring."

† Mr. Mivart has since died and the Catholic Church forgetting his past services to it, began to take revenge upon him for his liberty of expression by refusing the sacrament to him while living and the burial in consecrated ground after his death,

claimed the doctrine of eternal hope, as against the doctrine of eternal hell, and only narrow and uncultured minds, who by the lack of the imaginative faculty are not able to realize the horrors of hell, only these continue to teach it and to make it part of christianity."

- The opinion cited above conclusively demonstrates that the doctrine in question is in a fair way of being discredited.
- Supposing it to be rejected, as every religion must have a doctrine dealing with the Divine punishment of sinners, without which no religion is worth its name, what will christianity and its adherents do for a complete doctrine of future life, the absence of which starves one of the most ennobling of human instincts and disables religion as a moral agency. The Hindu doctrine of
- Reincarnation, against which the objections brought against the Christian one will not hold good, must necessarily be adopted.
- For according to Hinduism, Divine punishment being meted out in the form of repeated births in this vale of tears, few or many as the case may be, Reincarnation provides an agency for making punishment proportional to the varying degrees of sinfulness. And neither is the punishment in any case eternal. In addition to these negative arguments, it has got many and varied positive arguments in its favor, which need not be detailed here. And if Heaven and Hell be regarded not as places but simply as states of consciousness, the Christian theory will be still further enfeebled. As it is, the latter theory has no leg to stand upon, and must give place to the Hindu doctrine of Reincarnation which is the only other doctrine of future life held by a large body of men (and having the sanction of religion. No doctrine of future life is more suggestive by its affinity to some of the tendencies of modern scientific thought and the readiness with which it solves some of the most puzzling problems of human life, and is less jarring on our ideas of Divine Love and Justice than the doctrine of Reincarnation together with its accessory Karma, without which the "ways of God to man" can never be justified even by a Milton. It cannot be denied that an ingenious mind can find several objections against it also; but I am sure that such objections are neither so fundamental nor so numerous as those urged against the Christian doctrines. Professor Max Müller who is a very difficult man to satisfy and who inherits to the full extent the aversion of the scientific mind to accept anything without the completest evidence, has some years ago in expressing his opinion on the "immortality of men" expressed his parti-

ality for the doctrines of Atma and Reincarnation. These constitute the greatest strength to Hinduism and must necessarily make their way in the West, as they are even now doing among a thinking few, who have been led to the study of the Indian scriptures.

In addition to the Doctrine of Reincarnation, Hinduism has got another doctrine which will have the greatest fascination for the modern European mind if presented properly. I mean the doctrine of Divine Incarnation. The latter is found in both Christianity and Hinduism with this difference, namely, that while the former regards Divine Incarnation as having taken place only once in the person of Jesus Christ, the latter regards it as having taken place many times and as likely to take place many times. The attitude of Hinduism towards this doctrine is unmistakable. Says Sri Krishna: "Whenever there is decay of Dharma, O Bharata; and there is exaltation of Adharma, then I myself come forth: for the protection of the good, for the destruction of evil-doers, for the sake of firmly establishing Dharma, I am born from age to age." The above utterance has become classical and ought to be cherished by the Hindus as their spiritual Magna Charta, the most priceless document vouchsafed by God to the human race. If we view incarnation as the outcome of God's mercy and love towards mankind and of his desire to be born among suffering humanity for its guidance, it stands to reason that the manifestation of that beneficence cannot be limited to an isolated instance, at a particular corner of the world, and at a particular occasion, as is the case with christianity, but should be many as is the Hindu view. Thus the Hindu view of incarnation is more logical. On this subject, Mrs. Annie Besant's brief but brilliant reply to Mr. Gladstone on the "True and false conception of Atonement," some years ago in the "Nineteenth Century" Review, an article which Mr. Stead said should be read in all churches, may be referred to for a fuller exposition. The Christian idea is one-sided, due to an imperfect apprehension of this doctrine, and having been made to fit with some crude Jewish ideas, has even become monstrous. Cardinal Newman says "the doctrine of the Divine word is Platonic, the doctrine of the Incarnation Indian, of a Divine Kingdom is Judaic; of angels and demons is Magian." From the above, there can be no doubt that the idea of Incarnation is essentially Indian in origin and consequently thrived in an atmosphere more

congenial to it and attained a logical development in Hinduism. This doctrine is foreign and obnoxious to the genius of semiticism, as is evident from the charge of blasphemy brought by Judaism and Muhammadanism against the Christian doctrine of Incarnation. None of the utterances of Jesus appeared to be so outrageous to the Jews of Jesus' time, and subsequently to the followers of Mahomet, as his claim to be the 'Son of God,' while this will be perfectly intelligible to the Hindu. Christianity must necessarily have borrowed it from Hinduism, excepting which there is no other religion to which it can be traced, and in being so borrowed, it has become mutilated. For the noble Aryan doctrine, which took a logical shape in India, necessarily became cramped in Christianity which was moulded chiefly by semitic influences. How was it that it was more congenial to the Aryan mind and foreign to semitic mind? This can be accounted for by the different ways in which the Aryan and the semitic minds conceive of God. The Aryan conception is eminently pantheistic, while the semitic one is essentially theistic, rather anthropomorphic. Neither the Jew nor the Muhammadan can conceive how there can be a Son to God, and the famous utterance of Jesus that he was the "Son of God" is apprehended by modern Christians quite literally, meaning that he was the son of God as no other man can be. The claim to divine sonship is alleged to be based upon some special relation between Jesus and God, as against all other men instead of being based "on the divinity which is inherent in the nature of man himself," which idea is purely Vedantic. The progress of thought, however, is favourable to the view that the divine sonship of Jesus is only typical and an ideal possible of attainment for all men, and in the words of Mr. Martineau "the symbol and sample of constant divine life with men, and of human sonship to God, disclosing relations which had for ever been and would for ever be." That the anthropomorphic view of God is inconsistent with the idea of incarnation is gradually becoming evident to thinking minds. As an instance in point, I shall quote the recently expressed opinion of a Review called the "Literary World" on the subject. In reviewing one Dr. Stalker's book on the Christology of Jesus, it says as follows:—

"When Dr. Stalker comes to speak of the sense in which Jesus was 'the Son of God,' he rightly protests against the assertion that the

sonship was ethical and not metaphysical. 'The ethical always rests on the metaphysical' and ethical unity becomes less possible, the farther any two beings are metaphysically separated from each other. This is clear enough, but we are not convinced by Dr. Stalker's application of it. He proceeds to point out that sympathy between man and beast is imperfect, because they are metaphysically apart, while sympathy between men and women is more complete, because each shares the same human nature. But he goes on to say 'the union between God and man is a distant one, not only for ethical reasons, but for the metaphysical reason that their natures are distinct.' This seems to us an unfortunate and dangerous conclusion against which at least two objections may be urged. First, what is the possible meaning of the Fatherhood of God, if the divine and human natures are distinct. There may be a difference of degree which is practically infinite, but to call it difference of kind is to empty the doctrine of genuine significance. Further if the union between God and man is 'distant,' the Christian teaching as to the possibility of intimate communion between them is *de facto* destroyed. To read the sayings of the New Testament on this point and to reconcile them with Dr. Stalker's idea of distinct natures is, we venture to think, impossible. It is in harmony alike with sound philosophy and with the genius of Christ's teaching to affirm the essential oneness of God and man, and until this is recognized, the problem of the incarnation must continue to be a fruitful source of misunderstanding."

The above utterance is significant. For the reviewer is not a philosopher whose mode of thinking must generally be different from that of the great mass of ordinary men; and in measuring the progress of opinion, the opinion of the average literate man is more telling and a more accurate gauge than that of the philosopher. In the simultaneous possession of the two doctrines, namely, Incarnation and Reincarnation together with its accessory karma, Hinduism has got an advantage not possessed by any other religion in the world, and lays one of the most powerful claims for universality.

There is everywhere a growing indication of Pantheistic tendencies of thought. Charles Johnston, the writer who illumined the pages of "the *Madrass Mail*" by his brief but brilliant articles on Hindu philosophy and who is even now working silently in the west for the dissemination of Indian ideas, calls a tendency among several of the recent English poets to a vague Pantheism by the significant name of "Indian Renaissance." The Bohlén lecturer of 1883, Professor Allen, says: "The tradi-

tional conception of God which has come down to us from the middle ages through the Latin Church is undergoing a profound transformation. The idea that God is transcendent not only exalted above the world by his moral perfection, but separated from it by the infinite reaches of space is yielding to the idea of Deity as immanent in his creation.* We have incontestable evidence to show that some of the greatest English and American men of letters who lived till very recently had all indulged in Pantheistic ideas. Chief among these are, Mr. Emerson than whom there was no pure man of letters who had more admiration for Indian thought and in whom traces of Indian influence are so plainly visible, and the late Lord Tennyson, who may be reckoned as typical of his age and who cannot be surpassed in the faculty to feel and reproduce contemporary phases of thought. His "Higher Pantheism" and his "Ancient sage" are instances in point. Let me quote a few lines from the latter :—

"For more than once when I
Sat all alone, revolving in myself
The word that is the symbol of myself
The mortal limit of the self was loosed
And past into the nameless, as a cloud
Melts into heaven. I touched my limbs,
The limbs were strange not mine—and yet no shade of doubt
But utter clearness, and through loss of self
The gain of such large life as matched with ours
Were seen to spark—unshadowable in words
Themselves but shadows of a shadow world."

I need hardly point out that there is nothing more characteristic in the above passage than its affinity to Vedantic thought, and many similar passages may be quoted from that poem, and yet Lord Tennyson was ignorant of the fundamentals of Vedanta. How much cannot be accomplished, if only Indian thought be made more familiar in the West? All the Pantheistic tendencies obtaining at present with their defects cured, may be easily merged in, and absorbed by, the Vedanta.

One characteristic feature which distinguishes the ethical side of Indian Religions, especially Hinduism, from that of Christianity and its congeners is the great stress laid by the former upon the sanctity of animal life. The much-boasted Christian ethics, even if they be said to recognize this point at all, do not lay as much

importance on it as it deserves; while in Indian ethical writings, say for instance, Manu, nothing is more repeatedly exhorted than the 'avoiding of all injury to sentient creatures.' It is Hinduism which by asserting the unity of life as science has since done and by postulating that living forms from the lowest organism to the highest man are all receptacles of divine life, enforces with the weight of religious sanction a tender humanity towards the dumb millions; and India was the first country which built hospitals for sick animals. Hinduism never lent its name to the base doctrine that the lower animals are created for the comfort and convenience of man, the lord of creation. Sir Henry Maine or somebody said without grasping the real significance of what he said that the effect of famines in India is aggravated by the aversion of the people to betake themselves to animal food. It never seems to have entered his mind that in passing this remark, he is paying a magnificent tribute to the nobility of Indian character. If what he said be true, Hindus are martyrs to Vegetarianism, unwilling to harm animal life even to satisfy the most insatiable demands, namely, of appetite. Now if Hinduism is to be introduced into the enlightened countries of the West, it will, by *raison d'être* for our love and kindness towards animal life, fall in with and be welcomed by, the humanitarian sentiment obtaining so largely in the present age.

The mode of disposing the dead, is intimately connected with the many doctrines of future life prevalent among men. The custom of burying the dead obtaining among those professing Christianity and its allied religions fosters ideas and doctrines quite different from those fostered by the practice of cremation which ever since the Vedic times has become almost universal among those professing Hinduism. As a matter of fact, Resurrection and similar doctrines found in Christianity are entirely absent, at least in their peculiar forms, from Hinduism, for which no explanation is more plausible than the one I have suggested above. Now cremation backed by its sanitary advantages is slowly gaining ground in the West, the opposition of the church notwithstanding. Is it too much to expect that with the progress of cremation there will be a progress *pari-passu* of ideas and doctrines, associated with cremation with a corresponding declension of those connected with burial till a time will be reached when Christian ideas of future life will

* Quoted by the "Literary world," dated January 26, 1890.

* Sir William Jones's translation of the Manava Dharma Sastra.

become so indistinct and nebulous as to lose all hold on the minds of men? The vacuum must, however, be filled up. What christianity loses, Hinduism must gain.

The subject can be dwelt at indefinitely; but enough has been said in the above to show that not only there will be no insuperable obstacles, but there will be every facility for the progress of Indian thought in the West. Providence is preparing the minds of a large section of humanity to be worthy recipients of Hindu ideas. With the occasion, there appeared the man. There is nothing more indicative of the sturdy common sense and insight into the capabilities of Indian thought possessed by Swami Vivekananda than his resolve to break through the tradition of hiding Indian spirituality under the bushel and be the pioneer Hindu Missionary in the West. He himself said while in India that if he died the next day, which God forbid, his work in Europe would not die. Thanks to his and his fellow-workers' efforts and to the independent activity of the Theosophical Society, a beginning has been made highly satisfactory. Hinduism has new victories to win and new fruitage to bear and that not among our jaded race but among the Teutons, a race whose capacity for religious fervor is unsurpassed and which by its mental and moral vigour is becoming the undoubted leader of mankind. It will be our own mistake, if we do not make India the teacher of the West as it has already been of the East.

R. A.

LEGENDS OF ANCIENT MADURA.

II.

VIRA PANDYA, who was now King, had one overwhelming sorrow, for though he had many sons by concubines not a single legitimate son was he blessed with. But by the practice of many austerities and after the offering to the Gods of prayers marked by their sincerity he obtained a legitimate successor to the throne; and five years after was killed in a jungle by a tiger. When the news of his death reached Madhurā several of his natural sons combined and carried away the crown and royal jewels. In consequence, when the coronation day of the new King came round, the Ministers were much perplexed as to how the ceremony could be performed. At this juncture Siva, taking the form of a young jeweller, appeared and, after giving a lecture on the nature, lustre and properties of various precious stones, gave a number of them to the Ministers and told them to make a new crown. He then named the prince Abhisheka Pandya, and vanished. While Abhisheka was worshipping the linga one day, Indra happened to come down from heaven for the same purpose. Being compelled to wait till the Pandya had finished he became excessively angry. So when he returned to heaven he commissioned Varuna to destroy Madhurā. That God caused the waters of the sea to flow up to the walls of the city which was thus threatened with destruction: but by the intervention of Siva four clouds issued from the locks of his head and drank up instantaneously the seas that threatened to overwhelm the city. Furious at being thus thwarted Varuna sent clouds to discharge tremendous showers of rain and hail upon Madhurā; but Siva again interfered, and the four clouds that drank up the seas formed themselves into a shield over the city, and warded off the attacks of the hostile clouds. Varuna now perceiving how unavailing was his enmity, came to the sacred tank, purified himself in it and craved forgiveness, which was not only granted him but a dropsy from which he had long suffered was also cured. After this, Siva amused himself by appearing as a prophet and performing a series of miracles in the Madhurā country. Old men were changed into young; men into

women; blockheads into scholars; trees of one kind into trees of another, and so forth. The Pandya had the country scoured to secure and bring the wonderful man before him; but the scouts were so struck at beholding the miracles that they were unable to perform their duty. Ministers were next sent, but they too failed and were contemptuously informed that "a prophet had no concern with kings." Thereupon the King himself went out to look for the illustrious stranger. Coming to the pagoda on the 1st of the month Pushya, he met the pretended prophet and asked him his name. The God replied "Agniya Sidd'ha," which means the Omnipotent spirit. Whereupon the King asked him sarcastically, whether he could make a stone elephant, which stood hard by, eat sugar cane, and stretched out a piece of cane towards the lifeless figure. To his amazement the stone Elephant lifted its trunk, and making for him with fierce gestures tore off from the royal neck a necklace of pearls and swallowed it together with the sugar-cane. Seeing this the King's attendants rushed at the prophet to chastise him for his violence; but he merely looked at them and they were turned into stone. The King then perceived that it was Siva *in persona propria*, so he threw himself at the God's feet and implored forgiveness, which was granted. Shortly afterwards the King crowned his son Vikrama as his successor and passed away.

During Vikrama's reign the Saiva religion flourished in Madhurā. At this time the Chola King of Kanchipura, having been converted to the religion of the Shapana heretics, in revenge for former defeats collected and led against the Pandya King a force of 3,000 chiefs of the Shapana sect. These heretics strove to destroy Madhurā by magic. They dug an immense pit ten miles long, and having performed in it a Yajna sacrifice, a monstrous Elephant arose out of it. In pursuance of the order of the Chola King the huge beast moved ponderously in the direction of Madhurā shaking the earth with every step and apparently half mad with rage. In this emergency the Pandya applied to the linga and the God heard his prayer. He bade the King build a sixteen-pillared hall on the East of the city and promised to remove the danger. Accordingly the hall was quickly built; and when he went to see it the Pandya observed the God standing in it disguised as a hero with a bow. Sundaralinga then recited the prayer called *Narasimha Japa* in order to secure the co-operation of the God of that name, and as the Elephant approached shot it

with an arrow. The carcass of the animal was forthwith turned into a rock which may be seen to this day. Now an extraordinary story is related of how the God rewarded the faith of a Saiva Brahman girl named Gauri. When eight years old, her father had married her to a Vaishnava Brahman, though she, her mother and her relatives generally were against the match. When she went to her new home she was sadly neglected and ill-used so much so that Siva took pity on her forlorn condition and resolved to rescue her therefrom. One day the family went to a Vaishnava feast leaving poor Gauri alone and all the rooms of the house locked up. Then the God visited her in the form of a decrepit old Saiva Brahman and begged alms of her. She treated him with kindness and hospitality; but expressed regret at her inability to give him food as the rooms were all locked. The old man then bade her put her hands on the locks, and when she did this, they all opened. She then brought and prepared food; and as the old man's hands trembled exceedingly, fed him with her own fair fingers. Immediately he finished his meal, the stranger turned himself into a handsome young gallant. Just then the girl heard to her horror the sound of her husband's friends approaching the house. Thereupon, the God as suddenly changed himself into a three month old baby with ashes rubbed on its forehead, and began to cry lustily. Great was the anger of Gauri's husband when he saw the baby; and still more so when he discovered that the locks of the rooms had been opened in his absence. Without more ado he pushed Gauri into the road and bade her take herself and the baby off. In agony of shame and grief the girl prayed to Siva and hardly was her prayer ended, when to the astonishment of the bystanders, the baby disappeared from her arms; and Sundralinga and Minakshi presently appeared in their celestial vehicle, and translated her to the realms of bliss. Soon after this Vikrama had his son Raja Shekhara crowned King in his stead and then died.

The new King was both just and learned. Versed in no less than sixty-three of the arts and sciences, he was very proud of his knowledge. One day, however, a poet, who came before him and praised his accomplishments, informed him that the Chola King knew all the sixty-four arts. Annoyed thereat the Pandya set to work and learnt the art of dancing, the one art known to the Chola King and of which he himself was ignorant. While attaining perfection in this new kind of knowledge it

became apparent to him what trouble and exertion Sundaralinga must have undergone when he danced to please the Rishis, and had been undergoing from then till now, in balancing himself always on his right leg, with the left stretched up over his head. He felt sorry for the God, when he thought of this; and pondered how he might procure him some slight relief. Accordingly, while the feast of Siva was in progress, he entered the Silver Hall after worshipping the linga, and besought the God to change legs and stretch up the right in place of the left, asserting that if the God did not comply with his request he would then and there end his life by falling on his sword, which he rested with the point towards him on the ground. The God was pleased with his piety: and acted as he requested.

Raja Shekhara lived to a good old age: and when he died his son Kulothunga succeeded him. This King had 10,000 wives, each of whom bore him six sons. Whilst in the enjoyment of his prosperous reign the following incident occurred. A Brahman of Navapura was travelling with his wife and son towards Madhurâ; and while the latter were resting under a shady tree during the mid-day heat, the former went to find water. In his absence an arrow, that had accidentally lodged in the tree, fell and entering the woman's breast killed her on the spot. The Brahman returning shortly afterwards and seeing the arrow accused a hunter, who happened to be standing by with a bow and arrows in his hands, of having murdered his wife; and all his protestations of innocence notwithstanding, took the hunter and the corpse before the King of Madhurâ. The King examined the parties, and put the hunter to the torture; but all to no purpose. At last he ordered the corpse to be burnt and the prisoner to be kept in custody: and then went to the Pagoda and prayed the God to throw light upon the matter. In answer, a voice in the air directed him to attend that night at the wedding of a certain merchant, and observe what happened. Accordingly the king went to the wedding, taking with him the Brahman who had lost his wife, and after a while was permitted to hear two messengers of death deliberating how they might best kill the intended bridegroom. One of them remarked that the man was sound and healthy; but the other removed the difficulty by suggesting that an apparently fortuitous circumstance would easily bring about what was wanted, and then reminded his companion of the way in

which they had the day before disposed of the Brahman's wife. The king told the Brahman what he had overheard; and then awaited developments. Immediately afterward a cow broke loose frightened by the music, and gored the bridegroom to death. The king thus became convinced of the hunter's innocence, and discharged him after giving both him and the Brahman handsome presents. In the same reign, there lived in Madhurâ an old man who earned a livelihood by teaching the broadsword exercise. After a time one of his pupils was so ungrateful as to set up a rival school, and draw away the old man's pupils; and not content with this endeavoured to seduce his wife. One day he went so far as to offer the woman violence, but she effectually resisted him, and succeeded in locking him out of the house. Not being a babbler she kept the matter to herself; but she quietly prayed to Siva to avenge her, and the God heard her prayer. Disguising himself as the husband of the outraged woman, he sought out the wicked youth, and challenged him to single combat outside of the city walls. The challenge was accepted, and a scientific duel fought with swords. The God put forth his power after a time, and by well directed blows cut off first one and then another of his adversary's members, and lastly his head, loudly reviling him all the time for his wickedness. Kulothunga was so greatly pleased when he heard this that he honored the God with new ceremonies and additional worship. He died and was succeeded by his eldest son Anantaguna.

Anantaguna was a pious prince; and supported the Saiva faith with great zeal so much so that the Shapana heretics, the enemies of that faith, were obliged to perform a Yajna sacrifice in view to destroy him and establish themselves in Madhurâ. From the huge sacrificial pit they dug there arose a giant, who presently transformed himself into a monstrous serpent, and crawled along towards Madhurâ. His bulk was so prodigious as almost to reach the skies. And he hissed forth so poisonous a breath that such of the fowls of the air as flew through it fell to the earth poisoned, and died; and the trees sickened and withered away as he approached. The king thereupon went to the temple and prayed to Sundaralinga; and was promised victory. And going forth to meet the enemy, he prayed to the God of Madhurâ, and then shot many arrows at the monster. But as fast as he shot, the serpent destroyed

them; and he was compelled to pray to Siva once more. After this, he hurled the weapon, called Bhalla, at the enemy and destroyed it. The God now caused it to be petrified into a huge rock, which is known to this day by the name of the "serpent hill." But even now the Pandya's troubles were not over: for the dying monster belched forth poisonous belchings, which struck down the people of Madhurâ like a plague. And they did not recover till Siva beneficently shook out some drops of nectar from his locks and thereby rendered the poison innocuous. The Shapana people thereupon retired discomfited; but soon afterwards they returned and performed another Yajna sacrifice, out of which was born a giant still more fierce and stupendous than the former. And thinking that the Pandya would shrink from the responsibility of killing a cow, they directed the giant to assume the form of an enormous animal of that species, and advance against Madhurâ. And he did as he was bidden. Prayers were then offered up to Siva; and the God ordered his celestial bull to increase enormously in bulk, and go out and meet and conquer the invading cow. The celestial bull approached the enemy, and appeared to be so fine and beautiful in her eyes that she was instantly attacked by paroxysms of erotic excitement, and at last fell dead on the ground. The cow's carcass became a rock, now known as the "cow-hill": and in order to keep alive the remembrance of his victory the bull turned his body into a hill called the "bull-hill." During this reign, the great Rama marched southwards to rescue his wife Sita from the power of her ravisher, the giant Ravana: and, having encamped near the "bull-hill" with his army of monkeys, was advised by the Rishi Asgastya to visit the holy city of Madhurâ. He did so: and worshipped Sundaralinga, who vouchsafed to him a gift by means of which he was enabled to conquer the ravisher. After this the Pandya died: and was succeeded by his son Kula Bhushana.

In this reign the king of a hunter caste that ruled in the Chedi country threatened to attack Madhurâ; and the Pandya hearing of it gave large sums of money to his general, and directed him to raise a sufficient body of cavalry, and drive the enemy away. But the general disobeyed his orders, and thinking that it was better to put his trust in Siva than in cavalry, spent all the money in charitable works. At the end of six

months no preparations had been made to meet the foe who was then within easy reach of the capital. Then the king called upon the general for the troops that ought to have been forthcoming: and the general pretended that they would be ready on the morrow. Having satisfied his master with this answer, the general went to the Pagoda and prayed devoutly of Siva, and in due time he received an assurance that on the morrow a large body of cavalry should come to his rescue. After he retired to his sleeping apartment, he passed the night in a state of nervous excitement: but jumping up with the first streak of dawn was delighted beyond measure to see the plain which stretched away in front of the palace covered with fine horsemen, and the God Siva himself leading them, seated on a white charger and magnificently attired. The king was soon informed of the arrival of the troops, and was pleased with their pre-eminently martial appearance. Whilst they awaited the arrival of the enemy, news came to the effect that the hunter king had been killed by a lion, and the Pandya at once gave the signal for the troops to disperse and return to their homes. Scarcely had he done so, when they all vanished in a moment from his sight; and he perceived that they were nothing but an unreal vision. He then learnt from his general what had happened: and caused the worship of Siva to be performed with more than usual splendour.

This king was not at all charitable. Indeed, he neglected the Brahmans so greatly that they were compelled to labor with their hands for their daily bread; and were quite unable to keep up their daily ablutions, prayers and offerings of incense. The consequence was, the Gods were angry and refused to send rain. Soon a terrible famine overtook the country: and the inhabitants were reduced to the greatest straits, and sought relief by emigrating in thousands to neighbouring countries. The king was grieved to see the misfortunes of his people, and prayed for help for a long time in the Pagoda; but to his mortification received no answer. He then returned to his palace, and passed the night on the floor, meditating upon the God Sundaralinga. His meditation ended in sleep; and the God appeared to him in a dream, and promised to give him a purse of money which should never become empty, as long as he applied its contents to the relief of Brahmans and the poor. Waking up, the king found the purse beside him; and soon set

to work to test the truth of Sundaralinga's promise. Endless donations were given to Brahmans and to the poor in general; and the purse remained as full as ever. Buildings were then erected in honor of Sundaralinga; the Brahmans returned to their prayers, ablutions and offerings; rain fell in abundance; and the country became more fertile than ever.

In the same reign the God amused himself with some young women in the following manner. They had in a previous life been the wives of some Rishis, who retired with them to the Daraka forest; whither Siva disguised as a beautiful monk went begging alms. The wives of the Rishis fell desperately in love with him; and surrounded, and tried to take him off each to her own house. The Rishis, when they saw this behaviour, were much displeased; and they pronounced a curse upon their wives, that they should be born as daughters, of merchants at Madhurâ. Accordingly they were so born, and lived at Madhurâ. And then Siva visited them one day in the form of a bangle-seller of superlatively handsome appearance. He excited their passions as violently as he had on a previous occasion by holding their hands and fitting bangles on their arms; and the women conceived thereby, and bore children to him.

After this came the restoration to life of the six celestial wet nurses of Siva's son, Subramanya. These ladies had one day, a thousand years before, asked Siva, while he was conversing with his wife Parvati under a banyan tree in his heaven Kailasa, to explain to them the meaning of the eight principal magical powers. He graciously did so: but his auditors were so inattentive that he cursed them, and caused them to be petrified into rocks placed in the Pathamangala country, for the space of a thousand years. The period of their punishment having expired, Siva now restored them to life; and he also explained to them anew, and with the happiest results, the subject which they had professed to be so anxious to understand. The eight principal magical arts or Ashta-Sidd'hi are described as being the following, viz.:—

1. *Animâ*, which is the art of entering into a foreign body.
2. *Mahimâ*, or the art of so increasing the bulk of one's body as to afford a resting place for all creation on its surface.
3. *Garimâ*, or the art of rendering small things infinitely ponderous.

4. *Laghimi*, or the art of lifting with ease the largest and heaviest substance.

5. *Prapti*, or the art of gaining access through a small hole to Brahma's heaven.

6. *Prakalîya*, or the art of transubstantiating oneself, entering into various worlds, procuring all things needful, and ascertaining the localities of different substances.

7. *Bhûta*, or the art of creating, destroying, and protecting the world and rendering the planets obedient to the will.

8. *Vasîta*, or the art of rendering subject to one all created beings, and the Gods together with Indra. Kulabhushana's reign was remarkable for yet another incident. The Chola king of Kanchipura, surnamed the clearer of the jungles, was a strict Saivite, and was very anxious to visit Madhurâ, and worship Sundaralinga. But he was not on good terms with the Pandya, and consequently was unable to do what he wanted. However, Sundaralinga appeared to him in a dream, and directed him to go to Madhurâ, without fear, in a disguise: and he set out at once in obedience to the God's direction. When he arrived at the north bank of the Madhurâ river, he found it in flood, and was in doubt what to do, when Sundaralinga came to his assistance, and taking him by the hand led him over the surface of the waters. The North gate of the Pagoda was then opened by the God, and the Chola king entered, and bathed in the golden-lily pool, and worshipped the linga. He was then taken across the river again, and returned to his country. The God then went back to the Pagoda, and fastened up the gate, substituting for the Pandya's seal, which was the representation of a fish, his own seal which was that of a bull. When the Pandya heard of this, he tried in vain to discover the person, who had broken his seal; but at night the God told him in a dream, and he afterwards made friends with the Chola king. Some time afterwards he died; and was succeeded by his son Rajendra. The friendship between the courts of Madhurâ and Kanchipura greatly increased. The Chola came frequently to Madhurâ and the Pandya asked for and was promised the hand of a Chola princess. But his younger brother Raja Simha went secretly to the Chola, and by some means induced him to throw over the Pandya, and give his daughter to him, Raja Simha. Moreover he induced the Chola to march against Madhurâ with a large army. The Pandya had not the power

of opposing a sufficiently numerous army to the invaders: but he collected what troops he had, and marched against the enemy, putting his trust in Siva and praying to him constantly for victory. A sanguinary battle was fought: and after a time both armies were completely exhausted. Then the god suddenly caused a booth furnished with inexhaustible supplies of water to appear on the ground occupied by the Madhurâ army, and distributed drink by means of many water-carriers. The soldiers all drank and recovered their lost strength, and charging the enemy completely routed him. Moreover the Chola and the Pandya's brother were both taken prisoners. The Pandya then asked the God what he should do with his captives; and was ordered to do as he pleased. Accordingly he acted with great generosity, released them both, sent the Chola home loaded with presents and granted a considerable fief to his brother.

During the same reign there flourished in Sri Pushpavana a very beautiful Dasi, or dancing girl, attached to the Pagoda, and named Hema. She was an ardent devotee of Siva and whatever she received from her lovers, she expended in largesses to Brahmans, and in other charitable acts. As she was extremely anxious but unable to make a golden image of Siva, the God took pity on her, and one night visited her in the form of a religious ascetic: and promised to grant her wish, if she would but follow his directions. He then explained to her, that she must place all the brass pots and iron utensils on the fire, after sprinkling them with holy ashes, and leave them there all night. She did so and next morning lo! and behold! she was possessed of a large lump of the precious metal. With this she immediately made an idol, and she was so delighted with it that she kissed it on the cheek, and embraced it. The idol was placed in the temple, and it still bears the mark of the dancing girl's kiss. Rajendra at length died. He was succeeded by his son, and he by his son who was in turn succeeded by his son, grandson, and great-grandson. Nothing noteworthy occurred during these five reigns: but when the last came to an end Varaguna ascended the throne. He was remarkable for his devotion to the God; but had the misfortune to kill a Brahman accidentally, by riding him down on a dark night when returning from hunting. In consequence of this he was perpetually tormented by the spirit which pursues slayers of Brahmans, and could not find rest. At last the God took pity on him, and directed him to

rouse and pursue the Chola king, who was about to attack him, as far as a place called Maddhyarjuna, within the limits of the Chola Kingdom, and enter the Pagoda there. The Pandya did as he was bid: and as he entered the Pagoda by the East gate, the spirit was compelled to leave him, and remain in the tower above the gateway. After this he spent some time in Maddhyarjuna Pagoda, expending large sums in repairing and beautifying it; and then returned to Madhurâ, leaving his tormentor behind him. Subsequently the King was seized with an inextinguishable desire to see the heaven of Siva; and in order to please him Siva vouchsafed to him a vision of his heaven and all its glories in the Madhurâ temple. Everything was shown to him, even Siva seated on his throne, and surrounded by crowds of the blessed. So great was the splendour of the scene, that the Pandya swooned away, unable to endure it; and when he had recovered the vision had disappeared.

When the Rishi Agastya had finished his narration of this last incident, his auditors asked him, why it was that the Pandya could not get rid of the spirit in Madhurâ, if Madhurâ was indeed the holiest of holy places. And the Rishi explained that the God effected the King's relief in a holy place other than Madhurâ as a warning and example to men. For they might be led to imagine that all sins, however heinous, could be removed by a single visit to Madhurâ, and the results of such a belief would be very evil.

E. H. B.

THE ETHICS OF THE BHĀGAVAD GĪTĀ.

The Work.

THE Bhāgavad Gītā or more briefly the Gītā is reckoned as one of the Five Jewels (Pancharatnāni) of Sanskrit literature. A recent writer terms it 'the pearl of price in the ocean of Brahmanical teaching.' The word literally means the song sung by the Deity, or as Mr. Wilkins terms it 'the Divine lay.' It embodies the profoundest philosophy and the sublimest metaphysics of the ancients. Lofty in its declarations, sublime in its aspirations, pure and tender in its piety, it has literally charmed all into adoration who have read it, and tasted of its universal and sublime love. It is the most lovely flower of the bare and barren tree of metaphysical enquiry—a flower that grew into the fruit of self-sacrificing Love which gave the nectar of supreme bliss. It blends together the doctrines of Kapila, Patanjali, and the Vedas, and is purely vedantic in its teaching. "It is beyond all doubt" says Mr. Gough (Phil. of the Up., p. 209), "that the Bhāgavad Gītā notwithstanding its Sāṅkhya phrases and Sāṅkhya references, is as purely vedantic as that of any vedantic work whatever." The Gītā is at the same time a religion and a philosophy. "In India," says Prof. Max Müller (Lect. on the Vedānta, p. 13), "philosophy is looked upon as the natural outcome of religion, nay, as its most precious flower and fragrance." And this is true of the Gītā.

Its place in the Mahābhārata.

The Gītā forms a part of the Bhīṣma Parvan of the great Epic, the Mahābhārata—one of the two national Epics of India. It is a narrative by Sanjaya to the blind Dhṛitharashtra, of the philosophical dialogue between Krishna and Arjuna, on the eve of the great battle immortalised in the above Epic. Arjuna, seeing many of his kinsmen and relatives in both the hosts assembled at the holy field of Kurukshetra, to fight the fratricidal war to its bitter end, is overcome by pity, and his fortitude giving way, lets fall his bow and arrows and refuses to fight. Then commences this "wonderful and holy dialogue," and Krishna, who is the charioteer of Arjuna, discloses himself as the Supreme

spirit, and meets the objections of Arjuna by the exposition of a philosophical system, propounding therein the unity of existence, the immortality of the soul, the miseries of metempsychosis, the path to liberation and other dogmas. A question has been raised whether the Gītā is a genuine part of the Mahābhārata. Various opinions are held with regard to this point, owing to the absence of all historical data in Indian literature. Some hold the Gītā to have been existent prior to the national Epic and to have been worked into it by the author of the Mahābhārata, while others hold it to have been a later interpolation. Mr. Telang considers at some length (Sacred Book of the East, Vol. VIII., pp. 4-6) the *pros* and *cons* of these views and is inclined to think that "having regard to the fact, that the Gītā fits in pretty well into the setting given to it in the Bhīṣma Parvan; to the fact that the feeling of Arjuna which gives occasion to it is not at all inconsistent, but is most consonant, with poetical justice; to the fact that there is not in the Gītā any trace of a sectarian or 'Brahminizing spirit' such as Mr. Wheeler and the late Prof. Goldstucker hold to have animated the arrangers of the Mahābhārata" the Gītā is genuine portion of the Mahābhārata. Even a cursory study of the Mahābhārata would convince one of the genuineness of the Gītā as one of its integral parts, for the sentiments embodied in the Gītā would be found thrilling throughout the whole of the Mahābhārata. Hence in my opinion the Gītā cannot be a later interpolation. But as said before, this remains an unsettled question.

Its Author.

Taking the above view as to its genuineness, I venture to say that the question of its authorship becomes easy of solution. We may take for granted that the author of the Mahābhārata, *viz.*, Vyasa, *alias* Krishna Dwaipayana, is the author of the Gītā.

Its Date.

A more difficult question on which there is a great divergence of opinion, is with regard to the time at which the Gītā was composed. This point too, is tainted by the uncertainty which characterises all historical speculations in Indian literature. The importance of this question has been magnified both by pundits and missionaries who have approached it with an evident bias. The close and striking parallelism between the sublime

moral precepts inculcated and taught in the Gita and those of the New Testament, have led them into a long and perhaps forever insoluble controversy, as to whether the author of the Gita borrowed from christian sources, or the evangelists and apostles from him. Hence, while the pundits claim a pre-christian era for the poem, the missionaries assign it to a post-christian date. Mr. Telang, in his able and masterly introduction to his translation of the Gita (Sac. Bks. of the East, Vol. VIII), considers at some length the internal and external evidences in fixing its date. The unsystematic character of the work, the absence of all attempts at scientific arrangements, the use of words without any scientific precision, the contradictory and irreconcilable nature of passages with which the work is tainted here and there, and the absence of all attempts at their harmonization, the difficulty with which one has to follow the sequence of ideas throughout the verses of the Gita,—these are some of the points relied on by Mr. Telang as pointing to a date prior to the system-making era of Sanskrit philosophy. The archaic simplicity of its style and the nature of its versification show that the Gita is removed by a considerable linguistic and chronological distance from classical Sanskrit literature and that it is contemporaneous with the Upanishad literature. The way in which the Gita shelves the Vedas without totally rejecting them, the way in which it places the system of caste on a less untenable basis without uprooting the then existing system, the way in which it embodies the religious and historical upheaval against the stiff-backed ritualism into which the pure and simple nature-worship embodied in the Vedic hymns had deteriorated and settled, the fact that a Kshetriya instead of a Brahmin is availed of as a channel of communication for this most sacred religion of devotion, the fact that the Supreme Lord in identifying himself with the best of every species speaks of a Kshetriya as the best of men instead of a Brahmin (X. 27),—all these and numerous other minute but important points in the Gita, point to a date contemporaneous with that of the Upanishads and consequently prior to the christian era. The above points constitute the internal evidence. The external evidence, though meagre, points to the same conclusion (*Vide pp. 27-34*). “We may,” says Mr. Telang, “lay it down as more than probable that the latest date at which the Gita can have been composed, must be earlier than the third century B. C., though it is almost impossible to say

how much earlier.” Opposed to this view is that of Mr. Davies, Edwin Arnold and others. The former recognises the difficulty of coming to a definite conclusion, but says that it is probable that the Gita was composed somewhere in the 2nd or 3rd century after Christ. Mr. Edwin Arnold is also of the above opinion. But Mr. Dahlmann the German Jesuit, the pupil of Böhler, (who has himself translated the Dharmasutras, Manusmriti, etc., who has in fact traversed the whole field of the sacred laws of the Aryans) assigns the Mahabharata to a period not later than the 4th century before Christ. All modern researches tend to establish the pre-christian date of the Bhagavad Gita. But as already said, it is yet an open question. We shall lay aside the consideration of this point with the following remarks. Truth, in whatever religion it is embodied, is one and the same. History shows us that in every nation there have been teachers who have had some glimpse of the eternal Truth, and it is but idle to trace the origin of one religion to another.

The different Schools of the Gita.

There are three different schools of the Gita following the three great commentators Sankaracharya, Ramanujacharya, and Madhwacharya. These are known respectively as ‘Adwaita,’ (Monism) ‘Visishtadwaita’ (qualified Monism) and Dwaita, (Dualism). Every tenet, nay every verse of the Gita, has been interpreted in the light of these three teachers.

(1) Adwaita (Monism.)

Their main difference is this. Sankara holds that only the Self *i.e.*, the Universal Soul exists. The individual Souls or Egos, as something different and distinct from the Universal, do not exist. Nor does Matter exist. It is owing to ignorance or Avidya or Universal Nescience that the individual Soul or Jiva (chit), and Matter (jada) seem to exist apart and distinct from the Cosmic Soul or Iswara (sat). When this Avidya is removed by knowledge, their identity would become plain. The famous saying ‘*Tat tvam asi*’ (Thou art That) embodies the pith of the monistic teaching. It means that the individual Soul is one with the Universal Soul and the Universal Soul is one with the one and only Self. The Universal Soul (sat) is Brahman or Supreme Reality viewed as in union with Prakriti or the self.

fieigned world-fiction. This is the theory of Universal unity, abstract identity or absolute idealism.

(2) *Visishtadvaita* (qualified monism.)

The Visishtadvaitins (or qualified monists) of the school of Ramanuja, hold that Iswara, or the Universal Soul (sat), the individual Soul (chit), and Matter (jada) have got separate existence in *abstraction* and are eternal. But their existence is always conjoined. You cannot catch any of them independent and separate. In every existence howsoever minute, these three are inseparably conjoined and exist together.

(3) *Dvaita* (Dualism).

The Dwaitins or Dualists of the school of Madhwa hold that Sat, Chit and Jada have got separate and independent existence. They are severally eternal. Among the Jivas, they distinguish between Nitya Mukthas and Nitya Badhas (ever-released and ever-bound). The Demiurgus or Iswara created both Soul and Matter and since creation they have been remaining and will remain eternally distinct and separate. But Iswara has omnipotence over both Souls and Matter. Though these diametrically opposed interpretations have been given by ingenious commentators, the teaching of the Gita is admittedly Vedantic and inquistic, and Sankara is the most renowned commentator of all and the best exponent of the Vedantic system.

The occasion for the teaching of Krishna.

The proximate cause for the exposition of this highly metaphysical system is, as would be seen from the first Chapter of the Gita, the despondency of Arjuna. Forgetting his various duties as a Kshetriya, as the leader of a party most wrongfully and cruelly persecuted by the scheming and deep-seated felony of his unrelenting foes, as again one who has espoused the just cause, Arjuna is moved to pity by the thought that he would have in the course of the day to send so many of his relatives to their last rest! And all this for what? For the satisfaction of that unhallowed craving for fleeting pleasures dull! Not for all the worlds would he wade through his kinsmen's blood to reach such a goal, for, thereby he would be committing a sin. It is then that Krishna comes to his aid as his spiritual guide and removes the film of ignorance which for the while blinded him to all sense of duty. This exposition begins with Ch. II. Ver. 11.

It is the ethical value of this teaching—its value as a system supplying criteria for the regulation of conduct—that we are to consider.

The metaphysics of the Gita.

For a proper understanding of the Ethics of the Gita, it is essential that one should know something of the metaphysical foundation on which the ethical superstructure is built. The proximate aim of the Gita is purely practical, *viz.*, the removal of obstructions (prathibandhas) which blind one to a proper sense of his duty. This is accomplished by rooting out the weeds of ignorance through the instrumentality of metaphysics and planting instead therein the evergreen palm of Knowledge.

The unity of existence.

The first thing to grasp in trying to understand the metaphysics of the Gita is the unity of Existence—existence noumenal and not phenomenal. The Self, the Brahman, is the one supreme real noumenal existence. What phenomenal existence is, we would come to know later on when we have comprehended something of the cosmology and the psychology of the Gita. The word Brahman which denotes the Supreme Reality comes from the root 'Brih'—to grow, and is expressive of growth and greatness. This Brahman is a vastness unlimited in space, in time and in content, for there is nothing known as a limit to Brahman. It is beyond time, space and causation. The term applies to a thing of transcendent greatness. Brahman *per se*, is neither God nor conscious God. It is attributeless. In the language of the western philosophers, Brahman may vaguely be rendered to be consciousness. But it should particularly be noted that Brahman *is* consciousness, *is* knowledge. We cannot say that Brahman *has* consciousness or *has* knowledge. This Brahman is overspread by Avidya or Maya or by Nescience, veiling from it its proper nature and projecting the world of semblances, the phantasmagory of metempsychosis. It is Maya that presents the manifold of experience. The world with its apparent duality of subject and object, internal and external orders, is the figment of this fiction,—the imagination of illusion. It is through this connection with Avidya and the consequent illusory duality and plurality, that the Self is seen to assume the shape of innumerable living things and passes through successive spheres of trans-migratory experience as through dream after dream. Hence the

world proceeds not from Brahman *per se*, but from Brahman reflected upon its counterfeit Maya, or fictitiously circumscribed, by the limitations of the world-fiction. To the soul that wakes to its own nature, all the stir of daily life, all the feverish pleasures and pains of life after life, cease to be, nay, what is more, have never so much as been. The Brahman so limited by Maya, is the Saguna Brahman or qualified Brahman as distinguished from the Nirguna Brahman or Brahman *per se*. It is the Logos, or in the language of old writers, Iswara or Pratyagatma or Sabda Brahman. It is called the *Verbum* or the Word, by the Christians, and it is the Divine *Christos* who is eternally in the bosom of His Father. It is the Avalokiteswara of the Buddhists. It is the Demiurgus or the world evolving Deity.

How this Avidya comes to affect Brahman.

A question may be raised in this connection, how this Avidya or Nescience comes to affect the Supreme Self, which is all in all, subject to nothing outside it, because there is nothing outside it, which is perfect in every way. To this no definite answer could be given except that it *is* so. But this answer has been considered to be unsatisfactory, because they do not answer *why* it is so. Here is the unbridgeable abyss of the monistic Vedantists—the rock which they cannot climb—the height beyond which no human reason perhaps can safely and calmly breathe. Says Prof. Max Müller (Lect. on the Vedanta II.), “There is a point in every system of philosophy where a confession of ignorance is inevitable, and all the greatest philosophers have had to confess that there are limits to our understanding the world; nay, this knowledge of the limits to our understanding has since Kant’s Criticism of Pure Reason, become the very foundation of Critical philosophy.”

The Nature of the Demiurgus.

Now what is the Nature of this Demiurgus? It is eternal both as to the past and the future, uncreated, and having in itself a potentiality of issuing forth and forming all material existences. It has three constituent qualities called gunas or threads. These are (1) Sattwa (Goodness), which is of a fine and elastic nature; (2) Rajas (Passion) the element of motion, active and restless, of which things animate are chiefly formed; and (3) Tamas (Darkness), the source of inanimate things, of stupi-

dity, of delusion. This Nature as undeveloped is called Avyakta (unmanifested); and Vyakta (manifested) when developed into the manifold forms of the existing world. This Avyaktha which may also be called the Mulaprakrithi is Parabrahman seen by the Logos with a veil thrown over it and that veil is the mighty expanse of cosmic matter. It is the basis of material manifestations in the cosmos. The nature and excellence of these forms depend on the nature of the guna that prevails in it and the manner in which each may be modified by the others.

Cosmic Evolution and Cosmic Pralaya.

At the end of every period of creation (kalpa), or at every cosmic Pralaya, Demiurgus through its Prakrithi (Nature), takes into itself the whole of the manifested or Vyakta, and at the beginning of creation or when cosmic evolution commences, leaves them out from itself, or evolves the whole world. Such is the idea of cosmic creation and cosmic destruction according to the Gita.

The two fundamental tenets of ancient Hindu philosophy.

Thus we see that all existences are but mutations of the Self, and all the individual Egos thus partaking of the nature of the Demiurgus are eternal. Consequently, the soul does not perish when it has shuffled off this mortal coil; but only the physical body (Stula sarira) perishes. The soul leaves the physical body with all the tendencies begotten by Karma and is born again through the agency of that unbending law of Retribution. Here is made plain the doctrine not only that of transmigration but also that of the immortality of the soul. These were two tenets of the ancient Hindus, which were subscribed to as above all doubt and question.

What is meant by Experience.

Let us next consider what the meaning of the word experience is to the Hindu philosopher. Every bit of experience, says he, presupposes three and *only* three things. These are (1) Gnatha (knower), (2) Gnanam (knowledge or consciousness) and (3) Gnayam (the object of knowledge). Every entity in the cosmos except Parabrahman, must come under one or the other of these three headings. Parabrahman itself seems to be the one source of which Gnatha, Gnanam and Gnayam are the manifestations or modes of existence. Such being the case, Gnatha

which is the individual cognizer or Ego and which in its essence is Parabrahman, has from its objective standpoint, certain cognitions or ideas generated by Mulaprakriti which is *itself* Parabrahman seen with a veil thrown over it. This Mulaprakriti it is, that presents the manifold of experience. The thing-in-itself (Parabrahman) which generates and presents to *itself* the manifold of experience is uncognizable. In the language of Kant, it is known only through certain *forms* or *moulds*. In every objective consciousness we know only what comes to us through these *forms* or *moulds* of thought.

Berkeley's idealism and Vedantic idealism.

Hence all knowledge is purely idealistic. There is a close resemblance between Bishop Berkeley's idealism and the Vedantic idealism. But the difference should also be noted. With Berkeley, the Universal Ego is said to present the manifold of experience to the individual Ego. Their identity is not asserted as a fact. But with the Vedantist, the cognizer and the manifold are both in their true nature Parabrahman, which is the one real entity and the essence of all existing things. This is the reason why pleasures and pains are described in the Gita as arising from the contacts of the senses. The Ego or the Soul has nothing to do with these contacts of the senses, for in his true nature the Ego is one with the true Essence and far removed from all these mind-projected illusions. "The senses are superior to the external objects which they perceive; and the *Manas* or the internal faculty of attention is superior to the senses; the co-ordinating Intellect is superior to the *Manas*, and the Self or the Atman is superior to the Intellect," (III-42), inasmuch as it gives unity to all that is made out by the Intellect, the *Manas* and the Senses. From this it could be seen, that the Self is simply the *conscious* basis or *unifying* principle of human experience, and thus need not necessarily be associated with the participation of pleasures and pains. This is why the Atman is said to be the *agent* or *witness* rather than the *enjoyer*.

The world my own representation.

Thus, it becomes very clear to the ancient Hindu author of the Gita, that the world, as we find it, is not at all a noumenal reality. He regarded the world as every one's own representation. It was nothing but the mind-projected figment of migrating souls. To him, all pleasures and pains affected the material

Manas and not the Soul, which is only a *witness* quite removed and free from all passions and emotions. It is owing to the idea that these pleasures and pains are one's own, that one takes this world, as he finds it, to be real. It is this egotistic regard for pleasures and pains and the consequent identification of the soul with the material body, in which it is chained by Karma, that tightens the bond of action the more, and involves one most inextricably in the wheel of metempsychosis. To him who rises superior to pleasures and pains, love and hatred, to him who overcomes the idea 'I do,' 'I love,' 'I desire,' 'I hate,' &c., in fact to him who has shattered the armament of egotism by the dynamite of knowledge, to such a one there is no bond of action. He is liberated and free from this Cycle of births and deaths and realising his identity with the supreme spiritual Reality, becomes one with Brahman, and enjoys the primal state of unconscious repose.

Self-realisation is the goal.

The root of evil is thus the false Self that hides the real Spirit within man and asserts itself in the vain conceit of its own sufficiency and the lust of possession. This false Self under the pretence of being the real Self which is immortal and perfectly pure, brings misery and affliction to man. To realise the true nature of the Self, to be free from all evils and sorrows, is to attain salvation. There is a striking resemblance between Spinoza's self-realization and this Vedantic self-realization.

The Substantial reality of the world is not denied.

We see thus from the cosmology of the Gita, that the substantial reality of the world is not denied, for that rests in Brahman; but all that we see and hear by our limited senses, all that we perceive, conceive, and name is purely phenomenal—is the result of Avidya. That which I call my real world is a world of my own making. Apart from me, nothing can be long or short, black or white, bitter or sweet. In fact all the pairs of opposites are my own creations, and I could, if I so will it, transcend these pairs of opposites which ultimately arise from contacts of the senses. But for all practical purposes, the phenomenal world is as real as the noumenal. The former in its objective or subjective character should be accepted as real. It is as real as anything can be to the ordinary mind. It is not mere emptiness as the Buddhist maintains.

Recapitulation.

Let us pause and consider the salient points which we have to keep in view in proceeding with our abstruse train of reasoning. Brahman or Supreme Spirit is the sole Reality. From its everlasting union with its counterfeit Maya, where it becomes the Demiurgus, proceed the phantasmagory of migrating souls. The souls, though they are in their proper nature one with the Universal Self, are on account of their union with Avidya or Nescience unable to recognize this unity. Consequently the mind-created pleasures and pains, likes and dislikes, desires and hatreds sway them, for they identify themselves with the false selves. As a necessary result of this identification, good and evil acts are done and merit and demerit accumulate. The accumulation of merit and demerit yokes men to the wheel of births and deaths "to whirl the round of false delights, and woes that are not false". The wheel of births and deaths turns high and low and they along with it. Thus do they turn round and round "the whirling wheel of strife and stress, which none can stay or stem."

Heaven a comparative evil.

Even the highest state, *viz.*, that of the Gods—the enjoyment of Heaven—does not release one from the meshes of Metempsychosis. The stock of merit which had been accumulated and stored up, and which had procured the highest state of the Gods in Heaven, would soon be exhausted, and when that stock is exhausted by enjoyment, begins anew for that bankrupt soul, the migratory existence:—

"Since, that which rises falls, and that which buys
Is spent; if you buy Heaven with your blood
In Hell's hard market, when the bargain is through
The toil begins again!"

It is interesting to note a striking parallel to this doctrine, in the teaching of the Quietist school of the church of Rome represented by Molinos and Madame Guyon, which taught that the incentive to a godly life should not be the hope of heaven, but the pure love of God.

Emancipation of the Soul the highest aim.

Thus we see that the summum bonum of life ought to be the extrication from the never-ending and ever-turning migra-

tory wheel and the consequent ecstatic union with the Supreme Self which can only be represented by silence.

Understanding thus far, we are now in a position to follow the teaching of Krishna which has not been immortalised in the Bhagavad Gita or the Divine Lay.

*The teaching of Krishna.**Grief and delusion the Cause of Samsara.*

We have seen that what swayed Arjuna from the performance of his duty as a Kshetriya was the reluctance which he felt to kill his relations on account of the sorrow at their death. This sorrow is caused by the false Self which identifying itself with the true one, says "I have done this," "these are mine," etc. This is the enemy to be overcome to attain the eternal life. For, it is grief and delusion which overcome discrimination, and swerve one from the path of duty. Moreover, even when engaged in duties, egoism and the hope of reward bring about an accumulation of merit and demerit (Dharma and Adharma), and on account of this, the Samsara becomes endless, involving good and bad births, happiness and misery. Grief and delusion are thus the cause of Samsara. And seeing that their cessation could not be brought about except by a knowledge of the Self together with a clear conception of right and wrong, Krishna begins by teaching that knowledge to Arjuna with Ch. II. Ve. II.

The summum bonum of the teaching of the Gita.

The *summum bonum* of the teaching of the Gita is the emancipation of the soul from the miseries of metempsychosis. Proceeding from the data of the immortality of the souls, their migration from body to body through the instrumentality of Karma (Action), the Gita has laid down as its fundamental dogma, its prime key note, the miseries of metempsychosis. The greatest aim, the supreme bliss for the soul is to be perfectly in its proper nature, in the enjoyment of unconscious repose through ecstatic union with the supreme reality, unfettered by the bonds of sense. Keeping this in view, and finding that Arjuna swerves from his duty as a true Kshetriya at the thought that he would have to kill his kinsmen and relatives, Krishna wishes to rescue him from this grave error and bring him round to a proper performance of his duty.

Paths to liberation are three,

To gain this end, Lord Vasudeva shows him certain paths, to liberation. These paths may for convenience sake be divided into three (1) The Gnana Yoga—The path or devotion of knowledge, (2) The Karma Yoga—The path or devotion of works, (3) The Bhakti Yoga—The path or devotion of love.

(1) The Gnana Yoga.

The Gnana Yoga is the path to liberation through knowledge, through the knowledge and the realisation of the immortality of the Soul, of its identity with the one and Supreme Self, of its changeless, actionless and indestructible natures and of its difference from the false Self. One who has thus realised the true nature of the Self and thus follows the path called Gnana Yoga, would have no element of selfishness in him. He would not do actions for the sake of the fruit which they bear, for, he has no desires to fulfil and no pleasures to gain. His one solicitude would be to do duty for duty's sake and thereby set an example to the erring mass of mankind. Self-sacrifice is in his very nature and he lives only for that. Here, he does actions with the full knowledge that his Self is inactive. He is not swayed by inclinations or motives to action, because it is the same to him if he is, or is not engaged in actions. If the former part of Ch. II begins an exposition of Gnana Yoga.

The changeless nature of the Soul.

The changeless, immortal and indestructible nature of the Self is expounded in Ch. II, V. 11-13; 16-21; 23-25; 30, &c. At death, the Soul only passes from its old and rotten house to its new one, just as one doffs off old and worn out garments and dons on new ones (II-22). So in fighting, or as he calls it in killing, the Self does not kill, nor is the Self destroyed. Cold and heat, pleasure and pain and other pairs of opposites are only the result of contacts of the senses. These are ever coming and going and are impermanent and one should rise superior to them (II-14), for only he whom they afflict not is fit for immortality (II-15).

Krishna's refutation of Arjuna's position.

If Arjuna questions the validity of the above truth and holds that the Soul is capable of birth and death and is amen-

able to pleasure and pain, even in that case, there is no reason why he should refrain from doing his duty. Death is an inevitable consequent of birth; and so is birth of death. And since sorrow about the inevitable is useless, he should do his duty as a Kshetriya (II. 26 and 27). If on the other hand he holds that he is ignorant of the nature of the Self, then, why on earth should he be sorry about something of which he is totally in the dark? Justice is on his side and he and his party have tried their best to bring about an amicable settlement of affairs. The first three of the four Upayas, viz., Sama, Dana and Bheda have successively and repeatedly been tried and have failed owing to the wickedness of the Kauravas. Driven to the last resort of Danda—battle, why should he not do his duty as a Kshetriya in fighting out a righteous battle? If he still persists in his present attitude, his conduct would be condemned by the wise as proceeding from ignorance, would debar him from heaven as a consequence of a non-performance of his duty, and would entail dishonor, for he would be regarded as a base coward by the very persons whose terror he was. The Kshetriya in testifying his readiness to fight out a just battle, establishes his purely unselfish nature thereby proving that he loves justice more than he does his own life. Hence it is that Arjuna is exhorted to behave like a true Kshetriya.

The impracticability of Gnana Yoga.

An exposition of Gnana Yoga might lead one to infer, that perfect inaction is the best way to emancipation because it was said that Karma (action) it was that brought about the endlessness of migration. But perfect inaction is a very difficult if not an impossible feat. On the one hand there are the qualities of Nature which constrain every-body to some action or other. On the other hand this perfect inaction stands in the way of pulling on even one's own bodily existence. (III. 5 and 8). Considerations like these, coupled with the want of universality for this path of knowledge—because all are unable to be inactive—move Krishna to the path of works or Karma Yoga. The very theory of Karma requires the performance of works in the present life, so as to counteract the bondage-producing effects of works performed in previous lives, intimating thereby that the work of life altogether selflessly performed, can alone lead to liberation and salvation.

The Karma Yoga.

Actions are of two kinds—those done for the attainment of ends, and those done without any reference whatever to ends, *i.e.*, duties done for duty's sake. It is only the former kinds that lead to the migratory bond. The latter having no reference to their fruits, are perfectly harmless so far as this bond is concerned. Hence only the latter kind of actions should be done. Neither inclinations nor desires for the fruits of actions should move one to do them. So he says, "your business is only with action and not with the fruit of actions. Let not the fruit of actions be your motive to action (II-47)." He is the wise among men who keeps the above distinction always before his mind's eye. Actions are the result of the three qualities of Nature and as such, the Self has nothing to do with them or their fruits. This is taught in the latter part of Chapter II and in Chapter III. Arjuna is exhorted to be a Yogi, one who knows the truth about actions. Gain or loss and the resultant happiness or misery should not sway him. He should follow duty for the sake of duty, without the least care for consequences. Here is the famous doctrine afterwards enunciated and elaborated by Kant. It was preached and developed and made part and parcel of the teachings of early Hindus, many many centuries before Kant saw the light of day and formulated the doctrine.

The attitude of the Gita towards the Vedas.

It is in this connection that the Vedas are condemned as not only useless but positively mischievous and misleading. The Vedas deal with the three qualities of Nature and treat of the fruits of action and the means of attaining them. If one follows these principles of action as formulated in the Vedas, the transmigratory life would become endless; for, the highest pedestal attainable through the Vedic ceremonies is the highest Heaven and as we have seen Heaven is comparatively an evil, not being free from the migratory law. The flowery language of the Vedas should not beguile one out of his self-control. Here is embodied the stern attitude of the Gita towards Ritualism.

Distinction between duties prescribed in the Vedas.

The above distinction between actions should be made in following the actions prescribed in the Scriptures. Else would he be bound by the bonds of action to the migratory wheel.

He should distinguish between duties that are *absolute* and duties that are *relative*. Absolute duties (Nityakarma) are those which have no reference whatever to ends. They are prescribed as duties because they are duties.

The wise Karma-Yogin.

Relative duties (Naimithika and kamya Karmas) are those which have either proximate or remote reference to ends. These duties being relative, have no binding force on those who rise superior to the desires of those ends. To them, the Vedas as far as their relative duties are concerned, have no binding force. These principles are treated in Ch. II. 41-45, 52-53; Ch. IV. 9; Ch. IX. 20-21; &c. Knowing this that there is in the Vedas only as much utility as there is in a reservoir of water when all around there is a flood of water, and that man is to determine for which particular purpose—ultimately good or bad—he is to use the water; the wise man should follow only the absolute duties prescribed therein. Here is the important rule of conduct 'Duty for duty's sake.' Realising the truth that "this is a sense-world, plays with the senses," the wise Karma-Yogin rises superior to the temptations and objects of the senses and freeing himself from all inclinations, leads a life of pure Reason. He casts off all desires as something contrary to his nature and being convinced that "Nought of myself I do," stands a veritable rock unmoved alike by the summer sunshine or the winter showers.

Which is better—Gnana Yoga or Karma Yoga?

Now we have considered Gnana Yoga and Karma Yoga and come to the conclusion that both these paths lead to one and the same goal, *viz.*, the emancipation of the soul. Next, let us consider which of these paths is the better and the smoother one. Testing it first by the principle of universality, we have found that while only very few are fit to follow the path of renunciation and inaction, a larger number could safely resort to the path of works. Even for him who has realised the Self and is able to renounce all actions, it is not at all wise that he should do so. Not to speak of the great probability of such a one being hurled down from the 'high pedestal' of renunciation into the abyss of works by the most potent nature—perhaps to be lost for ever therein—there is another and a more vital consideration which should always keep him engaged in works. And that is this: whatever a great man does, that other men also do (III. 20). One

might be mentally ripe for total renunciation : and, if he does renounce, the ignorant might also try to do the same, without however realising the Self or being ripe for it. This would surely lead them to utter misery for;

" the light
Of Truth's high noon is not for tender leaves,
Which must spread abroad in other suns and lift
In later lives a crowned head to the sky."

So it is that Arjuna is exhorted not to mislead those who are attached to actions by setting an example of renunciation. A wise man should not shake the convictions of the ignorant who are attached to action for they are men of imperfect knowledge (III. 26 and 29). So it was that Janaka (a famous Rajarishi or philosopher-king) and others of old, who had realised the Self, were yet following the path of works. So it is, says Sree Krishna, that he himself is engaged in action, even though he has no desire to do and nothing to gain. He does so, because he wants to set an example to the masses and not to mislead them. If he were not to do actions the whole world would be destroyed and would be in perfect misery (III. 20-24 ; IV. 15, etc.) As the ignorant man attached to the fruits of action, does actions to gain their fruits, so the wise man does actions unattached, for the sake of setting an example to the masses (III. 25). There is yet another reason why the path of works should be preferred to the path of renunciation. Even if one holds the view—as some do hold—that liberation is only to be got through the realisation of the Self coupled with the renunciation of all works, and that it cannot be had through Karma Yoga, even then, the wise man would follow Karma Yoga, as a first step in the ladder of ascent towards salvation. It is an admitted fact that actions are not so soon conquerable. Therefore strike at the very root. Actions are the result of motives. Motives are generally the securing of a pleasure or the avoiding of a pain. If you rise superior to pleasures and pains, if you discard all desires for the fruits of actions, if you overcome all inclinations and do actions simply and purely because they are prescribed duties, then, you can by slow but sure strides attain the very high pedestal of renunciation. Thus we see that in every way Karma Yoga is more feasible than, and so preferable to, Gnana Yoga.

Karmā Yoga and Gnana Yoga are really identical.

Thus preferring Karma Yoga to Gnana Yoga, Krishna goes on to say that the seeming antagonism between these two paths, the bond which actions are said to create and tighten, and the consequent preference given to inaction, is due to the want of discrimination between action, inaction and prohibited action. It is ignorance, the hideous hag Avidya "whose footsteps left the midnight darker," that creates this antagonism and thus supplies the propelling force to the migratory wheel. Sound discrimination would overcome all confusion, for, the wise man would see action in inaction and inaction in action. It is not the objective attitude that lends colouring and weight to actions but the subjective. Motives, not acts, are the objects of ethical judgment. Keeping these in view a Gnana Yogi can at the same time be a Karma Yogi. So Arjuna is exhorted to destroy with the sword of knowledge these misgivings of his which fill his mind, and to engage in the path of works, for he is the wise man who sees Sankhya and Yoga as one.

The meaning of Renunciation.

Renunciation should be understood to mean the renunciation of the fruits of action—of fancies—and that is what is wanted to cut asunder the bonds of action. Inaction even if possible, is perfectly useless without a knowledge of the Self. The perfect Yogi is liberated even in this life—is a Jivanmuktha, has attained Arahatsip. To him his happiness is within himself, his recreation is within himself and his light of knowledge is within himself. In him :—

" The aching craze to live ends, and life glides—
Lifeless—to nameless quiet, nameless joy,
Blessed Nirvana—sinless stirless rest—
That change which never changes."

Self-control essential.

Now that the subjective attitude of the mind is made so much of and the objective discarded, it is plain that a proper control over the mind is an essential requisite for a Yogi, "since soul (mind) that is Self's friend may grow Self's foe." But how to get a control over the mind. The mind is active and unsteady. It is fickle, hoisterous, strong, obstinate and as uncontrollable as the wind. Krishna says that the mind may be restrained by constant practice and by indifference to worldly objects. Then he

gives certain directions which smack more or less of occultism; but these do not directly concern us here.

The pure-souled devotee.

The highest happiness comes to the devotee whose mind is fully tranquil, in whom the quality of passion has been suppressed. The veil is rent which blinded him. Such an high-souled devotee sees in everything an image of the eternal Self; compares the pleasures and pains of all the creatures with his own pleasures and pains; and subjecting the little wheel of his individuality to the complex machinery around and its great fly-wheel, is purely altruistic in all that he does.

The Yogabhrashṭa's destiny.

Now, it is not all that attain the consummation of devotion in one life. As a matter of everyday experience we see that circumstances or at least our wayward nature shake us from our firm, well-meant resolves. What then is the fate of a *Yogabhrashṭa*—of one who through some reason or other has gone astray from the Noble Path. Has he who has hopelessly stumbled through some cause or other in the path of knowledge and works, and dashed his head against the granite pavement of ignorance, no hope of liberation? Is he for ever “to whirl round the migratory wheel and hug and kiss its spokes of agony?” No, says Krishna, he is not lost; for, none who perform good deeds come to an evil end. If not in this life, at least in another, he is sure to reach the Supreme Goal, led away by the same former practice. So even *he*, is not without hopes. And thus there need be no doubt at all in choosing this Noble Path.

(3) *Why Bhakti Yoga is preached.*

The impracticability of Gnana Yoga as a universal path led Krishna to expound the path of works. But the path of works was found to be defective in certain respects. The fickle and uncontrollable nature of the human mind, its propensity to follow the strongest motive to the exclusion of all the rest, the fact that such motives are in most cases supplied by the pleasure-bound senses and not by Reason, the elimination of all element of feeling which vitiated the otherwise-unparalleled Categorical Imperative ‘Duty for duty’s sake,’ the remote and uncertain nature of the hope extended to a *Yogabhrashṭa* coupled with the fact that even the best of men are more or less *Yogabhrashṭas*—these considerations moved Krishna to point out a

smoother and more facile path to him who aspired. While in Karma Yoga all common motives of action in the way of enjoyment of pleasures and pains have to be killed and duty done for duty’s sake, in Bhakti Yoga the motives themselves are ennobled by being based on a universal and an all comprehending love directed to the Person who forms the life and soul of the universe. The Gnana Yogin is unselfish because he sees that selfishness leads to bondage; the Karma Yogin is unselfish because all motives are killed in him; the Bhakti Yogin is unselfish because he *loves* all creatures and his motive is purely an altruistic love. The first two paths were only for him who had a mastery over his senses. He indeed can lead a pure and saintly life. But we do not, as a matter of fact, see such embodiments of purity and saintliness in this world. Though one wishes to be all rectitude, all purity, all saintliness, all charity in this world, yet one stumbles perhaps at the very first step, swayed by the strong current of desires and aversions which are the very enemies which drag him away from and off the goal. How then is he to get himself clear of these enemies of mankind? What would supply him with an adequate and strong motive to righteous conduct? Is he to be left alone weak and helpless, amidst his wicked enemies—the fiery passions—who unrelentingly yoke him to the migratory wheel and make him fashion miserable lives through all eternity? Is there to be no hope? no single ray of divine compassion? no beneficent Father who with a benign smile of heavenly pity would stretch out a helping hand to guide him out of the intricacies and pitfalls of this evanescent sense-existence? It is this craving after a higher power, that is the origin of all religious sentiment in man—his utter impotence in this mysterious life of sense. This craving after a higher Being, an all-powerful self-sufficient existence, could be satisfied, says Krishna, through the devotion of love. Through this path would the aspiring devotee come to recognise the divine Godhead capable of extending the necessary helping hand. Hence it is that he says, ‘Place your mind on me only; fix your understanding on me. In me (*i.e.*, assimilated with me) you will dwell hereafter. There is no doubt’ (XII. 8; IX. 34, etc.) Sankara commenting on Ch. XI. Ve. 55 [He who performs act for (propitiating) me, to whom I am the highest object, who is my devotee, who is free from attachment, and who has no enmity towards any being, *he*, O! son of Pandu, comes to me, *says*,

that in that sloka is to be found the essence of the teaching of the Gita. Thus we see that the Bhakti Yoga is the most appropriate for all mankind.

How to conceive God.

For the purpose of worshipping the divine Godhead through the devotion of love, it is necessary that one should have a conception of God. As conditioned beings, men cannot possibly deal with the Supreme Truth, except through the symbolism of words, which without defining, indicates it. From this, it is clear that the value of these symbols depend on the response which they receive from the human mind. Hence as the characteristics of men differ, the symbols must differ also in order to be of the same service to all. This most important fact, that all are not equally ripe in their mental culture to receive the same spiritual relations, was recognized by the Hindus from the very earliest days: while this fundamental and necessary distinction was ignored by every other religion. Says Prof. Max Müller (Lect. on the Vedānta, pp. 17-19), "It was recognized in India from very early times that the religion of man cannot be and ought not to be the same as that of a child, and again with the growth of mind, the religious ideas of an old man must differ from those of an active man of the world. . . . It is hardly credible how completely all other religions have overlooked these simple facts, how they have tried to force on the old and the wise the food that was meant for the babes, and how they have thereby alienated and lost their best and strongest friends." Krishna had kept this distinction, and he divides men into three classes according to their spiritual culture.

Three grades of spiritual culture. (1) High spirituality.

First come those who are most highly spiritual. These persons can realise the Deity through verbal symbols. These recognize Him to be identical with the true Self within them (*Vide* Ch. VII). The spirit of God is supreme consciousness. This is the Supreme Deity as He is Himself. By His mysterious Will, He unites consciousness without causing any alteration in its nature, with the objective which is His power and no substance in itself. Whoever knows that the Spirit of God as present in the ant is the same as in the highest celestial being and also in Himself is liberated.

(2) Moderate spirituality.

Next in order of spirituality come those who through impurity of their nature cannot realise like the former and higher class, but have got faith and can concentrate. These *believe*, but do not *realise*. These persons are of moderate spirituality and the adequate conceptions of God for them is dealt with in Ch. VIII. The result of their striving is said to be gradual emancipation along the path of the Gods.

(3) Immature spirituality.

Thirdly come those who are lower still, who through carnality of their nature cannot even concentrate their minds on truth. These persons of immature spirituality are counselled to worship God in the way chalked out in Ch. IX & X, which is followed in Ch. XI by the Vision of Arjuna. In reality, however, the Deity has no form. What prophets and pure-souled devotees see, is the reflection, so to speak, of the incomprehensibly Divine Majesty on the spiritual perception of man.

The relation between man and God.

Next Krishna goes on to lay out the relation between man and God. The connection is one of identity. This identity is nothing more or less than a participation in the real nature of God and identity with him in will and design. The supremely real nature of God is the Spirit of God and nothing else. The consciousness in man when disconnected with everything else, is the same as the consciousness which is called Deity. There is not the least difference in that. But this identity is of no use to him unless he realises it, and this he can never attain except by the grace of God. Hence there should be practice of divine love or devotion. The power of God works in three characters usually called the qualities of Nature, *viz.*, Sattwa, Rajas and Tamas (Purity, Passion and Darkness). These qualities are in every man, and his striving should be to become most Satwic (Pure) and least Rajasic and Tamasic (Passionate and dark). It is the preponderance of the last two that lead to misery and migration. To enable one to follow the Satwic to the exclusion of Rajasic and Tamasic, the different kinds of knowledge, acts, piety, devotion, charity, duties, etc., etc., are described according to the three qualities above mentioned. The aspiring devotee should follow, or at least strive hard to follow, those which are purely Satwic. Thus would he participate in the divine nature

and attain liberation, for the divine Godhead is purely Satwic in His Nature.

The Lord Sree Krishna then concludes thus his most divine and sacred revelations: This forms the key to the whole teaching of the Gita. "On me place your mind, become my devotee, sacrifice to me, and you will certainly come to me. Forsaking all duties (of caste or order) come to me as your sole refuge. I will release you from all sins. Be not grieved" (XVIII. 65 and 66.)

Faith as a path to salvation.

Here is preached the great sanctity of faith as a path to salvation. All things done in perfect faith in the supreme God can only be pure. It should be clearly understood here, that what is meant is not the sanctification of sin: but simply the recognition of the impossibility, of a genuine devotee committing a sin in an atmosphere filled with divine devotion. To the ordinary man, association with sinners, for instance, might be productive of much harm by inducing him also to commit sin. Therefore the general prohibition of such association is not without meaning and value. But in the case of Jesus, for example, His great glory is to be found in His ready association with Publicans and sinners. By mixing with them, He certainly did not sanctify sin, and His association with them was nothing wrong in His case, because He had so realised the purity of His own spiritual nature, that sin itself had become quite incompatible with it. The Sattwika of the Gita is one who has realised his spiritual nature thus. And when it is said, that he can do nothing wrong, it is not meant to express that the wrong he does is no wrong at all, but that nothing wrong is compatible with his inner spiritual nature. For him whose actions are all prompted by divine love and by no other motive, actions cannot weave the pleasure-baited net which catcheth the unwary soul, to be plunged hopelessly into its meshes.

Love of God a sufficient motive to action.

Thus we see how the love of God supplies a sufficient motive to disinterested action. This would duty be done for the love of God, and the love of God being the doing of one's duty without any regard whatever to the ends of actions, duty is ultimately done for the sake of duty. Having reached this peak, it becomes easy to climb to the next, viz., that of Renun-

ciation—in the sense of inaction, if one holds that salvation could be got only through perfect inaction. Thus human nature is one, God is but one, and the path of salvation, though many in appearance, is really but one.

The Ethical bearing of Krishna's teaching.

Let us next proceed to a consideration of the ethics of the Bhagavad Gita, and examine a little more closely, to what extent the principles inculcated in it have a moral value, and how far they supply us with rules of strict moral conduct. The field of metaphysics which we have traversed, and the teachings of Krishna, clearly point out to us what its idea of moral conduct is. The Gita teaches us transcendental ethics, or in other words, its teachings are entirely based on metaphysical principles. Metaphysics forms the groundwork of its ethics as it is its crown. Socrates is said to have brought Philosophy from heaven to earth. The Gita may truly be said to have elevated morality from earth to heaven. The immortality of the Soul is a datum beyond dispute, denied only by ignorant worldlings. No wise man denies that. The one real existence is the Supreme Self, without beginning, without end. We have also seen how the doctrine of transmigration based on the law of Retribution has been deduced from the above data.

The Summum Bonum of the Gita.

The soul of man is not in its proper nature, when chained in this town which hath nine gateways, bound by the bonds of Karma to pass from body to body through aeon after aeon enshrouded by Avidya. The miseries of this state of migration follow from this as a matter of inference. The sooner one shirks off this misery—this bondage—and realises the true nature of the eternal Self within him, the better it is for him. Perfection is to be had only when the soul is in the enjoyment of its true nature—free from the shackles of the senses and their dire temptations. Thus the emancipation of the soul from the miseries of eternal migration is the highest aim of man. This is the summum bonum of existence, the highest and the most supreme good. This may also be termed to be Perfection or Self-realisation.

The Standard of Ethical conduct derived from the Summum bonum.

Like the ancient Greeks, the ancient Hindu Standard of ethical conduct was one derived from his notion of the summum

bonum of existence. To him the question of the summum bonum and not the question of the Standard was of paramount importance. In this respect he differs from the modern moralist, to whom the question of the standard is all in all. Thus, his test of right conduct is conformity to the summum bonum. All actions are right which lead to the emancipation of the soul—which lead to the goal of eternal Brahmanic bliss: and all actions are wrong which tighten the bonds of Karma and lead away from the goal, to be lost in the darkness of egotism—a slave to the most potent enemies of man, *viz.*, desires and aversions (Kama and Krodha). Thus, do such actions only which do not lead to the migratory bond. This is the sum and substance of the Gitaic teaching.

The law of Retribution.

We shall next consider what these actions are, which lead to the migratory bond, and which are consequently to be shunned as evils. Here an understanding of the doctrine of Karma—the law of Retribution is necessary. Those actions which come under the sway of that supreme and immutable law are to be avoided as dangerous enemies by the wise man. What then is this unbending law? A famous writer has immortalised the Law in verse: as:—

"The fixed Arithmetic of the universe,
Which meteth good for good, and ill for ill,
Measure for measure, unto deeds, words, thoughts,
Watchful, aware, implacable, unmoved;
Making all futures fruits of all the pasts."

In other words, happiness follows virtue and misery follows vice. This supreme law "knows not wrath nor pardon." Its faultless balance weighs both good and evil deeds and "measures mete" both happiness and misery according to individual deserts. The two main principles of this law may be said to be these. (1) "That which ye sow, ye reap," (2) "Act maketh joy, and woe."

The origin of this law.

Wherefrom, it might be asked, does this great law originate? Is it independent of the Demiurgus who is said to create in deference to this law? It is in one sense independent, *viz.*, that the Demiurgus cannot act in violation of this moral law of action. Yet in another sense it is not independent and that is this. The law of Retribution is latent in the world-fiction through

union with which the Demiurgus creates the world. Says Mr. Gough, (Phil. of the Upp. p. 208) "The world fiction becomes the source of these inequalities of creation, (*viz.*, some being extremely miserable, others happy, etc.) only by reason of this law of Retribution which is latent in it, owing to the residue of good and evil acts as yet unrecompensed." So we may ultimately say that the law of Retribution is in the very nature of the foundation-principle of the universe itself. This law of Retribution has its source in the principle of justice which underlies the universe, and is derived from the nature of the Ontological entity on which all ethical aims are based. When—as they sometimes do—they speak of God being moral, it cannot have any other rational meaning but this: that absolute and unalloyed justice forms the very foundation of the essential nature of that entity. Thus we can explain the origin of the law of Karma or the law of Retribution.

The scope of this law.

Let us next consider what the scope of this law is. We have already seen that the law of Retribution comprises within its compass both good and evil deeds. Hence "both good works and evil works are, from the higher point of view, evils to be shunned as they protract the migrations of the Soul. It is not exertion, but a perfect inertia that is the path to liberation." It was this that led a particular School of thinkers to point out "total renunciation coupled with knowledge," as the only way leading to the emancipation of the soul. From them Krishna differs. He says that there are three paths to liberation. These are. (1) The Path of Knowledge (Gnana Yoga). (2) The Path of Works (Karma Yoga). (3) The Path of Love or devotion (Bhakti Yoga).

We have seen that what makes Krishna proceed from one to the other, is the difficulty which one has to overcome in following that particular path. Thus the non-feasibility of the path of knowledge being universally followed; the impracticability of total renunciation, and other important considerations already pointed out, led him to widen the meaning of Renunciation.

The elastic meaning of Renunciation.

It is taken to mean the renunciation of all desires for the fruits of action. He then postulates the Karma Yoga, as leading

first to a purification of the Self and ultimately to the path of knowledge. He thus provides a lower step in the ladder for the aspiring soul who wishes to ascend, but yet is incapable of clearing the height by one masterly effort.

The ethical bearing of Karma Yoga.

Here it is that Krishna asks such devotees to do duty for duty's sake. All duties are good which are done for the sake of duty. But what are the criteria for duty? What are one's duties? How is one to determine what one's duties are so that he might do them merely for their sake? It is said that these are to be found in the Scriptures and the sacred Law books, which enumerate the duties of man. Men are divided into four classes according to their inherited tendencies, inherent capacities and inborn tastes. They are divided into Bramana, Kshetriya, Vysia and Sudra. Different duties are laid down for these different classes in the shastras. And these shastras should guide one in discriminating what one's duties are.

Vindication of the Gitaic conception of caste.

These rules have naturally been considered to be very defective as they supply only a relative standard and are to a very large extent guided solely by considerations of heredity. Heredity indeed forms a large factor in the determination of the natural endowments of individuals. But it is not all in all. Nor does the Gita hold that it is all in all. The general characteristics of the nature of the duties that devolve upon different castes are also mentioned in the Gita (XVIII. v-41-44). Therefore the duty of individuals to make out for themselves under what circumstances they can transcend the limitations of heredity and what particular functions in society belong to them in consequence of their own special endowments and fitness, this duty is not lost sight of in the Gita, for, the necessity of the effort to rise from lower planes of ethical existence steadily to higher ones, is imposed upon all. Whoever is in the Tamasa condition is called upon to rise to the Rajasa condition and thence to the Satwika condition. The highest ideal is the Satwika ideal—of Brahminhood, and all are not only entitled to aim at it, but are also enjoined to realise it as far as possible in their own lives. It is only in this way that the duties of individuals living in society, can be made to depend harmlessly upon the conception of caste. Otherwise, the Gita would be contradicting

itself. If in this way, a person finds out his place and function in society, then he is bound to perform the duties of his own station in life, without casting longing glances at the positions and functions of others. The reason for this consists in the fact that for the attainment of salvation and final release, all duties are equally good when they are unselfishly performed. But, so far as the good of society as a whole is concerned, it cannot be said that all persons are fit for the performance of all duties. When duties have all to be discharged unselfishly, the notion of higher and lower in regard to them is untenable. But that there must be the distinction of higher and lower in regard to the position and privileges of men in society, is inevitable, inasmuch as that distinction is based upon natural causes and conditions. This is why the Gita says, "Better one's own duty though imperfect, than the duty of another well discharged. Better death in one's own duty, the duty another brings on danger" (III-35). This sentiment is repeated again in XVIII-47 & 48, etc.

Caution in following the Scriptures.

But in appealing to the scriptures, says Krishna, a distinction should be made between the imperatives laid down by them. As already noticed, imperatives are of three sorts, *viz.*, Nitya, Naimithika and Kamya. In the language of Kantian ethics we may divide them according to their purport into two classes.

Kantian ethics and Gitaic ethics.

(1). Hypothetical imperatives (Naimithika and Kamya duties).

(2). Categorical imperatives (Nitya duties). Only, the categorical imperatives, distinguished as such on account of their having no reference whatever to ends, are binding and not the hypothetical. The categorical imperatives or the Apodictic principles, do not lead to migration, because they have nothing to do with ends. They involve no acts which come under the comprehension of the law of Retribution, and are therefore to be rewarded or punished. Here we see the close and striking similarity between the ancient Gitaic ethics as taught in the Karma Yoga, and the later Kantian ethics. From this principle of duty for duty's sake—the rule of the Categorical imperative—could be deduced and elaborated the many ethical principles of Kant, which have most deservedly won for him, the name of the great transcendental moralist.

The elimination of Feeling remedied.

Though the above rule of the Categorical imperative has got all the glow of perfection, this is only in theory. The total extirpation of the element of feeling vitiated the Karma Yoga. There was found to be no sufficient motive for conforming to the above precept. To remedy this vital defect, and to supply a strong motive to good conduct by appealing to the feelings and sentiments of man, Krishna passes on to Bhakti Yoga and preaches the doctrine of universal love.

The third Noble Path.

This brings us to the third path, the path of love. Do everything for the love of God. This is the peculiar teaching and tenet of Krishna, when any action is done whether it has or has not a proximate or remote reference to ends, do it for the love of God, for the love of that Supreme Self which pervades all existences.

The ethical import of this Path.

This principle of action, as will be seen from a little reflection, embodies an ethics which is purely altruistic in its nature. All element of egoism is swept away by the one Supreme Self which is seen and recognised, loved and worshipped in all sentient existences. Injuring another man would be injuring the Supreme Self that is within him. Injury done to a fellow creature, is an injury done to that Supreme Ego which is alike in the subject and object of such injury. Charity and good works done in love by you, are only the means of propitiating the Self that is alike within you and within the creatures thereby benefited. The purity and sublimity of this path of divine love, of this most easy path to liberation, is beyond all description. It gives a reason why you should love your neighbour. In one of the Upanishads, the sage Yagnavalkya questioned by Maitreyi about immortality, answered thus: Husbands, wives, sons, daughters, friends, neighbours, nay, even the Gods and all the creatures are to be loved and regarded as dear, not for themselves as they appear, but for the Self that is in them, for that eternal Self in which we all share, in which we all live and move and have our being. "Like many other sublime truths in Eastern religion" says Prof. Max Müller, "this shows an enormous amount of intellectual labour, to have reasoned out, that we should love our neighbour, because in loving him, we love God, and in loving

God we love ourselves. The deep truth that lies hidden in this, was certainly not elaborated by any other nation so far as I know." Such a noble compliment from such a high authority cannot at all be slighted. This excellent doctrine embraces all living creatures in one loving brotherhood, roots out the weeds of egoism from where its benign rays have been shed, grows in their place the evergreen creeper of disinterested love, and leads him who follows it to a safe asylum, beyond the reach of that vile demon of metempsychosis. Such in brief is the ethical system which could be worked out from the teaching of Krishna as embodied in the Bhagavad Gita.

Practically the Standard comes to that of Universalistic happiness.

We see then, that, keeping in view the universal love preached in this path of devotion, the moral ideal would be quite divine in its nature. In theory, in practice, in the high ideals kept in view, in the religious devotion with which all moral conduct is permeated, limb and tissue, it stands quite unrivalled in its sublimity. It is transcendental in theory, but most easy of being followed in practice. The pure-souled devotee who practises this divine love would see in all persons, nay, in all sentient existence, an image of his own Self. The practical result of this system of morality would be altruistic and universalistic. In all creatures, there is the Self that is to be loved. In seeking the happiness of another, in loving your neighbour, you would be loving the Self that is within him. Such a one can well say "I love thee best, because I love so well all living souls." Carrying this further on, his actions would ultimately be guided by principles of universalistic happiness. He seeks the greatest happiness of the greatest number because he would thereby be loving the Self that permeates all existences in the best and fittest way. Only, in his casuistic calculation—if he really wants one—he would ignore his own Self: else, he would miss his goal. Herein consists his altruism. Love your neighbour as your own self is the fundamental tenet of this doctrine. The pure and divine love embodied in this most sublime rule of conduct, speaks for itself, and is so resplendent in its divine glory, that no praise need be bestowed on it by us.

The freedom of the will.

One point more shall we consider before we conclude, and that is the question of the Freedom of the Will. This has not

received special treatment at the hands of Krishna. But it is clear from his teachings that perfect freedom is given to the Will of every individual. It is entirely left to him to choose either the path of salvation or that of damnation. The very fact that he can stop the karmic fly-wheel of the migratory machine, shows that he has liberty to choose between two alternatives. But the Freedom of the Will allowed by Krishna is like Kant's, the Freedom to choose between sense and reason—to follow the sensitive nature, rather than the rational,—and not the power to choose between two motives. The famous saying of Kant "Aught implies can" was presupposed as an unquestionable datum throughout the whole of the Gita.

The Law of Karma not fatalistic.

The law of Karma has been misunderstood to be a fatalistic law and thus to contravene the Freedom of the Will. No doubt, one's destinies in this life are according to this law largely those fashioned by him in a previous life. But the very fact that *he* of all others has been able to fashion it in *that* particular way, rather than in another, recognises the Freedom of his Will. But more than this, there is the fact of his ability to mould his own future lives, either in the way of a gradual ascent upwards or a descent downwards. It is even granted, that, in any life, it is possible for men to become ethically so perfect as to reach the condition of the Jivamuktha. Karma counts for much of our environments as we start in our lives. But it does not determine what is to be evolved out of that environment, by our own moral effort. It must be therefore clear that the Law of Karma is not at all fatalistic, and does not deny the Freedom of the Will.

The wise man of the Gita.

The wise man of the Gita is the Yogi who follows the path of love preached by Sree Krishna. He is a walking embodiment of virtue, ever seeking the happiness of all creatures that he comes across, and ever solicitous of doing good. Personality as creating selfishness, is annihilated in him. He is "free from earth's cheats"

"He hath wrought the purpose through
Of what did make him man."

He is one who worships God in loving service, through self-sacrificing self-devotion—through disinterested good. He is one who ultimately takes shelter in the most Supreme Being.

He measures the joys and pains of all sentient creatures as if they were his own, laughing with the happy and weeping with the miserable. No living creature need entertain the slightest fear of his meek self, for, he has recognised his own Self in them. He is one who has realised that "that love is false which clings to love, for selfish sweets of love." He has conquered the world and can well say. 'All earth is mine, *mine* by chief service, *mine* by love.' His is a mission of love and service. Him, Kama "King of all passions, Lord of all loves, Ruler of pleasures' Realm," ails not. Him, the arrows of desire sharper than poisoned barbs, smite not. He sits serene, with perfect virtue walled, and moves about radiant with heavenly pity and love. Such is the wise man—the moral ideal of the Gita—"one who has learned the law of love and ordered life."

- "Him the Gods envy from their lower seats ;
- "Him the three worlds in ruin would not shake ;
- "All life is lived for him, all deaths are dead ;
- "Karma will no more make
- "New houses seeking nothing, he gains all ;
- "Foregoing Self, the Universe (to him) grows "I."

M. KUNJUNNI NAYAR.

JOHN RUSKIN.

THE death of John Ruskin has caused in the English world of Art and Literature a gap which it will be impossible to fill and the poor have lost a sympathetic friend whom it will be hard to replace. Of all men who have dominated the Art-world of England during the Nineteenth Century, Ruskin is undoubtedly the greatest. It is not my purpose to say what his exact position is as a critic and preacher of Art and what his rank as a scientist and a leader of thought, but by common consent he has been considered a distinguished figure in the arena of Art-philosophy for half a century and more; and a man who has moulded the taste of the public to a great extent in æsthetic affairs and created a powerful influence on the practice of painting and architecture. The English literature has not sustained since the days of Tennyson a heavier blow than by the death of John Ruskin. No one except Gladstone—his political *bête noire*, could boast so vast a number of friends amongst the great mass of the public. No one has so multifariously worked for the good of the poor and to better purposes, nor has loved his country so dearly and so loyally and sacrificed so much for the public good. His death has given cause for mourning not only in his own country but also on the other side of the Atlantic where his teachings have taken deep root in the minds of many.

As regards Ruskin's life and teachings, many essays and books have been published from time to time, but none of them has given a complete account of the author; and not until all the valuable material has been collected which is found in the "Life" by Mr. W. G. Collingwood, in the "Principles of Art" compiled by Mr. Wm. White, in the "Studies" by Mr. E. T. Cook, and in the most important of them all, the incomplete "Præterita" by Ruskin himself, will it be possible to produce a complete and satisfactory account of the life of a man who has startled the world during the latter half of the Nineteenth Century.

John Ruskin occupied the foremost place among the men of

letters in England. Perhaps his books are not very often to be seen on our shelves, but this is because it is difficult to obtain them. Some are scarce, for their publication ceased long ago, and the peculiar theory of the author has made the others dear.

Parentage, Youth, Manhood.

A writer remarks: "Ancestry, disposition, and education are the three cardinal points determining the course and the consequence of human existence. Ancestry ranks first, for intellectual and moral greatness are hereditary; and though all great sons may not have had great fathers, the germ of their greatness lies somewhere in their families' past. In the quality and quantity of this inherited greatness, or, in other words, in disposition, the possibilities and attainments of the man are foreshadowed, for no one can rise above himself, nor become truly great in any other orbit save the one fixed for him at birth. As for education, it is an instrument only, and limited by the potentiality of the material upon which it is brought to bear." Thus man is a product of the past as well as a factor in the future. So in order to gauge a man's life and labors we should not only know what the man has himself done, but what others have done for him and in him, for, apart from the interpretative light of antecedents, the simplest and most uneventful life is obscure and unknown.

Fortunately, John Ruskin has given us in the pages of "Fors Clavigera" and "Præterita," a detailed account of those forces which went to make up his character. From this it is clearly seen that the child's destiny was fixed for him long before his birth, and that from his earliest years the boy became the father of the man.

On account of certain calamities in the family, Ruskin's father John James Ruskin was obliged to leave Perth for London very early in life and became the head clerk of the firm of Messrs. Gordon Murphy & Co., in which Mr. Peter Domecq held an important position. After nine years, when the establishment broke up, Mr. Domecq started an agency in England under the style of Ruskin, Telford, and Domecq, and asked Mr. Ruskin, whom he had watched closely during the nine years' service, in the former firm, to be his agent. This famous house is still remembered by some of the older city houses, as carrying on their business in a small counting house on the first floor of the narrow premises, in a thoroughfare of East

London, Billiter Street. Mr. Domecq should have been the senior, as the other two were only agents of his in London. He was the sole proprietor of the estate of Macharnullo—the most precious vineyard in the whole of the Spanish peninsula. The second partner, Mr. Henry Telford, brought into the business what capital was necessary for the London branch. The premises of the firm in London belonged to him. He was a perfect type of an English gentleman of moderate fortune. He always lived in his favourite house at Widmore, near Bromley, except during the two months in Midsummer when Mr. Ruskin had his holiday, and sometimes for a month at the beginning of a year when he travelled for orders.

Such is the short account of the firm in which Ruskin the senior exercised all his energies during his life time and retired with a handsome property in cash to the extent of £1,57,000 besides a large amount of property and a good many pictures to be bequeathed to his son, the hero of this sketch.

Thus Ruskin's father began business with no capital and a considerable amount of debts bequeathed to him by his grandfather. He accepted the bequest, and cleared all debts before he began to lay by anything for himself—for which his friends called him a fool, and his son had the expression "an entirely honest merchant" written on the granite slab over his grave, to show the wisdom his father possessed. As Ruskin's father grew richer, he was able to take a house in Hunter Street, Brunswick Square, No. 54, in which premises, John Ruskin, the only child, was born on February 8, 1819. Ruskin writes that he knew very little of his ancestry but that his maternal grandmother was the landlady of the Old King's Head in Market Street, Croyden. His maternal grandfather was a sailor, and he believes that he had something to do with the herring business, although he is not quite sure about it, as his mother had not been very communicative concerning it. He died while his children were young, and Ruskin's mother after being educated with her sister at a Croydon day school, Mrs. Rice's, where his mother was taught evangelical principles, was sent to Scotland to take charge of the house of her reckless old uncle—the father of the industrious London merchant—who was gradually ruining himself, and at last eventually ruined and killed himself. Here she moved in a higher sphere of society, "a tall, handsome, finely-made girl, with a beautiful mild firmness of expression; a faultless and

accomplished housekeeper, and a natural, essential, unassailable, yet inoffensive prude." Margaret, now twenty years of age, not only fulfilled the work of a housewife, but became, in part, the governess and confidante of her "dark eyed, brilliantly active and sensitive" cousin, who was four years her junior, assisting and sympathising with him in all his sorrows. This relation was prolonged for a long time without the slightest idea of marriage on either side, and when he determined to remove to London to begin a fresh business career, he asked if her attachment was such as to warrant the promise of wedlock and whether she would have sufficient patience to wait for a time to earn for her an independency. She giving her consent to both these, a nine years' engagement was continued, finally, they were married in Perth one evening after supper and formed what proved to be a most fitting union, and began a long life of domestic calm, culture and happiness. One of his aunts was a baker's wife and the other a tanner's, besides there being a greengrocer of the name in a small shop near the Crystal Palace.

The mother had something, though nothing very distinctive, of a literary turn. Ruskin's education from his early age was conducted under her own superintendence. Her principles of treatment were to guard the son with steady watchfulness from all avoidable pain or danger, and, for the rest, to let him amuse himself as he liked, provided he was neither fretful nor troublesome, and her law was that he should find his own amusement. No toys of any kind were at first allowed, all that he had to play with was a bunch of keys as long as he was capable of pleasure in what glittered and jingled; as he grew older, he had a cart and a ball, and when six years old, two boxes of well-cut wooden bricks. Ruskin remarks that "with these modest, but, I still think, entirely sufficient possessions, and being always summarily whipped if I cried, did not do as I was bid, or tumbled on the stairs, I soon attained serene and secure methods of life and motion."

As very good women are remarkably apt to make away their sons for the devotion of God, Ruskin's mother devoted him to God, which meant that she would send him to College, and make him a clergyman, and accordingly bred for 'the Church.' So, the mother was careful enough from the very beginning to commence a course of Bible work with him, which never ceased till

he went to Oxford. She began with the first verse of Genesis, and went through to the last verse of the Apocalypse: hard names, numbers, Levitical Law, and all; and began again at Genesis the next day. If a name was hard, Ruskin remarks, "the better the exercise in pronunciation—if a chapter was tiresome, the better lesson in patience,—if loathsome, the better lesson in faith that there was some use in its being so outspoken." As an example of her patience displayed in Ruskin's education, I quote below the verse in which Ruskin showed his childish obstinacy in reciting with an accented *of* and her labor spent for three weeks in getting the accent lightened on the 'of' and laid on the ashes.

"Shall any following spring revive,
The ashes of the urn?"—

With such care and trouble did the mother model her son's education.

When Ruskin was about four years old, his father was in a position to purchase the lease of a house on Herne Hill. More beautiful or healthier domestic environment cannot be seen than that enjoyed by him in his days spent at Herne Hill. The estate stood accurately on the top or dome of the hill, and four miles distant from the heart of the city life. The house was fronted by a garden of old evergreens and well-grown lilacs and laburnums, and a large plot of beneficent ground ran out from the rear, rich in fruit trees and gay with flowers. Ruskin's remark of this garden was that "the little domain answered every purpose of Paradise to me; and the climate, in that cycle of years, allowed me to pass most of my life in it."

In the further development of Ruskin's character we may find three great formulative influences—the influence of home surroundings and parents, the influence of literature, and the influence of nature and art. As a boy he was a close observer of things, and his recollections are dated from his fourth year. At the age of five he was a voracious reader, sending to the circulating library for his favourite books. His early readings were Pope's translation of Homer, and the novels of Sir Walter Scott; these were for week day instruction; for the Sabbath were reserved "Robinson Crusoe" and "Pilgrim's Progress." In addition to these he daily read aloud and committed to memory, portions of the Bible. From Walter Scott, he says, he should

have passed to other people's novels, and Pope might have led him to Johnson's English or Gibbon's, as types of language, but once knowing the XXXII of Deuteronomy, CXIX Psalm, XIII of 1st Corinthians, the Sermon on the Mount and most of the Apocalypse, every syllable by heart, and possessing a way of thinking for himself what words meant, it was impossible for him, even in the foolishlest time of youth, to write entirely superficial or formal English.

A few words regarding the respect John Ruskin had for Scott's Novels may not be out of place here. Until the later years of his life he loved to read Scott in the evening, and the family was expected to sit round and listen while he rendered one or other of the Waverley Novels with that completeness of realization that few could equal. He would modify his voice for the various characters, and would revel in Scottish accent, which he gave to perfection. As age began to tell upon him he would sometimes drop asleep for a moment or two in the middle of a chapter; but on awakening with a guilty start he would nevertheless continue the appointed reading just as if nothing had happened. Ruskin possessed all the original manuscripts of several of the Waverley Novels—of "The Fortunes of Nigel," "The Black Dwarf," "Woodstock," "St. Ronan's Well," and "Peveril of the Peak." For these manuscripts Ruskin had the profoundest reverence and love, and he was ever on the watch to increase his collections. As an instance of the uneasiness he felt when his bookseller, Mr. F. S. Ellis, missed the chance of purchasing some of the MSS., he wrote to him "I've been speechless with indignation, since you let go that Guy Mannering MS." And again, later on: "What on earth do you go missing chance after chance like that for? I'd rather have lost a catch at cricket than that St. Ronan's. . . . Seriously, my dear Ellis, I do want you to secure every Scott manuscript, that comes into the market. *Carte blanche* as to price.—I can trust your honour; and you may trust, believe me, *my* solvency." In *Fors* I Ruskin writes thus of the study of Scott's Novels; "Scott, in his Scottish novels only and of those only, the cheerful ones; with the 'Heart of Midlothian' but not the 'Bride of Lammermoore,' nor the 'Legend of Montrose' nor the 'Pirate.' Here is a right list of 'Waverley,' 'Guy Mannering,' 'The Antiquary,' 'Rob Roy,' 'Old Mortality,' 'The Monastery,' 'The Abbot,' 'Red Gauntlet,' 'Heart of Midlothian.' Get any of them you can in the old

large-print edition when you have a chance, and study every sentence in them. They are models, of every virtue in their order of literature and exhaustive codes of Christian wisdom and ethics."

His early tutor, while he was eight or nine, was Dr. Andrews, who was engaged to teach him Greek and he began with him the *Odes* of Anacreon. In 1831 Ruskin was put in charge of Mr. Runciman to teach drawing. At this time, above all these, he took extreme delight in going to the sea shore and watching the sea for four or five hours a day, an occupation which he never failed to fulfil till he was forty. He stays and stays there looking to the waves, hearing, pursuing and flying from it. In 1832, an important fact of the presentation of a copy of Roger's *Italy*, as soon as published, by Mr. Henry Telford, by the advice of his sisters, had an important influence on his education and determined the main tenor of his life, and poor Mr. Telford was always held by Mr. and Mrs. Ruskin responsible for their son's Turner insanities. At that time Ruskin had never heard of Turner except from his drawing master, Mr. Runciman, 'that the world had lately been much dazzled and led away by some splendid ideas thrown out by Turner.' The years 1833 and 1834 were spent by Ruskin in drawing some of the scenes he saw on his tour in the continent with his father. By this time, it having been perceived that Dr. Andrews could neither prepare him for the University, nor for the duties of a bishopric, he was sent to a day school kept by the Rev. Thomas Dale, within the walking distance of Horne Hill. Mr. Rowbotham, an extremely industrious and fairly well-informed person, was appointed to teach him Mathematics.

Besides all these, more magnificent results issued out of his cousin Charles' (the son of his Croydon aunt) connection with Messrs. Smith Elder & Co., the famous publishers, where Charles was admitted as an apprentice, who to satisfy Ruskin, knowing that he always took a delight in seeing a book, containing good engravings, used to bring home on Sundays one or two of their publications. In this way Ruskin became familiar with Stanfield and Harding; and still greater important effects produced on him were on account of the presentation of a copy of *Forget-me-not* by his Croydon aunt, from which time commenced his respect and admiration of Prout by the beautiful engraving of

Sépulchral monument at Verona contained in it and also by his introduction to Mr. S. Rogers by Mr. Thomas Pringle.

Such were the chances Ruskin had during his childhood to increase his thirst for knowledge. A few words regarding the events which happened in his boyhood which brought him under the influences of Nature, his delight and admiration for inanimate objects, will give this sketch a perfection with respect to his education before he was sent to the University. The "salutary pleasures of Horne Hill" and the beautiful surroundings, coupled with his frequent visits to his aunt's to the "Stony bed of the Crystal Wandle at Croydon" and 'the shallow pools of the pausing Tay at Perth,' left an everlasting impression upon his mind. His stay at the above places gave a start to his future mineralogical studies. His love of nature was intense and overmastering. His love for the green of the field, the blue sky, the gold of the sun, the pebbles beneath, the flowers and foliage around was inestimable. As a boy, his heart leapt within him as he looked upon the Alps, "beautiful in their snow and humanity," and he remarks in his *Præterita* that his destiny in all that was sacred and useful was fixed in an evening walk from the garden terrace of Schaffhausen, which description always constitutes a pleasant reading for any one who loves nature. As with nature, so with art: the facilities for the study of both these were greatly increased by the constant tours he made with his father. He found in his father a wise teacher and sympathetic companion, whose taste and love for pictures were overwhelming. When father and son, in their travels came near any gentleman's house, famed for its collection of pictures, they stopped for a day or two, for their inspection. He says in these years "I had in my little clay pitcher vialsful, as it were, of Wordsworth's reverence, Shelley's sensitiveness, Turner's accuracy,"—all rolled in one. As early as 1834, Ruskin, when about fifteen years of age, mapped out for him the following course of work for the future: "Expression of genuine sentiment in rhyme, engraving, study of architecture, and the gratification of early geological instinct."

In connection with Ruskin's work as an Artist it is interesting to read what he wrote in 1867 to a correspondent whom he advised to copy Turner:—

"I think you ought to fix your mind on this Turner work quite as the thing you *have to do*. You know me well enough to

trust me that I do not say this to keep you captive for my own purposes. If I thought you could be a successful artist, I would not let you copy. But I think your art gifts are very like mine: *perfect* sense of color, great fineness of general perception, and hardly any invention. You *might*, succeed in catching the public with some mean fineness of imitation, and live a useless, though pecuniarily successful, life; but even that would be little likely. Whereas, in rendering Turner, you will live a useful life; and I think very probably, a prosperous one."

The first manuscript "Does the perusal of works of fiction act favourably on the moral character," written about this time was unearthed at Sheffield a few years ago.

I may mention that this sketch intended for a Magazine does not permit me to say more than that his life between the years 1834 to 1836, previous to the year he entered Oxford, was spent in his travels on the Continent, and there have been, altogether, three centres of his life's thought:—Rome, Geneva, and Pisa, to which he attributes all the knowledge he acquired in Art and Painting.

His Oxford days.

As it is impossible, whether in the biography of a nation or of an individual, to narrate the events of successive years, I merely pass on to say that, in accordance with a letter received by Ruskin's father, stating that there was room in Christ Church for his residence in the January term of 1837, and that he should be sent up to matriculate in October 1836, Ruskin was immediately admitted there as a Gentleman-Commoner, out of two orders of under-graduates of Christ Church, *viz.*, Gentlemen-Commoners being styled fashionable, and the other Commoners, the unfashionable. I believe no such order is at the present day observed in the Reformed University. Ruskin in his days was proof against all temptations; for, he says: "There was not the slightest fear of my gambling, for I had never touched a card, and looked upon dice as people now do on dynamite. No fear of my being tempted by the strange woman, for was not I in love? and besides, never allowed to be out after half-past nine. No fear of my running in debt, for there were no Turners to be had in Oxford, and I cared for nothing else in the world of material possession." Here he made the friendship of his contemporaries, Sir Henry (formerly Dr.) Acland, and late Frederick William Robertson, of Brighton,

a man who attained eminence in theology as Ruskin in Art. From Dr. Buckland he acquired that deep and profound knowledge of geology which has always been one of the mainstays of Ruskin's writings on Art and Science.

Ruskin's mother's influence over her son's intellectual and moral development continued while he was even at Oxford, for she took rooms near the University and remained with him during the whole of his stay at Oxford.

On June 12, 1839, he came out successful in the competition for the Newdigate Prize Poem, entitled "Salsette and Elephanta." It describes the dawn of Christianity in Hindustan and closes with the following description:—

"Yes—he shall fall, though once his throne was set
Where the high heaven and crested mountains met;
Though distant shone with many an azure gem
The glacier glory of his diadem;
Though sheets of sulphurous cloud and wreathed storm
Cast veil of terror round his shadowy form.
All, all are vain! It comes, the hallowed day,
Whose dawn shall rend that robe of fear away;
Then shall the torturing spells that midnight knew
Far in the cloven dells of Mount Meru,
Then shall the moan of frenzied hymns, that sighed
Down the dark vale where Gunga's waters glide,
Then shall the idol chariots' thunder cease
Before the steps of them that publish peace.
Already are they heard,—how fair, how fleet!
Along the mountains flash their bounding feet!
Disease and death before their presence fly;
Truth calls, and gladdened India hears the cry,
Deserts the darkened path her fathers trod,
And seeks redemption from the Incarnate God."

About this time he was ordered by physicians to go away from Oxford as he was attacked by a sort of brain disease, and consequently his pass for the degree was delayed. Immediately his father took him on another occasion to the continent for a change. During this tour Ruskin collected all the materials for the first volume of his "Modern Painters." Space allows me only to state that arrangements having been completed for taking his degree in the spring of 1841 after his return from the continental

tour his name was entered on November 16th, and he at once set to work reading methodically, but not hard, and in May, 1842, he went up merely for a pass and doubted whether he would succeed as he wrote Latin badly, but the examiners forgave it, as for the divinity, philosophy, and mathematics were all above the average; and they gave him a complimentary double fourth.

The year 1842 dawned for Ruskin with many things in its morning cloud. He took his degree. His father purchased for him the lovely drawings of Turner—Ehrenbreitstien and Lucerne. This year the family was removed from Herne Hill to Deumark Hill to have a larger garden, and it was also arranged for a stay in the summer in Switzerland for the enjoyment of mountain air and for a study of the Mont Blanc rocks accurately.

His writings.

Leaving college, he fell into the great battle-plain of life, finding himself at twenty-four in the thickest of the fray. It was in 1835, that Ruskin first made his appearance in the public press by contributing a series of geological articles, to the *Magazine of Natural History*. Later on, under the pseudonym of 'Kata Plusin' ("According to Nature"), he contributed other articles on Art and Literature in London's *Architectural Magazine* which in 1892 were republished under the title of "The Poetry of Architecture." It was in the same year in which Ruskin took his degree that he wrote in defence of Turner, to whom he was introduced by Mr. Griffith, at Norwood dinner, June 22nd, 1840, and then made the following observations in his diary: "Introduced to-day to the man who beyond all doubt is the greatest of the age; greatest in every faculty of the imagination, in every branch of scenic knowledge; at once the painter and poet of the day, J. M. W. Turner. Everybody had described him to me as coarse, boorish, un-intellectual, vulgar. This I knew to be impossible. I found in him a somewhat eccentric, keen-mannered, matter-of-fact, English-minded—gentleman: good-natured evidently, bad-tempered evidently; hating humbug of all sorts, shrewd, perhaps a little selfish, highly intellectual, the powers of the mind not brought out with any delight in their manifestation, or intention of display, but flashing out occasionally in a word or a look."

Turner was at that time eight-and-sixty years of age, old and alone, misunderstood and not cared-for by the public, and

had been severely criticised by all who could not either appreciate his beauties or excuse his faults. In order to establish the same and high culture of Turner, Ruskin penned "in the height of black anger" what is known as the first volume of "Modern Painters: By a graduate of Oxford." This no doubt was the commencement of Ruskin's turn of life, to acknowledge him as the greatest master of Art and Painting. But he was not free from the perils which beset young authors at every step. The Murrays never ceased to regret their refusal of "Modern Painters." One day an old gentleman, with a bundle of manuscripts under his arm, entered Mr. Murray's shop, and offered them for publication as the work of his son. "What are they about?" asked Mr. Murray. "About pictures and such things" said the old man. "We have good many of such things"—said Mr. Murray, "and the public won't buy them," and the old gentleman had to return home with the greatest disappointment. So Ruskin became his own publisher. Everybody laughed when he informed his intention to publish his own books, and the publishing house planted in the middle of a country field was for years an object of ridicule. But it became a success and Ruskin was the head of the works at Orpington in Kent for years. In 1887 his publisher, Mr. George Allen, informed a reporter that he had £27,000 worth of goods stored in a shed in his back garden. As regards circulation of his books, an estimate made in 1893 gave the number of bound volumes, issued by Messrs. Smith and Elder, and Mr. George Allen, exclusive of parts and pamphlets, as about 300,000.

The reader will kindly excuse this digression. The immediate effect of the publication of the first volume of *Modern Painters* was to establish Turner's reputation permanently as the greatest landscape-painter the world has ever seen, and his own as the greatest of modern English prose-writers. The second volume followed after an interval of two years. Three more volumes completed the work, but the last was not published until 1860—after twenty years of hard labour spent in the preparation, study, and travel for collecting materials in Switzerland, Italy and France. Meanwhile Ruskin did not remain idle. His writings began to astonish the public. In 1847 he contributed his first review to the *Quarterly*, his text being Lord Lindsay's "History of Christian Art." In 1849, he brought out his "Seven Lamps of Architecture," in which he sets forth the theory how in a nation's dominant style of architecture may be seen reflected its life and man-

ners, and even its passions and its religion. Following on the lines thus laid down, Ruskin proceeded, in the "Stones of Venice," issued in 1851 and 1853, to tell the history of the rise and fall of Venice, as displayed by her buildings, and to show how the prosperity and art of a nation are synchronous and interdependent, and how the purity of national art and of the national conscience and morals act and re-act each upon the other.

While Ruskin was thus surprising the world with his originality and sincerity, the Society known as the "Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood," came into existence. This band consisting of John Everett Millais; W. Holman Hunt, W. M. Rossetti, Frederick G. Stephens, James Collinson, Thomas Woolner, and Dante Gabriel Rossetti—all earnest and devoted men of genius, led a revolt against the tea-trays gone wrong of the Royal Academy. Their object was to establish a school of painting with the fundamental principle of observing absolute truth to nature in all things, especially in respect to detail. John Ruskin immediately joined the movement, and fought their battle as best as he could fight, first by his celebrated letter to the *Times*, and afterwards by his "Pre-Raphaelitism," and other writings, whereby he not only succeeded in getting a fair hearing and judgment for the harassed and persecuted exponents of the creed, but in educating the public into an appreciation of their works. I shall here quote Ruskin's own definition of Pre-Raphaelitism. "Pre-Raphaelitism has but one principle, that of absolute, uncompromising truth in all that it does, obtained by working everything, down to the most minute detail, from nature and from nature only or where imagination is necessarily trusted to, always endeavouring to conceive a fact as it really was likely to have happened. Every Pre-Raphaelite background is painted, to the last touch, in the open air from the thing itself. Every Pre-Raphaelite figure, however studied in expression, is a true portrait of some living person. Every minute accessory is painted in the same manner. This is the main Pre-Raphaelite principle."

By 1860 Ruskin became a power in the land, and he had thousands of disciples and admirers who called themselves "Ruskinites." Ruskin in this year commenced to contribute a series of papers styled "Unto this last" to the "*Cornhill Magazine*," the principles and views of which being based upon quite the highest interpretation and application of an ethical morality,

and so strongly did the public reject his Utopian philosophy, that the editor (who at that time was Thackeray) fearing the fate of his Magazine, stopped the publication of his articles in further issues.

In 1865 and 1866, he published "Sesame and Lilies" and "Crown of Wild Olive" his most popular and, perhaps, the master pieces of his prose-writings. In 1867 he was elected Rede Lecturer at Cambridge, with the honorary degree of LL.D; but this was not the first occasion on which he appeared before the public, as his debut as a lecturer had already been made before the Edinburgh students on "Gothic Architecture" so far back as 1853. Moreover, he had delivered a course of lectures in 1865 in the working Men's College, established in 1854, with the late Rev. F. D. Maurice as Principal, and Thomas Hughes, J. M. Ludlow, and Dante Rossetti prominent among the council of teachers. In 1870, he was appointed Professor of Fine Art at Oxford, to the chair founded in the previous year by Mr. Felix Slade, but he retired from his position in 1878, in consequence of illness. He again accepted the chair in 1883, and finally vacated it in 1885, owing to the action of the University on the question of vivisection.

Ruskin's famous periodical, "*Fors Clavigera*" ("Fortune, the Club bearer"), was begun in 1871, in the form of a series of letters to the working men and labourers of England. These letters were not advertised, and no arrangements were made for their sale with the book-sellers; it was sold by Mr. George Allen at Heathfield Cottage, Keston, Kent, at 7d. a copy, carriage paid, no discount and no abatement on taking a quantity, and yet it was sold, and sold in considerable numbers. Ruskin thus writes to a friend of his, in reply to a letter received from him *re Fors*:—Denmark Hill, 17 May 1871. "I am glad you like *Fors*. People will find it a very intrusive 'dream,' in a little while, if I live." Two or three weeks earlier than the date of this letter Carlyle had written to Ruskin "This *Fors Clavigera*, letter 5th which I have just finished reading, is incomparable; a quasi-sacred consolation to me which almost brings tears into my eyes! . . . Continue while you have such utterances in you, to give them voice. They will find and force entrance into human hearts." It was in its pages he announced his intention of founding the "St. George's Guild" on which institution he settled £7,000, the tenth of what he then had, and strongly recommended his adherents to contribute their mite.

The newspapers, and people generally, could not understand a man who practised what he preached at the cost of self-interest, and it is likely that one of the many false reports about John Ruskin occasioned the letter quoted below, a characteristic reply:—

"Dear Mr. Talling—Never believe anything you hear about me—nobody knows anything about me....." This was dated 20th September 1871.

His other principal publications are "Harbours of England" (1856), "Political Economy of Art" (1857), "Munera Pulveris" (1862-3), "Ethics of the Dust" (1866), "Time and Tide" (1867), "The Queen of the Air: a Study of the Greek Myths of Cloud and Storm" (1869), "Ariadne Florentina" (1873), "Val D'Arno" (1874), "Mornings in Florence" (1875-7), "Proserpina" (1875-86) and "Præterita" (1885-89).

The Ruskin Society.

As Ruskin's admirers and disciples, who called themselves "Ruskinites," perceived that if their master's doctrines were to bear good fruit, it would be necessary that an organisation should be formed for the dissemination of his writings and the carrying out of his theories into practical effect. The result was the beginning of the foundation of the "Ruskin Societies of the Rose" in 1879, in London, Manchester, Sheffield, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Birmingham and other centres—bodies collectively known as "The Ruskin Society." Ruskin has given many valuable gifts, both artistic and mineralogical, to various institutions, and at last crowned his work in this direction by the establishment and stocking of the St. George's Museum at Walkley, near Sheffield.

There is also an institution known as "The Ruskin Hall" established at Oxford in furtherance of the labor movement. The 50 delegates, who assembled at its opening, in the same month in which Ruskin attained his 80th birthday, represented Trades Unions, with a membership of more than 250,000. Residence at Ruskin Hall costs 10s. a week, including board, lodging and plain laundry, whilst tuition fees amount to 10s. a month. No alcohol is allowed on the premises on the score of expense. The students limited at present amount to twenty, five ranging in age from 18 to 50, and come from various trades.

a carpenter, a miner, an iron-monger, a glass factory worker, a printer, and a news-boy.

A few words respecting Ruskin as a poet may be of interest to my readers. His facility in verse-making was amazing, and from those tender years when, still a baby, he wrote the imaginative lines beginning

"Papa, how pretty those icicles are,"
That are seen so near, that are seen so far."

and in a very short time he developed such fluency that few writers of verse could excel him in the direction of fatal "facility." But poetry was not the weapon with which he was destined to attain his recognition in the world.

Some of his theories on Commerce and Economics might appear to be strange and queer, although his superiority in prose writing may be acknowledged, beyond comparison. One of his theories is that *a man should die poor*. How strangely and uncertainly the words must sound in ears nearly deafened by advice of the very opposite kind! The whole practice of this world now-a-days is bitterly opposed to such a doctrine. Let a man's station be high or low, it matters not, his great aim in life is to grow rich or richer. Commerce has been turned upside down, the old and more honest methods of business have been pushed aside by new and more rushing devices, and competition and false contrivances of trade have flooded the world with a mass of produce as cheap as it is nasty. The Mania for cheapness has, in fact, been carried to such a pitch that scarcely anything we buy can be absolutely relied upon. Tricks of modern trade have become a byword among us.

Ruskin has written four essays upon Political Economy dealing with Commercial matters in a kindred spirit. Some of the cardinal points insisted upon are that the merchant's calling, rightly understood, is the most honorable one; that there should be fixed wages for good and bad workmen alike; that wealth and morality are inseparable; and that the only true definition of wealth is, that it is life.

Space will not permit me more than to say that, nearly twenty years ago, Ruskin retired from this world of activity to enjoy perfect rest, after his hard intellectual labour of nearly 55 years. In 1875, he purchased the Brantwood estate, at Conistoun, in the Lake country, from William J. Linton, the great wood-engraver, for a sum of £1,500, and spent £4,000 more in altera-

tions, additions and other improvements before it was fit for habitation. At Brantwood his life was of a tranquil order, and, perhaps in accordance with the habits of a country squire. Early morning he goes for a walk and he would ramble for hours together as he was a tireless walker, attended by his valet, Baxter. His household affairs were looked after by his cousin and adopted daughter Mrs. Arthur Severn, known as 'the angel in the house.'

Ruskin had been in failing health for a long time and had not left his room for many weeks. With the customary reticence of the Brantwood household, the fact of a serious change in his condition had not been made public, and the announcement of the death by influenza of the "Sage of Coniston" on the 20th January, 1900, was quite unexpected.

One who was present while Ruskin was dying gave the following account of the state of events: "He sank painlessly into unconsciousness, and faded away while holding the hands of two loving friends at his side. The sun was setting beyond the lake, and the brilliant gorgeous light, illumined the hills with splendour, and the spectators felt as if Heaven's gate itself had been flung open to receive the teacher into everlasting peace."

C. GOPAL MENON, F. I. P. S., M. I. B.

THE TAMILS: EIGHTEEN HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

(Continued).

IN the *Vinoda-rasa-manjari*, which is a collection of amusing stories and anecdotes, composed by the late Virasami Chettiar, Tamil Pandit of the Presidency College, Madras, Auvaiyar is frequently mentioned as a contemporary of the Chola king Kulottunga, who lived in the ninth or tenth century A.D., and was the patron of the famous poets Oddaik-Kuttar, Kambar and Pukalenti.⁽¹⁾ In other recent works of Tamil Pandits, she is spoken of as having lived during the time of Sundarar the devotee of Siva, and of his friend and patron Cheraman Perumal, the last of the Chera kings. These stories appear to be of very recent origin and are not supported by any authority in classical works, or in the old commentaries: and should therefore be rejected as entirely groundless. It is clear from her poems which are preserved in the *Purananuru* and *Akananuru* that she flourished during the reign of the Pandyan king Ugraperu-valuti in the beginning of the second century A.D.⁽²⁾ and could not have therefore been a contemporary of the mediæval kings Kulottunga Chola or Cheraman Perumal. But Tamil Pandits, who love the marvellous, assert with a show of wisdom, that Auvaiyar lived to the extraordinary age of six or seven hundred years, and that in her youth she was a contemporary of Ugra-Pandya, and in her old age of Kulottunga-Chola, whose reign commenced seven centuries later! Two poems entitled *Panthan-antati* and *Asatik-kovai* are attributed to Auvaiyar; but their modern language betrays that they are the works of a much later poet.⁽³⁾

Idaik-kidanur, (A.D. 90-120) was the author of the *Oosimuri*, a poem which is not now extant, but which is quoted in Gunasagara's commentary to the *Yapp-arunk-kalam*.⁽⁴⁾ He visited the camp of the Chola king Killi-valavan, when he was besieging Karur, the Chera capital.

(1) *Vinoda-rasa-manjari*, p. 57.

(2) *Pura-na-nuru*.

(3) *Vinoda-rasa-manjari*.

(4) *Yapp-arun-kalak-karikai*.

Cheettalaich-chittanār (A.D. 100-130) was the son of a corn dealer of Mādura. He professed Buddhism, and was eminent as a logician, theologian and poet. A stanza composed by him in praise of the Pandyan king Nān-māra is as follows⁽⁵⁾ :—

“Thou august Valuti, whose arms are long and powerful, and whose breast is resplendent with strings of precious gems! a perfect master art thou of courteous and gracious acts. Never wouldst thou tolerate what is false. To thy enemies, thou art like the burning sun, which rises above the ocean: but to thy subjects like myself, thou art like the pleasant moon.”

His fame rests on his great work the *Mani-mekalai*, which is the earliest of the five epic poems in Tamil. It is a most finished piece of writing and contains many passages of great beauty. The style is simple and elegant; and the phrases used are well turned and full of deep meaning. He excels most in his descriptions of natural scenery, which are exquisite. He portrays beautifully the character of the heroine *Mani-mekalai*, who, though young and beautiful and the daughter of an actress, devotes herself to a religious life and becomes a Buddhist nun. She is courted by a handsome prince, the son of the reigning king, but remains faithful to her vow, and far from acting the prude, she seeks for her lover like a true woman, and tries to wean his heart from the lusts of the flesh and to lead him to a holy and spiritual life. In the last four chapters of the epic, where the author describes the six schools of philosophy that were then popular, he shows himself to be a master of the logical subtleties, and metaphysical cobwebs which formed the constant theme of argument among the learned men of his time. After completing the *Mani-mekalai*, he visited Karur, the capital of the Chera kingdom, and remained there for a long time as the guest of the king *Chenk-kudduvan*, and of his accomplished brother, *Ilanko-adikal*.

Ilanko-adikal (A.D. 100-130) was the second son of the Chera king, Athan, and grandson of the Chola king *Karikāl*, by his daughter *Sonai*. In his youth he renounced the world and became a monk of the Nigrantha sect, under the following circumstances: He and his elder brother *Chenk-kudduvan*, were seated one day at the foot of their father's throne in the audience hall at Karur, when a seer appeared before the king

(5) Para-nā-aura.

Cheral Athan, and after gazing for a while at the king and his two sons, declared that the younger son had all the personal marks of becoming a great monarch. Finding that *Chenk-kudduvan* was enraged at this prediction, his younger brother immediately laid aside his princely dress and ornaments, and took the vows of a Nigrantha monk, to prevent all possibility of his succeeding to the throne. Thenceforth he resided in a temple outside the Eastern gate of the city. Relieved of all the cares of royalty he appears to have employed his leisure in cultivating his taste for music and literature. Many years afterwards when the poet *Cheettalaich-chittanār* visited the Chera court, and recited to the prince, the epic *Mani-mekalai* which he had composed, the royal monk conceived the idea of writing another epic poem to commemorate the lives of *Mani-mekalai's* parents, *Kovilan* and *Kannaki*. Accordingly he composed the *Chilapp-athikāram*, in the presence of the poet *Cheettalaich-chittanār*. In elegance of style, the poem approaches the *Mani-mekalai*: but in the varied scenes it describes, in the wealth of information it contains regarding the different classes of society, it is far more interesting to the student and the general reader. The author displays all his knowledge of the science of music and dancing: and has embellished his work with ditties of love and play and sacred hymns, in various metres. The characters of the hero and heroine are well depicted. *Kovilan*, the son of a wealthy merchant, is a gay and foolish young man. He is married at an early age to an amiable and virtuous girl: but being fond of music and dance he frequents the public theatres, and falls in love with the most beautiful actress of his day: Lavishes all his wealth upon her: then ashamed of his conduct he flees from his native city with his young wife to Mādura where, instead of seeking the help of the merchants who knew his father, he lodges in the house of a shepherdess; and going out alone to sell one of his wife's jewels, is accused of having stolen the jewel from the palace, and is killed by one of the royal guards. *Kannaki* is a model wife, who loves and adores her husband although he is faithless to her. So sweet is her temper, that she never reproaches him, but studies his slightest wish and devotes herself to his service. After he had squandered all his wealth she follows him in his flight to a strange city: and when he is killed there accused of theft, she appears boldly before the king of that city and proves that her

husband was not a thief. Then she gives way to despair; and wandering along the road leading into the Chera country dies broken-hearted on the fourteenth day after her husband's death.

Arisil-kilar (A.D. 110-140) is the author of ten stanzas in praise of the Chera king Perum-cheral-Irum-Porai, who captured Thakadūr, the capital of Atiyamān Elini. Several of his stanzas occur also in the Thakadūr Yāthirai (6).

Pon-mudiyār (A. D. 110-140) a war bard who accompanied the army of the Chera king Perum-cheral-Irum-Porai, when it marched against Thakadūr. His verses are full of martial spirit and describe vividly and graphically stirring scenes on the battle-field (7).

Perunk-kunrur-kilar (A. D. 120-150) Ten stanzas composed by him in praise of (8) Perum-cheral-Irum-Porai are preserved in the Patirrup-pattu.

The following list shows the names of the Tamil poems composed between the years A. D. 50 and 150, and the number of lines contained in each poem :—

Myppāl or Kural	...	...	2,660 lines.
Mani-mekalai	...	...	4,857 "
Chillap-adikaram	...	...	4,957 "
Kalith-thokai	...	...	4,304 "
Innā-nārpattu	...	...	160 "
Perunk-kurinchi	...	...	261 "
Kuriuchi (by Kapilar in Ainkuru-miru)	...	...	
about	...	...	400 "
Tiru-murukārrup-padai	...	...	317 "
Nedu-nal-vā dai	...	...	188 "
Porumar-arrup-padai	...	...	248 "
Perum-pān-ārūp-padai	...	...	500 "
Paddinap-pālai	...	...	301 "
Maduraik-kānchi	...	...	782 "
Malai-padu-kadam	...	...	583 "
Patirrup-pattu (41-50)	...	about	150 "
do (61-70)	...	about	150 "
do (71-80)	...	about	150 "
do (81-90)	...	about	150 "

About 300 stanzas composed by the poets of this period which are found in the Pura-nānūru, Akā-nānuru Kuruntokai and Narrivai about 4,000 ..

Total... 25,118..

(6) Tol-kāppiyam, Porul-atthikāram Nachchinarkk-iniyar's commentary.

(7) Ibid.

(8) Patirrup-pattu ss.

It will be seen from the above list that more than 25,000 lines of verse written by poets who flourished between the years A. D. 50 and 150 are still extant, and furnish ample material for studying the history and civilization of the ancient Tamils. Embalmed in this literature we find a faithful picture of their habits and manners and of their social and political condition, in a form which is far more enduring than if it had been engraved on brass or stone. There are several allusions in this literature to Ancient Aryan works which throw considerable light on the history and religion of the Aryan races which inhabited Northern India. The four Vedas were generally known as the "Nān Marai" or the four Secret Books, which brings out clearly the fact that the Brahmins jealously concealed all knowledge of the Vedas from the Tamils. The Brahmins were described as "the owners of the four Secret Books" and as "the learned in the six sciences" that is the six Angas: viz., Kalpa Nirukta, Chhandas, Jyotish, Siksha and Vyākarna. The ancient grammar Indra Vyākarna which is not now extant, was then studied by the Brahmins, and proficiency in the Indra Vyākarna was considered as evidence of superior scholarship. The Tamils were familiar with the stories of the Ramayana and Mahabharata. They knew the Buddhist Pitakas, the Nigrantha Agamas, and the sacred books of Markali, the founder of the Ajivaka sect. They knew too the six schools of philosophy. It is remarkable that there is no allusion to Pānini's Vyākarna or Patanjali's Yoga philosophy, which were evidently unknown in Southern India, and had not become popular in Northern India.

The following is a brief summary of the six systems of philosophy as given in the Tamil epic poem Mani-mekalai, which I trust will be found very interesting, as it is the earliest comparative account we have of the ancient schools of Hindu philosophy: and differs in many respects from the current accounts of the six systems (9).

"She (Mani-mekalai) approached the professors of philosophy, eager to know the true nature of things, and going up to the Vedic philosopher requested him to explain his tenets. (He stated that) an accurate knowledge of things may be obtained by ten means: Perception, Inference, Comparison, Authority, Implication, Propriety, Rumour, Impossibility, Reversion, and Association. The authors Veda-Vyasa, Krutakōdi and Jainini

(9) Mani-mekalai canto xxvii.

recognised ten, eight and six of these means respectively. Correct *perception* is of five kinds. It is to know colour by the eye; sound by the ear; smell by the nose; taste by the tongue; and touch by the body. To see, hear, smell, taste and touch with feelings of pain or pleasure, with life and sense and mind in perfect health, and in light and space free from any defect, and to ascertain the place, name, class, quality and action of a thing, without the faults of prejudice, incongruity or doubt is Perception.

"*Inference* is the mental process by which we understand the nature of an object, and it is of three kinds: by co-existence; by the effect or by the cause. (Inference by) co-existence is to know the presence of an elephant on hearing its trumpeting in a forest. (Inference by) effect is to say that it has been raining on seeing floods. (Inference by) cause is to say that it will rain on seeing a dark cloud. Whether the cause and effect be past, present or future, to know the existence of a thing that is not seen by a thing that is seen, without the faults of prejudice (incongruity and doubt) is Inference.

"*Comparison* is to know a thing by similarity, for instance, to imagine that a bison is like a cow.

"*Authority* is to believe that heaven and hell exist because they are mentioned in the writings of the wise.

"*Implication* is to understand that a shepherd's village stands on the banks of the Gangai, when we are told that it is on the Gangai.

"*Propriety* is when a man mounted on an elephant asks for a thing (to know that he asks for a goad) and to give a goad and nothing else.

"*Rumour* is what people generally say: for instance to believe that an evil spirit had taken its residence on a certain tree.

"*Impossibility* is the denying of an object where it cannot possibly be.

"*Reversion* is to infer that the wicked Ravana was defeated, when we hear that Rama was victorious.

"*Association* is to know that iron changes into magnet by a peculiar alteration in its properties.

"Of fallacious mediums there are eight kinds: Prejudice, Misconception, Doubt, Decision without examination, Failure of perception, False Belief, Belief in what is felt and Imagination. *Prejudice* is to decide the nature of everything (by first

impressions). *Misconception* is to suppose one thing to be another; for example, mistaking the shining shell of an oyster to be silver. *Doubt* is to be uncertain of the nature of an object; for instance to remain undecided whether a certain figure (seen in the dusk) is a man or the stump of the tree. *Decision without examination* is to mistake the stump fixed on the polo ground for a man. *Failure of perception* is not to know (the danger in) the approach of a ferocious tiger, although seeing it coming. *False belief* is to believe in the horn of a hare, which is imagined on hearsay. *Belief in what is felt* is for example to fancy that sitting near a fire will cure fever. *Imagination* is (for instance) to believe on the assertion of others that a man and woman are your parents.

"The different systems of philosophy are Lokâyatam, Banddham, Sâṅkhyam, Naiyâyikam, Vaiśeshikam and Mimāṇsakam: and the authors of these systems are Brihaspati, Jina, Kapila, Akṣhapātha, Kanāda, and Jaimini respectively. Only six of the above mediums of knowledge are recognised in the above systems.

"She then met the Saiva-vāti who holds that Isa is the Lord (of the universe) and asked him to explain the nature of his deity. 'He governs the two luminaries (Sun and Moon) life, and the five elements; He unites the soul and body: and created this world as a pastime. His form is made of rays of light. Mighty is he to remove all sorrows by death. There is nothing else beside him. He is our God' said he. The Brahmvāti said that the whole universe was an egg laid by a God. The earnest believer in Vishnu said that Nārāyana preserves the whole world. The Vedic Brahmin said that the Veda had the Kalpa as its hands, the Chhandas as its legs, Jyotish as its eyes, Nirukta as its ears, Siksha as its nose and Vyākarna as its face: and that it is self existent and has neither beginning nor end.

"Finding that those statements were neither true nor accepted as such by the world, she went to the Professor of the Ajivaka religion, and asked him to state who was his God and what was taught by his Sacred Books. The supreme Intelligence which is found associated with everything and for ever, through the boundless universe, is God. Our Book teaches of five things, that is, the soul and the four kinds of eternal atoms. These atoms will collect and separate, so that the soul may mix with it, and see and feel it. The atoms are of four kinds: those of the

earth, water, fire and wind. They may collect and form mountains, trees or bodies, or they may separate and expand through space: and what recognises these is called the soul. The atoms of earth collect and become hard and form the ground. The atoms of water are heavy and cool and rest on the earth, and can be tasted. The atoms of fire are hot and ascend: and the atoms of wind spread and move. Under special conditions they may exhibit other phenomena. The eternal atoms never cease to exist, nor do they newly come into existence: nor can one atom enter another. An atom of water cannot change into an atom of earth: nor can one atom be split into two: nor flattened out of its shape. They may move and fall or rise. They may collect and form a mountain, or disperse and resume their shape as atoms. They may become very hard as diamonds, or hollow as bamboo, or appear as other objects. When they appear in large masses as the elements, they may be more or less or equal (to each other) or appear as a whole, or three quarters, or half or quarter, and each mass will be named according to the kind of atoms which are excessive in it. If they do not possess these properties they cannot be hard as earth, or flow as water, or burn as fire, or blow as wind. Only those who have divine eyes can see a single atom. Others in their physical bodies cannot discern it, just as in the twilight men cannot see a mass of hair. Souls are born in bodies of six different colours, *viz.*, black, blue, green, red, yellow and white. When born in pure white bodies souls attain release and happiness. If they fail to attain release, they would again descend in the scale of births and rise up like the turning of a wheel. To gain, to lose, to meet reverses, or successes, to feel pain or pleasure, to part from associations, to be born and to die are destined when the body is conceived in the womb. Pain and pleasure may be also considered eternal atoms. It is the effect of former deeds that is felt afterwards. The book of Markali explains in this manner.

"Leaving this confusion of words she asked the Niganta (Nigranta) to state who was his God, and what was taught in his sacred books, and to explain correctly how things exist and are formed or dissolved. He said that his God is worshipped by Indras: and that the books revealed by him describe the following:—The wheel of Law, the axle of Law, Time, Ether, Soul, Eternal atoms, good deeds, bad deeds, the bonds created by those deeds and the way to obtain release from those bonds. Things

by their own nature, or by the nature of other objects to which they are attached are temporary or everlasting. Within the short period of a Kshana (second) they may pass through the three unavoidable stages, appearance, existence and dissolution. That a margosa tree sprouts and grows is eternal: that it does not possess that property is temporary. Green gram when made into a sweetmeat with other ingredients does not lose its nature, but loses its form. The wheel of Law (Dharma) pervades everywhere and moves all things in order and for ever. In the same way the Axle of the Law retains everything (and prevents dissolution). Time may be divided into seconds or extend to Eons. Ether expands and gives room for everything. The soul entering a body will, through the five senses, taste, smell, touch, hear and see. An atom may become a body or assume other forms. To stop the origin of good and evil deeds, and to enjoy the effect of past deeds, and to cut off all bonds is release (salvation.)"

(To be continued).

V. KANAKASABHAI PILLAJ.

NOTHING brings out more clearly the chief points of difference between Hindu and Christian civilization than the origin and progress of this Transvaal War. The Boers and the British have long lived side by side under a common Government and have enjoyed common and equal rights. To these artificial ties must be added the natural ties of a common native land, a common racial origin and a common religion. Moreover, within recent times, the British nation has, under the inspiration of the genius of the greatest Englishman of this century, given the Boers unquestionable indications of their magnanimous desire to see them develop into a prosperous, independent, strong and at the same time friendly community in the Transvaal state. The Boers living directly under British rule in South Africa form a majority of the population and exercise a good deal of influence—in fact their influence is said to be predominant—in determining the political and administrative conditions of that region, and the Schreiner Ministry now in power is strongly pro-Boer and maintained in office by the Boer vote. British enterprise and British capital have largely contributed to the prosperity of the Transvaal state, and the Uitlander adventurers whose thoughtless violence—now known as the Jameson Raid—has been the proximate cause of the present troubles had apparently become permanent settlers in that state and therefore become entitled to receive the blessing of good fellowship and equal rights of citizenship from the Boers, just as the brethren of the latter freely share these with the men of British race in Cape Colony and Natal. In spite of all these circumstances, this cruel and desolating war—this fratricidal strife, as it may well be styled—has happened, and it is beyond human power to predict all the disagreeable complications to which it might lead in the future, even after the two Boer republics shall have ceased to exist as independent states, and the British supremacy established over the territories and populations now under their sway.

Why should such a state of things have arisen? What has led to all this unnecessary bloodshed and desolation? Why have men who ought to have lived in amity plunged their swords into each other's hearts with demoniacal hatred and unrelenting ferocity? Why has this war been such a disgrace to humanity, notorious as it has become, beyond all former wars for its innumerable stories of barefaced treachery on the part of one of the parties and for the charges of heartlessness made on one side or the other, and that, too, at the close of a century which has proclaimed itself to the world, *ad nauseam*, as "The Age of Progress"?

The answer to these questions is not far to seek. Did not the Boers know that England's right arm is both long enough and mighty enough to strike with deadly effect, as it has now done? What else could have been the meaning of Kruger's message to America about the Boer's resolve, before submitting, of paying a price that would "stagger humanity"? Was not the European world aware that this foolish and conceited community of rustics and farmers was deliberately seeking to commit suicide in entering upon a war of unprovoked aggression against the mightiest empire and people that have borne sway among men in the world's history? And yet why did they not interpose and prevent their Quixotic attempt to bring upon themselves the dire consequences of this unequal strife? The only answer that can be given is that to which Count Tolstoy long ago pointed when he said that "God makes no distinction among peoples, and lavishes his gifts upon all men; men ought to act exactly in the same way towards one another, without distinction of nationality, and not like the heathen who divide themselves into distinct nationalities," and, again:—"When I think of all the evil that I have done, that I have endured and that I have seen about me, arising from national calamities, I see clearly that it is all due to that gross imposture called patriotism—love for one's native land." Patriotism and national sentiment,—these are the true products of Christian heathenism in the world, and they are at the bottom of the miserable record of wanton aggressiveness, treachery and brutality that this war has been the means of unmasking in all their horrible reality before an astonished world.

It will be easy to see, when we understand the Boer point of view, why this war could not have really been avoided. The

Boers are like all other products of European and Christian civilisation, a people animated by patriotic purpose and narrow national sentiment, and so they can have no parleying with the feeling, however noble and catholic, of friendly and brotherly co-operation even with those who are aliens in race, which flows from that larger patriotism which regards all the world as the pathway to the City of God and all the men in it as fellow-travellers wending their way to the same goal. The Boers, therefore, cannot be expected to weigh considerations of justice, social welfare, or even morality when once they begin to feel that honourable national existence is at stake. To every European community, independence of all outside and alien control in internal matters, constantly increasing scope for expansion, commercial and territorial, wherever possible; the admission to, or acquisition of an honourable place in the comity of nations in all concerns affecting the interests of civilisation within a sphere of influence varying with the conditions of time and circumstance,—these are essential to national existence; and where these are denied, every community will fight to the death and resign, if necessary, a life which cannot be lived with national honor. A duty, however fatal, is a duty, and must be performed. No community, in their view, ought to be tempted by the offer of worldly advantages, such as peace, security of person and property, economic or intellectual advantages, &c., to make a voluntary submission to a foreigner. Even total ruin and extinction, as in the case of Carthage, is far worthier than an inglorious career of enslaved ease. Often in history communities thus situated have been reduced to desperate straits, but in the end an honourable revival has been found possible though only after efforts of heroic self-sacrifice,—witness, for example, the rise of the Dutch republic under William the Silent, or of Italy in recent times under Victor Immanuel.

Such being the temperamental condition of communities inheriting, or trained in, Christian and European civilisation, it is most natural, however unpleasant it has proved, that the Boers should have adopted their present course. If they had yielded to the demands of Mr. Chamberlain, intelligible enough as they are from the national point of view of Great Britain, and given the franchise to the Uitlander population and permitted the use of the English language in the Transvaal Volksraad, surely they must have done so with the full know-

ledge that they must soon be swamped by the numerically larger Uitlander population and, losing their political preponderance, must have sooner or later become reduced in affluence and social solidarity and inevitably mingle their blood with the Uitlanders', and thus lose their separate existence as a nationality. To posterity the Boer name in the Transvaal must then surely become a memory and a tradition of ignoble import, indicative of national and social impotence and loss of vitality. Under these circumstances, the only course open to the Boers was to walk by the light of history and, trusting to the God of Battles, to take their chance, as they have done. If they are effaced, as they must be, after the efforts they have made, if they perish sword in hand, their name will remain untarnished in history. It is evident that they cannot have peace with independence. No British statesman, worthy of the name, can, after the experience of the past, accept any such conditions. The Boers have shown that they cannot be trusted to remain peaceful and allied subjects or neighbours, and they must henceforth be treated as conquered subjects in the true sense of the term.

We have advisedly used this expression, *conquered subjects in the true sense of the term*. For they have fought with the British and have been conquered; and they can have *no manner of claim* for equal rights with the men of British race in South Africa, for they have been guilty of base treachery in deliberately disregarding the terms of the treaties under which they were guaranteed internal independence under British suzerainty and secretly preparing during all these years for the overthrow of the British Empire in South Africa and the establishment of their own in its stead. Even the Boers in Cape Colony have rebelled in many places, and it is certain that, even where there has been no actual rebellion, a spirit of dissaffection has long been abroad and may long continue, fomented by the insidious tactics of the notorious Afrikaner Bond. If the Colonial and Imperial authorities are to continue unmolested, they must maintain martial law in operation for a fairly long period and resolutely proceed to disarm the entire Boer population and restrict the concession of the franchise so that their influence on the internal politics of South Africa may be limited to the extent that is absolutely necessary for securing to them the blessing of impartial government.

It will help to make the position of the Boers under British

rule clearer, if we contrast it with our own in our dealings with the British in the past. We cannot justly be called a conquered people. Some Hindu chiefs were indeed overthrown and lost their power, but they were overthrown by methods and instruments absolutely without parallel in the history of conquest, properly so called. Of course we know that it is now usual enough to speak of the British conquest of India. But what is conquest? Sir J. R. Seeley, the late eminent Professor of History at Cambridge University, explains the process as follows:—"Surely the word is only applicable at all when it refers to some action done to one state by another. There is war between two states; the army of one state invades the other and overturns the Government of it, or at least forces the Government to such humiliating terms that it is practically deprived of its independence; this is conquest in the proper sense." In this proper sense there has been no conquest here. Did the English state ever declare war against any Indian chief or send out an English army, like the one which Lord Roberts now commands against the enemies of the Empire in South Africa? Not at all. What was the composition of the army by which the victories which secured India for the British East India Company were gained? Sir J. R. Seeley says:—"Four-fifths of this army was always composed of native troops." He proceeds to mention various other facts which are here worth noting. From the time of the Regulating Act to the time of the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, the proportion of Englishmen to Natives in the Indian army was less than a fifth; before 1773, the proportion was less than a seventh, and even now it is less than a third. And what about the fighting capacity of the Natives? James Mill, the historian of British India, says:—"The two important discoveries for conquering India were: 1st, the weakness of the Native armies against European discipline, 2ndly, the facility of imparting that discipline to Natives in the European service." The historian adds, "Both discoveries were made by the French." It must be also remembered that no less a man than Lord Roberts has spoken of the Indian military officers as his "Comrades," and he recently started the "Indian Heroes' Fund," which proves conclusively that Lord Salisbury's reference to this "age of heroes" applies no less to India than to England. Sir John Seeley writes in well-chosen language:—"India can hardly be said to have been conquered by foreigners; *she has rather conquer-*

ed herself." These words which we have put in italics are the words of a true and brave Englishman, and it is because England has in abundance men like Seeley and Roberts that it exercises so great and so beneficent an influence in the world. The people of India have really placed themselves under British rule and intend to remain loyal to that rule, for it is so beneficent and so progressive that there has been nothing to compare with it in this country for two thousand years at least. Such being our position in regard to the British people in the past and in the present, we have every right to demand that, sooner or later, we should be afforded every possible opportunity to show ourselves worthy of being the citizens of this great Empire. This hope glows in every true Hindu heart and buoys up even those of us who have been disposed, with or without proper grounds, to complain that there have been hours of trial, affliction or suspicion. The power of patience is, equally with the power of imitation, a dominant characteristic of the Hindu mind, and every Hindu feels himself the truly destined heir of all the ages. For instance, when India was accorded a treaty at different from that of the Colonies on the occasion of the Jubilee, many felt that such a thing need not have been. But none for a moment believed, as none now believes, that India will always in the future be assigned the same position, for the spirit of Imperialism is abroad and no man on earth can retard the growth of Imperial Federation. When the Maharaja of Durbhunga declared the other day that he would consider it the mission of his life to promote Imperial Federation, Englishmen throughout India came forward to hail his pronouncement on the subject as a welcome manifestation of loyal India's spirit of co-operation for all worthy purposes of Imperial welfare. How different is the position of the Boers to-day in South Africa, where even in Cape Colony and Natal they have manifested a spirit of rebellion and thereby lost all claim to be treated on a footing of equality with the men of British race; even though England is sure to be generous enough to extend to them, as it has done till now, the blessing of British citizenship in its entirety?

How does it come to pass that India and the Indians are placed in their present position? We have heard some people say that it is due to national cowardice and to the supreme anxiety of every one to save his skin at any cost. This is nonsense, pure and simple. India can furnish even to-day as good a

body of fighting men as any other country in the world, and every part of India possesses sound fighting material in sufficient quantity and ready to obey England's call to enlist in her service. What, then, is the true explanation of the phenomenon above referred to, *viz.*, that, unlike the Boers, the people of India are, and will continue to be, loyal British subjects? The answer is that they, alone among the world's communities, have no national and racial feeling. To what is this due? It is needless to dwell here at length on the subject. Our religion alone has taught the world the Supreme Secret, the *Paramanna Ghyam* (Bhagavadgita, XVIII., 68), *Gnana-yajna* (ibid 70) the truth which underlies the great doctrines of "the omni-penetrativeness of God" and "the solidarity of man." The Christian Missionary in India has at last had to acknowledge this and thereby to recognise India's place in the providential order and the insufficiency of Christianity as the religion of humanity. The Vedanta is thus *the only absolute religion* for the whole world. As the destined teachers of humanity, the Rishis have enjoined on us to accept all men as our other selves, to put into practice the *Tattvamasi* of the Sruti, to bear no ill-will to any one, simply because he enjoys political supremacy on earth. "It matters not who rules, Rama or Ravana," says the Indian proverbial wisdom. As the men of British race have by Indian aid established their political ascendancy in this country, they shall have for ever our loyal co-operation in all that is noble, virtuous and useful for humanity, and none can deserve it better, as we know from ample past experience. India cannot and will not become a nation, and the rival or enemy of any other community of men.

K. SUNDARARAMAN.



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THE
MADRAS REVIEW.

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THE CRISIS IN CHINA.

It is impossible to find a parallel in the history of the world to what is taking place in China at present. Empires have fallen; dynasties have decayed; but never in the way that China is drifting at present. An ancient and extensive empire, with one-fifth the population of the globe, is deemed to be tottering to decay and extinction; and all who are hoping to get a share of the dismembered empire are at its gate. From the point of view of the Chinese, the situation is pathetic; from that of the world at large it is alarming. China has, to use Lord Salisbury's expression, sought no gold fields and sought no territory. She has been content to be let alone without the embarrassing attentions and the irritating interference of foreign nations. Nevertheless she is now virtually at war with all the sovereign states in the world; and strangely enough those who menace her and claim her territory are, with one exception, Christian nations. It is impossible to see what rights these foreign peoples have to force themselves upon China. The Chinese do not want their religion; they do not seek their civilization; nor do they covet their territory. But the Christian nations would carry the gospel of Christ to them; and if the mission fails or is resisted, they would wage war. The "Boxer Rebellion," as it was called, is not a rebellion against the constituted authority of the empire; but a national rising against foreigners who covet their territory and their gold. On the face of it, it is absurd that foreigners should send their armies to suppress this "Rebellion." If the Chinese rise against their Emperor and the Government, it is a

matter entirely between themselves, in which the foreigners have no business to interfere. They have however created what they call "spheres" of interest or influence in China, and they claim to protect their interests and maintain their influence. The Chinese are attached to their religion, to their civilization and to their country; but the Christian nations of Europe thought that the religion of the Chinese was not sufficiently good for them; and missionaries from European countries began accordingly to settle in China to civilize the Chinese. The advent of missionaries naturally caused excitement among the Chinese; and as usual among all people, the missionary propaganda provoked opposition and sometimes violence. This is a necessary preliminary which every European intruder in the East has to go through before he can claim new rights over which he may dispute afterwards, can obtain spheres of interest and finally secure slices of territory. Having once secured a footing, it is impossible to give it up, and when resistance is offered, it is met by counter-resistance, for which the material resources are brought from the West. This is, exactly what is being done in regard to China; and it is difficult not to sympathise with the Chinese in their present predicament. It was not with the concurrence of the Chinese nation that foreigners settled in their country; and probably if they had been consulted when foreign settlements were first permitted, and been made aware of the motives of the settlers, they would have forthwith objected. But their government, acting on their behalf, allowed themselves into making concession after concession; and now they are suddenly awakened to the fact that they are no longer their own masters in their own country, but on the other hand a sort of tenants-at-will who have to agree to any kind of arrangement that the superior partner makes for them. Such a situation has evidently become intolerable to the more active spirits of the nation; and the Boxer movement, we believe, is the exhibition of national feeling against foreign aggression on their country. The Boxers have been described as the members of a secret society designed to destroy the foreigners. Such secret societies must exist in every country where political freedom is non-existent. They are merely substitutes for those modern instruments of constitutional agitation which are found in all countries governed on principles of freedom and justice. If the Chinese had been trained to those modern methods, their

anti-foreign propaganda would have probably taken a less dangerous shape. But long forced to tolerate the presence of the foreigner and to submit to foreign dictation in matters of national interests, they have reached the highest limit of patience and have taken the inevitable step under the impulse of despair.

It remains to be seen how the war will drift and what course events will take. The foremost nations of Europe have all their stake in the country, and Japan as the nearest neighbour has naturally the greatest interest in the issue of the conflict. Russia, France, Germany, England, and America have all separate and distinct interests in the Chinese Empire. All of them have their missionaries, their commerce, their own subjects and their respective spheres of influence to be protected; and no delay has been made, no indifference has been shown, by any of them in sending out their own troops to join the conflict. So far as the rescuing of the foreigners in China is concerned they have all a common aim; but beyond that their interests are divergent. It is therefore difficult to say how far they will agree to common concerted action. At a certain point in the course of the war, the divergence must begin, and then it will be that the world will witness a conflagration. God forbid that this should happen. But unless something hitherto unexpected happens there seems no hope of averting the catastrophe.

The eyes of Europe are always turned to regions where there is territory to be partitioned. Before the Chino-Japanese war, it was Turkey that engaged the attention of Europe. Till then everybody was talking and writing of the partition of the "Sick-man's" Empire. Indeed, there were the same difficulties of international jealousies and conflict of international interests to be got over before an agreement was come to as to the division of the spoils as there are now in regard to the Chinese Empire. But all had taken it for granted that Turkey was doomed and that the Powers of Europe would have soon to effect a division of it among themselves. But the Greeco-Turkish war, in which the Sultan's troops fought valiantly and crushed the Greeks, convinced Europe that the "Sickman" had after all some vitality and power of resistance, and that the attempt to break up Turkey would prove a premature step. Indeed, it would be said, as it has been said, that it was Russia's aim to sieze and hold Constantinople against the rest of Europe; and that it was the check given to her movement by England and the new Triple Alliance

that averted complications in Turkey. But as a matter of fact no nation in Europe which feels its power is indifferent to the importance of acquiring foreign territory wherever possible. And the vultures of Europe would have been still hovering round Turkey had not Turkish arms triumphed in Crète and the Japanese victory over China exposed the weakness and rottenness of the Celestial Empire. It had not been perceived before either that Turkey was still so strong or that China was so weak. But the wars having demonstrated the fact, Europe had no difficulty in determining her future course. The lesson to be deduced from this is that empires and kingdoms are not free from the greed of nations unless they are capable of protecting themselves by the strength of their arms.

The European Powers which now so readily seek the armed intervention of Japan in China did not, with the honorable exception of England, scruple to deprive her of the legitimate fruits of her victory. Russia was foremost in forcing Japan to waive the territorial rights which she had acquired on the mainland of China as the result of the war; and in this unjustifiable step she was supported both by France and Germany. Nor did Russia stop with depriving Japan of the territory ceded to her by China; but actually extended her influence in Korea by supporting it against the domination of Japan, and acquired a hold on China by helping her to pay the indemnity exacted by Japan. Russia therefore has the most predominant interest at present, although it will take at least a couple of years more to accomplish her Railway programme through Manchuria to Port Arthur and thus facilitate the transport of troops. In the meantime Japan is in a position to resist any single European Power, and although she has been invited to initiate the quarrel with China, she is sure to reflect on her recent experience at the hands of the European Powers and calculate the consequences of hasty action on their behalf. There is no doubt that although the powers desire immediate Japanese intervention, none of them, except perhaps England, have any idea of allowing her to obtain any undue advantage as a reward for her services; and the declaration made at St. Petersburg, while it sets no limit on the number of troops that Japan may send to China, insists that her sending troops shall in no wise constitute a mandate placing her in a privileged position. It is not likely that Japan will mistake the significance of this announce-

ment although we are sure she will not refrain from doing her best to protect the lives of foreigners in China till their respective Governments are in a position to send reinforcements. But before she does this, she will require an assurance from the Powers as to the conditions upon which assistance is to be rendered. It is clear that Japan alone can save the situation; she alone can send forth immediately the required number of troops for the relief of Peking. But she is not likely to entangle herself in a war with China and be prepared to make the sacrifice it requires merely for the asking. The Powers are anxious to have her help; they have even desired it; they however seem to have withheld the diplomatic assurances which alone will induce Japan to set her army in motion. There is neither grace nor sense in this attitude of the Powers; and it would be to give her little credit for common sense or prudence to suppose that she will be led into the mistake of acting on their behalf without a guarantee as to her future position in China. She is sure to demand and, we have no doubt, has demanded certain undertakings on the part of the Powers as the condition precedent for her advancing to the relief of the Legations; she will have to be compensated for her losses and expenses and will have further to be admitted to her legitimate share of the results. She cannot help insisting on this undertaking after the inequitable treatment she received, after her last war with China, at the hands of Russia, Germany and France who combined to wrest from her the Liaotung Peninsula ceded to her, as the result of the war, by China. The Powers, it is apparent, are hesitating to give the undertaking; for although the movement of Japanese troops was desired several weeks ago and although repeated reports have been flashed throughout the world that Japan was sending troops, so far we have not known anything of the negotiations that have been proceeding behind the curtain. Great Britain recognises and has admitted the reasonableness of the claims which Japan advances as a condition for her interference, but other Powers, notably Russia, are apparently holding back. Great Britain has already requested Germany to intercede with Russia; but so far there appears to have been no satisfactory response.

The truth is that Russia is intensely jealous of Japan who is her most powerful rival in the Far East. She is unwilling, and knows that it is injurious to her interests, that Japan should acquire any new rights in China so as to defeat the grand

purpose she has in view and for the prosecution of which she is hastening the extension of her Railway scheme ; and France and Germany will, in all probability, stand by her. If all had agreed to the Japanese terms, the Legations would have been, by this time, relieved by Japan and the lives of Foreigners placed above danger. But Russian selfishness and Russian jealousy are standing between the foreign Legations and the Chinese army. Telegraphic report has it that Japan has decided to send nearly 50,000 troops to China. We hope this report is true, and if it is true, the Powers must have by this time given the necessary undertaking to Japan.

The real cause of Russia's jealousy towards Japan is Korea. Russia has obtained considerable influence in the Korean kingdom by supporting its ruler against the influence of Japan ; and the extension of this influence is viewed with consternation by Japan. The occupation of Korea by any rival Power must, in the long run, prove disastrous to the very existence of the Mikado's Empire. In the first place it is of inestimable importance in the matter of food and raw material supply ; in the next place it is the chief and only outlet for the surplus Japanese population ; and lastly the existence of a great Power so near Japan would prove a menace to her safety. Korea is near Japan ; her soil is fertile ; and her population is sparse. These are circumstances extremely favourable for the industrial activity of the spare Japanese population. Japan accordingly looks upon Korea as her proper sphere of influence, and is deeply interested in preserving her predominance there. She has accordingly been trying to obtain the consent of the Korean government to a system of Japanese colonising on Korean soil. Already there are said to be about 14,000 Japanese living on Korean soil, most of them as traders ; and she also depends upon Korea for a very large portion of her supply of rice. The loss of Korea would, therefore, be to Japan the loss of her food supply, her raw material supply and one of her chief foreign markets. And with Russia firmly established in the Peninsula, Japan will have always to be on her guard with a large navy at her back to protect her merchant marine and guard her homeshores. But if the occupation of Korea by Russia would be fatal to Japan, the Japanese occupation of Korea would be equally fatal to Russia. This is the real basis of Russia's jealousy towards Japan. There is however a treaty

between the two, entered into in 1898, whereby their respective relations as regards Korea have been settled as follows :—

“Article I.—The Imperial Governments of Japan and Russia definitively recognise the sovereignty and entire independence of Korea, and mutually engage to refrain from all direct interference in the internal affairs of that country.

“Article II.—Desiring to avoid every possible cause of misunderstanding in the future, the Imperial Governments of Japan and Russia mutually engage, in case Korea should apply to Japan or to Russia for advice and assistance, not to take any measure in the nomination of military instructors and financial advisers, without having previously come to a mutual agreement on the subject.

“Article III.—In view of the large development of Japanese commercial and industrial enterprise in Korea, as well as the considerable number of Japanese subjects resident in that country, the Imperial Russian Government will not impede the development of the commercial and industrial relations between Japan and Korea.”

If this treaty is maintained in its integrity, no trouble is likely to arise about Korea which will then retain its independence. But Russia's policy of absorption is in the ascendant ; she has already dominated Manchuria and made it virtually a Russian province, and with the completion of the Great Siberian Railway she hopes to dominate the whole of China. If she obtains this ascendancy she will menace not only Japan, but the whole of Europe. It is not therefore likely that European Powers, if they are wide awake, will allow Russia to occupy Korea so as to disturb the tranquillity of the Pacific and to endanger the peace of the world in the East.

The present situation in China, however, has rendered some sort of complication inevitable. The allies have not so far determined upon a common action, although all of them have sent out a certain number of troops for the relief of the foreigners. If all join together, or if all of them authorise Japan to act on their behalf on the conditions which Japan insists, the situation may perhaps be easily saved. But even at a time of the utmost danger such as the present, we find Russia hesitating to give a most necessary assurance, and Germany and France apparently exhibiting the same hesitation. Even granting that all the Powers agree upon concerted action for the common object of

relieving the Legations and protecting the lives of foreigners, there will still remain the question as to how they are to act after the relief is effected. They will, indeed, require an indemnity from China in case they easily succeed in crushing the rising against the foreigners; and if China is convinced of her powerlessness against the combined might of the foreigners, she may perhaps easily agree to the terms which the Powers prescribe. In which case the trouble will be transferred from the shoulders of China to those of the Powers. They will have to agree among themselves if they are to avoid a conflict; otherwise they will fight among themselves over a huge carcase. But even when they begin to quarrel among themselves, it is a question whether they will be divided into two opposite camps or whether they will carry on a sort of triangular or quadrangular war; and China is sure to be benefited by such a course of events.

As far as the crushing of China is concerned, all seem to be extremely hopeful; for none credits the Celestial Empire with much vitality or power of continued resistance. Nevertheless we hesitate to believe that the task of subjugating China will be so easy as is generally supposed. Of course, her crushing defeat by Japan has been taken as establishing the utter incompetence of China and her helplessness against foreign aggression; but those who take this view seem to have overlooked two important points which have considerably changed the aspect of affairs in China as they viewed it at the time of the war with Japan. We have said in the beginning of this article that the so-called Rebellion is not a rebellion at all, but a national rising against those whom they regard as their enemies; but the war with Japan was not a war undertaken by the Chinese nation, but only by the Chinese Government. It further concerned only a small portion of the Empire. But the present rising is not only a national rising, but is prompted by the common idea that the Chinese religion, the Chinese nationality, and the Chinese Empire are in danger and that unless the foreigner is entirely annihilated or driven off, there is no means of preserving their country and their religion against the aggressive avarice of the militant foreigners. The next point that is ignored in calculating the resisting power of China has reference to the state of military training and discipline as it existed at the time of the war with Japan and as it exists at the present time. Japan had to face an army, ill-organised, ill-equipped and incapable of using

modern weapons with precision, while herself put into the field a most efficient army well versed in all the modern arts of war and furnished with the latest instruments of destruction. But the Chinese army has ceased to be what it was at that time. If the war exposed the weakness of China to the outside world, China discovered her weakness herself and set about remedying it. Since that time there has been witnessed in China an unusual intellectual activity, and a desire to acquire Western learning and Western enlightenment. Side by side with these there has also been a persistent endeavour on their part to improve their army, to give it a better training after the European method and to make it an efficient fighting force. Accordingly, in the present trouble, we have been having reports that the Chinese used their guns and rifles with precision and effect. Indeed the Chinese army does not seem to have received at the hands of the reformer the fullest improvement and development that it is capable of; still there is no doubt that it is much more efficient and powerful than it was at the time of the war.

According to the latest computation, the total land-army in China on a peace footing is 300,000 men and on a war footing 1,000,000. Of course, the general impression is that the army as a whole has no unity or decision nor is it well-drilled and disciplined. But in the light of what we have observed above, this opinion has, to some extent, if not considerably, to be modified; and what is more, modern arms have been purchased and are now being manufactured in China; and the Chinese have been taught to use them by European military officers. There is no doubt that it will be some time before they can offer much effective resistance to the European and Japanese army; but that they will offer strenuous resistance is certain; and before it is overcome much blood will have been shed and many lives sacrificed. And there seems no way of averting it.

INTERPELLATION IN INDIAN LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS.

THE privilege of asking questions along with that of discussing the annual financial statement in Indian Legislative Councils was created for the first time by the Indian Councils Act of 1892. Section 2 of that Act authorised the making of rules by the respective governments concerned; for authorising the asking of questions as well as the discussion of the annual financial statement at any meeting of their respective Legislative Councils, subject to such conditions and restrictions as to subject or otherwise as shall in those rules be prescribed or declared. It further provided that any rule made under this section by a Governor in Council or by a Lieutenant-Governor shall be subject to the sanction of the Governor-General in Council and any rule made by the Governor-General in Council shall be subject to the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council. In giving effect to this provision of the Act affecting the right of asking questions, the Government of India, with the concurrence of the Secretary of State, prescribed the conditions and restrictions under which the new privilege should be exercised. It was laid down among other things that questions must be so framed as to be merely requests for information and must not be put in an argumentative or hypothetical form or in defamatory language; and that no discussion should be permitted in respect of an answer given to a question. These two restrictions are, as Lord Landsdowne, the then Viceroy, declared from his place in the Council, substantially identical with those under which questions may be put to Her Majesty's Government in the British House of Commons. And as respects the nature of the subjects, in regard to which questions might be admitted; Lord Landsdowne instanced such matters as military preparations at a time when hostilities are in progress or in contemplation and matters of financial policy involving the premature disclosure of information affecting the market, as falling beyond the sphere of admissibility. As, however, the Government of India resolved

not to commit themselves to any specification of subjects, they thought it would be sufficient to take power for the President to disallow a question upon the ground that it cannot be answered consistently with public interests. In making this announcement, Lord Landsdowne said: "the reformed Councils will, I have no doubt, show a proper appreciation of the limits within which the right of interpellation can be exercised without injury to public interests, and I have every hope that it will very rarely be found necessary to resort to the veto of the President. I may add that in this case also, the rule adopted is similar to that in force in the House of Commons." A further condition to which the questions asked in the Local Legislative Councils are subject is, that no questions should be asked with regard to matters or branches of the administration other than those under the control of the Local Government or with regard to matters which are or have been the subject of controversy between the Governor-General in Council or the Secretary of State and the Local Government except as to matters of fact.

For every Legislative Council in India, the above are the conditions and restrictions in the matter of asking questions; and we shall see how far they have been observed in practice in admitting questions as well as in answering them. Lord Landsdowne said that a resort to the veto of the President would very rarely be found necessary; but in our experience the exercise of the President's veto has by no means been very rare. Questions have very frequently been disallowed by the President of the Legislative Council in the entire absence of any of the grounds mentioned by Lord Landsdowne and embodied in the rules framed under the Councils Act. Numerous instances might be quoted of the wrong and entirely unjustifiable exercise of the veto; but the following will, we trust, be sufficient to show how arbitrary the procedure has been in shutting out legitimate requests for information. At the meeting of the Madras Legislative Council held on 30th March 1900, the Hon'ble C. Vijayaraghava Chari, submitted these questions:

- I. Will the Government be pleased to state whether, before appointing a successor to act for the Hon'ble Justice Sir S. Subramania Iyer on leave, the Government considered the desirability of continuing the practice of appointing a native of India to the office?
- II. Will the Government be pleased to state the circumstances

- under which an officer, who is not a native of India, has been appointed to act in the place of Sir S. Subramania Iyer?
- III. Prior to filling up the acting vacancy in question, did the Government put itself in communication with the High Court in view to its suggesting names of persons competent to fill the office? Did it suggest any names of Natives of India, in the Government Service or in the Bar?
- IV. What is the latest despatch of the Secretary of State for India on the subject of the Government filling up acting vacancies in the office of a Judge of the High Court? Will the Government be pleased to lay it on the table?
- V. Has the despatch from the Secretary of State for India in connection with the acting appointment of Mr. Justice Dillon, of the Allahabad High Court, been communicated to the Government? Is it a fact that in this despatch the Secretary of State says that it is undesirable to appoint practising Barristers to short vacancies in the office of the Judge of the High Court.
- VI. Will the Government be pleased to state whether, in filling up the temporary vacancy caused by the absence of Sir S. Subramania Iyer, its decision was in any way influenced by this despatch?
- VII. Will the Government be pleased to state whether it is in a position to say why the Secretary of State has excluded Vakils from the operation of such despatch?
- VIII. Is it a fact that, in practice, the nominations or recommendations of persons in the Government Service and of Vakils for permanent judgeships in the High Court rest with the Government, and such appointments of Barristers are made on the nomination or recommendation of the Secretary of State? Is it also a fact that, in view to the exercise of this patronage by him, the Secretary of State sent the said despatch lest claims might arise on the part of Local Barristers, who may have been appointed by the Government as acting judges of the High Court?

Now this was a matter in regard to which the public had a right to be informed of the reasons which influenced the Government in making a departure from the uniform practice of over twenty-two years. And there was no grave military or political issue involved in it; nor was there any public interest to be sacrificed in giving the required information. This typical

instance will show that the present rules allow scope to the President of the Legislative Council to defeat the very purpose of interpellation even in matters of the very deepest interest to the public.

Nor is this the only means whereby the executive manages to render the privilege of interpellation practically inoperative. It not unfrequently happens that questions are admitted and are asked in the Council, but the Government, without assigning any reason, decline to answer them. Of this class of questions the following will furnish very striking examples.

At the Meeting of the Madras Legislative Council, held on the 14th November 1899, the following questions were asked:—
(The Hon'ble Mr. E. Norton).

Q. Will the Government state the circumstances which have led to the change in the Madras Educational Rules forbidding Managers and teachers of aided institutions from taking part, directly or indirectly, in political movements or agitation without the previous sanction of the Director of Public Instruction.

A. (The Hon'ble Mr. Arundel).—The Government is not prepared to do so.

Q. (The Hon'ble Mr. Norton).—Will the Government lay on the table all the correspondence on the subject?

A. (The Hon'ble Mr. Arundel).—The Government is not prepared to do so.

Q. (The Hon'ble Mr. C. Jumbulinga Mudaliar).—Has anything transpired in this Presidency which necessitates the enforcement of this rule as a condition precedent to recognition for grant? If so, will the Government be pleased to state such facts?

A. (The Hon'ble Mr. Arundel).—The Government is not prepared to make a statement on the subject.

Those who read the above will wonder how there can be anything in the rules, under which the above answers were given, that is common with the rules relating to the answering of questions in the House of Commons. So far as our knowledge extends we think we can safely say that such answers given to questions asked in the House of Commons would have been regarded as monstrous and would have evoked no small amount of public indignation. But here public opinion is utterly impotent against the unreasoning and thoroughly inexplicable attitude that is indicated in the above answers.

A third method equally frequently adopted is to give imperfect, unsatisfactory and sometimes disingenuous answers. Very

often the only reply that an interpellating member gets is "yes" or "no." In the history of the Madras Legislative Council, for example, this has been so common that it is hardly necessary to point out particular instances. Then again there is the stereotyped answer that "the Government has no information on the subject." The non-official members of the Council have used every device to prevent Government evading questions in this way. Anticipating this kind of answer they take care to ask beforehand whether if the Government has no information, it will call for it; and then the reply comes that the Government has no information and that it does not propose to call for any. Thus it will be seen that the new privilege conferred on the people has not been allowed to be exercised with full advantage and effect; but that, on the contrary, the spirit of the Act has been more or less disregarded by those called upon to give effect to it. The authors of the Act and those who made rules under it never perhaps intended this result; and Lord Landsdowne's speech in the Supreme Legislative Council, from which we have quoted, unmistakably shows that neither the Secretary of State nor the Government of India ever expected that the discretion, which it was thought necessary to vest in the President of the Council, would be used to defeat the intentions of Parliament and of those who endeavoured to give effect to them. In the beginning, however, the rules had to be framed in a tentative manner; and the Viceroy made it perfectly clear that the only restriction that it should be necessary to impose was in regard to the nature of subjects. But in actual practice these limitations have been carried to an extent which makes it impossible to elicit information on matters which do not come under the category contemplated by the Government of India and declared by His Excellency the Viceroy; and the power taken "for the President to disallow a question upon the ground that it cannot be answered consistently with public interests" has been enlarged to an unexpected degree.

The time has therefore now come to reconsider the matter in the light of the experience we have had of the working of the tentative rules originally framed. The tentative stage has passed; the actual working has been found to be defective; the full benefit expected from the new privilege has not been obtained; and with a Viceroy who took no small share in piloting the Indian Councils Act through the House of Com-

mons, this, in our opinion, is, the most fitting opportunity to inaugurate a change in the existing rules.

The object of interpellation is, not less to call attention to public grievances than to obtain information on matters of public interest. In the present circumstances of the country there is no other constitutional means whereby the Government can be made aware of popular grievances except by petitions by private individuals or through the agency of the Press; but both these latter means lack that authority and that guarantee of securing Government's attention which a question asked in the Legislative Council is sure to command. Even though the privilege has been so far imperfect in its operation, it has not altogether failed to render public officials more guarded and watchful in their duties; and the public are also confident that any grievance they have, can be easily brought to the notice of the authorities without recourse to any of those cumbersome processes which by delay often defeat the purpose in view. The privilege is also useful to the Government inasmuch as it can easily correct public misapprehension where such exists. These objects, however, cannot be fully attained if the rules concerning interpellation are so indefinite as they are now. Indeed, those in whom considerable discretion is vested in this matter fully appreciate the advantage; but with all their good intentions and generous impulses, it is natural that they must be occasionally tempted to be arbitrary in regard to matters which concern their own policy or action; and public opinion is not sufficiently powerful to dissuade them from assuming such arbitrary attitude. There has been considerable dissatisfaction with the way in which the rules as regards interpellation have been given effect to. It is time therefore that the existing rules were reconsidered and modified so as more effectually to fulfil the intentions of the Act.

QUEEN ELIZABETH AND HER PORTRAITS.

NEARLY three hundred years have passed away since the days of Elizabeth; but from her time to ours, there has come and gone no period so essentially stamped with the personality of its ruler and no period in which the spirit of growth, of enterprise, of individualism, and above all of success, has been so strikingly manifest. But though it was truly the Queen's age—the Elizabethan age—Elizabeth seldom if ever sought directly to influence the growth and development of her people. She was swift to approve, swifter still to condemn, but she never attempted to educate. She rather ruled the people and pioneered her age; and indirectly her influence was thereby the stronger; for in leading the present she suggested the path of the future.

It is a comparatively easy matter to reconstruct a fact, but it is a far subtler, and more difficult task to re-establish a personality. Many circumstances that appear to enlighten, in reality tend to make it less distinct in the perspective of the past. There is always a temptation to judge a man by the result rather than the motive of his actions. But despite all difficulties Elizabeth stands out clearly from the pages of history—a strong masculine woman, full of force, steering her way through those rocks of religious differences which had so often proved disastrous in the reigns of her predecessors; controlling the restlessness of her people; breaking the power of Spain; winning her battles with grotesquely inadequate means; electrifying the whole nation with the sheer force of her personality; a ruler, a diplomatist, a politician. The finished woman is conceivable; but how difficult, nay, almost impossible, to imagine her a humble submissive daughter, or a self-effacing younger sister.

Criticism both favourable and the reverse has never been lacking on this strange woman, and her reign. Yet though the study of her personality and her period has always held so strong a fascination for the humanist and the historian, it is a curious and not uninteresting fact that men can afford to judge her coolly,

critically and impersonally, as they would judge another man: There is none of the romantic devotion, the fantastic hate, or the endless rhapsodies that has made cool judgment on the life of Mary, Queen of Scots, an impossibility. Perhaps to some extent this lack of sentiment and romance may be attributed to the absence of that feminine touch of weakness which with so many has proved the cause of pity near akin to love.

Yet in her own time the devoted loyalty of Elizabeth's subjects was positively fanatic; she both expected and received worship. "She did great things: and she knew how to set them off according to their full value, by her manner of doing them."

Nevertheless, she constantly marred her statesmanship, brilliant and farseeing though it undoubtedly was, by her meanness, her double-dealing, or her vanity. With the Spanish Armada actually on its way to England, her miserly economy threatened to prove the ruin of her country: yet instead of disaster the outcome—a brilliant victory—added double lustre to the British navy from the very inadequacy of its forces. Over and over again in following the history of her reign, one can scarcely resist a feeling that the next page must reveal some terrific disaster, and there is little doubt that had failure, instead of success, awaited the Queen on more occasions than one, she must inevitably have become the laughing stock of Europe. So accurately and minutely did she judge the effect of her policy, and weigh out her actions, that though her reign was a glorious success, it escaped an utter fiasco but by the breadth of a hair. Her ministers might storm, her commanders chafe, her parliaments expostulate—she went her way, coquetting with a foreign power as with a lover, teaching a courtier manners; boxing a waiting-maid's ears, yet all the while ruling not England only, but the English, as few sovereigns have ruled a nation either before or since.

Partly to Elizabeth's vanity, partly to the loyalty of her people, may probably be attributed the enormous number of portraits she has left to posterity. O'Donoghue in his admirable "descriptive and classified catalogue of the portraits of Queen Elizabeth" gives a detailed account of not less than 108 portraits, *i.e.*, 79 pictures, 5 drawings and 34 miniatures besides a large number of prints, chiefly taken from previously existing pictures. Yet despite their profusion the most casual study of these pictures will tend to show that they scarcely do her justice.

Her peculiar fancy for always being painted in the open air, that no shadow might fall on her face, combined with the barbaric gorgeousness of her dress, is apt to lead the portraits a bald unnatural appearance, and to detract from the brightness of her black eyes and auburn hair, and from the shapeliness of her splendid forehead. As Horace Walpole has remarked, her style of dress left no more room for the exercise of a painter's genius "than if he had been employed to copy an Indian Idol totally composed of hands and necklaces." This is true enough of her later portraits, but it is quite evident from the description of her contemporaries and the few existing early portraits, that as a princess she was a really charming and beautiful girl.

Her tutor Roger Ascham wrote of the extreme simplicity of her dress, her charm of manners, and her great mental acquirements: while some proof of her amiability may be found in the fact that she succeeded in endearing herself to each of her four step-mothers! Indeed she appears to have delighted all those who came in contact with her during her early years. Moreover their apparent fascination can hardly be attributed to selfish motives, since for the first twenty-five years of her life her friendship could be of little value, and might at any moment prove a danger to her friends. She came perilously near the scaffold on several occasions, and had she not acquired a wonderful amount of caution and discretion by her twenty-first year she would undoubtedly have passed from the Tower to the scaffold on the occasion of Wyatt's Rebellion!

Her early life, though scarcely calculated to form a good or generous woman, gave her great powers of self-control, a ready wit, and self-dependence in times of danger and difficulty, qualities that proved extremely useful to her both in her precarious minority and in her after life.

It is said that at the time of the execution of the Lord High Admiral Seymour, when the news was announced to her, and all around were watching eagerly for some compromising sign of the love she was said to bear him, she merely turned on her heel, remarking, "This day died a man of much wit and very little judgment!"

Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt who was sent to examine her on the Seymour affair seems to have found more than his match in the Princess. "She hath a good wit, and nothing is gotten out of her but by great policy" he wrote in his first dispatch. But he

soon found even his "great policy" of no avail and was obliged to own his utter powerlessness to get the better of her in any matter of words.

Elizabeth though nominally under the rule of various governors and governesses had never been under the control of those of suitable rank or station, except during her short residence with Katherine Parr: consequently she had had none to whom she could look for help or advice, none on whom she could lean. Even her favourite governess, Mrs. Kate Ashley, was to her rather in the position of a servant than a mistress, and proved herself totally unsuited to her task.

Here and there odd little flashes of light are thrown on her intimate life by apparently dry official contemporary documents. They come almost as a surprise; for the girl princess is apt to be forgotten in the glamour of the gorgeous queen. Thus we learn that when Ashley was disgraced and Lady Tyrwhitt appointed in her stead, Elizabeth "took the matter so heavily that she wept all that night and lowered all the next day." "But," adds Tyrwhitt, "in the end of the matter, I perceived that she was very loth to have a governess . . . but if I should say my phantasy, it were more meet she should have two than one." Evidently the charge of her grace, My Lady Elizabeth, was no sinecure!

Nevertheless an amusing study in the art of diplomatic submission may be made among her letters to those in power during her father's and sister's reigns. Humility and self-effacement seem the very key-note of her existence. She dare not write to the king himself, she tells Katherine Parr during a temporary banishment from court, "Wherefore I now humbly pray Your Excellent Highness, that when you write to His Majesty you will condescend to recommend me to him, praying ever for his sweet benediction, and similarly entreating Our Lord God to send him best success and the obtaining victory over his enemies, so that Your Highness and I may as soon as possible rejoice in his happy return."

The vigour and energy of her style in later years, forms a strong contrast to the above. In fact she was wont to administer a very sharp rebuke where she thought it desirable, and seldom troubled to mince her words even where crowned heads were concerned. See for example her letter to king James of Scotland upbraiding him for breaking his word. "How may it

"be, that you can suppose an honourable answer may be made
 "me when all your doings gainsay your former vows. You deal
 "not with one whose experience can take dress for good pay-
 "ments, nor one that easily will be beguiled. No, No, I mind to
 "set to school your craftiest councillor. I am sorry to see you
 "bent to wrong yourself in thinking to wrong others;.....
 ".....Or again the letter to Mary Queen of Scots reproaching her
 for her "impatience tending also to many uncomely, passionate and
 "vindictive speeches,"—and advising her to "stay or else qualify
 "her passions, and to consider that it is not the manner to attain
 "good things with evil speeches, nor benefits with injurious
 "charges, nor to set good to yourself with doing evil to another."
 This letter is severely signed "Your cousin, that wisheth
 you a better mind."

Though the occasional abnormal meekness of her early youth was undoubtedly to a great extent affected, it is evident from a careful study of her portraits from youth to age, that her character strengthened and hardened considerably as her years increased.

The Hampton Court family group (said to be by Holbein or one of his school) represents her as simply dressed, and with an exceptionally sweet and charming expression. Both this portrait and the corresponding one of Mary from the same group were engraved for Miss Agnes Strickland's "Lives of the Queens of England," but have been reversed, Mary's portrait appearing as Elizabeth's, and *vice versa*.

Also in the Windsor picture painted when Elizabeth was thirteen years old, there is something very attractive about her face: but the ostentation of her later portraits makes them more curious than beautiful.

Horace Walpole in his witty though somewhat irreverent manner has described them as follows:—

"A pale Roman nose, a head of hair loaded with crowns and powdered with diamonds, a vast ruff, a vaster fardingale, and a bushel of pearls, are the features by which everybody knows at once the picture of Queen Elizabeth."

There is a curious allegorical painting, at Hampton Court,* by L. da Heere, in which Elizabeth is represented as standing at the head of a flight of steps. Juno, Minerva, and Venus gaze at

her magnificence in bewildered astonishment, while Cupid who has thrown away his bow, is clinging to Venus for protection.

The various existing portraits by Marcus Gheeraedts, a Dutch painter, are chiefly noteworthy for the conscientious accuracy with which he has recorded the details of her dress, and in the case of the later ones, his uncompromising honesty in the reproduction of the wrinkles on her face.

Her personal appearance towards the close of her reign has been described by Paul Henzner, a German traveller, who visited England in 1598. He writes—"Next came the Queen, in the sixty-fifth year of her age (as we were told) very majestic; her face oblong, fair but wrinkled; her eyes still yet black and pleasant; her nose a little hooked, her lips narrow and her teeth black (a defect the English seem subject to from their too great use of sugar): she had in her ears two pearls with very rich drops, her hair was an auburn colour but false."

It is a pathetic picture—the aged queen with her wrinkled face, and auburn wig, incongruously matched with the bewelled splendour of her sovereignty. It was a lonely old age; one by one her old and trusted friends had passed away leaving her alone with none that had known or loved her in childhood, none who dared to cross her or let fall for one moment the courtier's mask of flattery. Yet to some extent the devotion of her people must have filled many a gaping blank in the loneliness of her last years. Well may they have loved her! was not their care her first consideration? And after the turmoil of a long and difficult reign, did she not leave her country mistress of the seas, respected at home and abroad and her people free, independent, and moreover imbued with that strong sense of patriotism which has proved such a power in our land from that day to this?

KATHERINE W. ELVES.

* Sir E. Law's excellent historical guide to Hampton Court, p. 125.

THE POLITICAL AGENT.

THE Political Agent in a Native State is the mainspring of its administrative mechanism. He can assume the God, and deign to nod and seem to shake the spheres. He is the pulse by which can be gauged the welfare or disease of the body politic. The state is the chameleon which takes its colour from the Residential background. Register carefully the conduct of the Political Agent, both as regards his private life and his official acts, and it is not difficult to determine the trend of affairs in the state in which the Political Agent is an accredited representative of the Government of India. Rajahs come and depart, Dewans rule and retire, but the Political Agent goes on for ever—for he is or should be but the mouth-piece of the supreme power whose decrees are as potent as the laws of the Medes and Persians, and with whom is no shadow of turning. It is a fiction, I believe, that a Rajah may object to a particular Political Agent. At all events there is nothing on record to show that the objections of Native Princes, in this direction, have been taken seriously. The Political Agent, if he only followed the instructions of the Government of India, would be perfection—but in nine cases out of ten, he either does more, or less than he ought to do, and the result is deplorable. If he imagines himself a special providence and runs a tilt at all that does not square with his ideas of the fitness of things, he does infinite harm. If, on the other hand, he “declines to interfere” in anything, and is blind and deaf and dumb as Nebuchadnezzar’s graven image of gold, he does less harm, it is true, but can hardly be said to do his duty. The average Native Government, by reason of the many limitations imposed on it by treaties, traditions and custom, knows nothing of the sweets of liberty. The British Government is the theatre of its actions, and nothing is done regardless of the praise or blame of that mostly silent spectator, with the iron hand concealed in the velvet glove. It will, therefore, be apparent why it is that the Political Agent looms so largely in the horizon of Native Princes. The Political Agent may make, or mar, a State. The Government of India views the Native Government, generally, through his spectacles. He is supposed to be in the know; and an adept itself at

manipulating budgets, and, concealing deformities, it is quite ready to believe that a Native State is not so virtuous as it ought to be, when a Political Agent says so—confidentially. This, notwithstanding a flourishing exchequer, model Hospitals, Grant-in-Aid Schools, and Women’s Colleges. The powers that be in a Native State are cribbed, cabined and confined by rule, and formula, and precedent. The pattern of all good government in the world is the Indian Government, and the Rajah whose rule approximates, most closely, that of the Supreme Government is sure of a Birthday honor, and an extra number of guns as a salute. And yet, it is certain that over-much Government is worse than no Government at all. The Political Agent is, generally speaking, a creature of cut and dried theories; with a ready made salve for every wound, and a solution—founded on precedent—for every problem. The native administrator who would dare to pursue his own methods of Government,—methods incompatible with the recognised ideals of the Political Agent—is yet to be discovered. Dewans have no free will in this respect. Like man’s free will the Native Administrator’s is subject to the dictates of an overruling Providence. Only in the case of the Native State it takes the shape of a Political Agent, backed by the Government of India and tempered by possible C. I. E.’s and C. S. I.’s. The simile can be carried no further unfortunately—for the best intentioned Political Agent, being human, sometimes blunders—and blunders egregiously! The blunder is very seldom known to the outside world. Native Princes and their Ministers have one virtue—which is undisputed. They know how to hold their tongues. Public opinion in Native States is, as yet, a dream of the future; and if evil results from the blunder it is only one more result of Native rule! The moral of the matter is that a Political Agent should not be appointed to the responsible position attached to the office, unless he is thoroughly competent. Unfortunately, it is, more frequently than otherwise, seniority in the service, a partiality for Dowb, or some such cause which actuates the Viceroy in Council, or the lesser gubernatorial lights in Bombay and Madras, that places incompetent men in a position which calls for exceptional ability and fitness; and which brings to mind the Poet’s remark *re* the fly in amber:—

“The things we know are neither rich nor rare.
The wonder is how the devil they got there!”

The Political Agent who would be successful must dare to be ignorant of many things. Cocksurenness is fatal, and is the mother of mistakes. Honesty, of purpose, like charity, covers a multitude of sins; but unless honesty of purpose is wedded to administrative capacity and political insight, it is but as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. Tact is all essential: Tact not to offend needlessly,—for offence must needs be caused sometimes—there can be no omelettes made without breaking eggs; tact to move along the line of least resistance without relinquishing the object in view; tact to be tenacious without appearing to be obstinate; tact to secure compliance and co-operation without any show of compulsion; tact to say the right thing at the right time, and to be oblivious of innumerable things without sacrificing principles to the Moloch of popularity; and tact to be all things to all men, without identifying oneself with any man, party or particular fad, is a *sine qua non*. It may often happen that a Political Agent is a man of strong religious convictions, but he should carefully guard against the exhibition of any bias in this connection. The writer has heard of a Political Agent in a premier Native State, who interested himself in a magisterial case, so far as to question a District Magistrate regarding the matter. It happened that the convicted person in the case was a Native Christian—of the Church Missionary Society—who had the advocacy of a European Missionary. No regular appeal had been made to the Resident—for he was no appellate authority, and yet he thought fit to interrogate a District Magistrate in an unofficial way about the case. Such inquisitorial proceedings are far from desirable, and are likely to vitiate the course of justice. Another Resident, as was recently reported in the *Hindu*, actually interfered with the course of justice by recommending to mercy men who had been convicted of the heinous offence of murder, by the highest judicial tribunal in the land. Capital sentences have, I understand, to be reported to the Political Agent, and probably the Agent in the case we are discussing, may have been within his right in recommending a more lenient punishment. At all events he erred, if he did err, on the right side. But let us suppose, that the High Court of the State, on the other hand, acquitted an accused of murder, would the Political Agent be justified in recommending his execution in the event of his being of the opinion that the accused deserved hanging? In another case, the Political Agent of a Native State, overriding the sentence of a Judicial Court, recom-

mended the reduction of a term of imprisonment awarded by the Court to a set term. The Court proposed an alternative sentence, but the Resident was obdurate, and the sentence he thought was the most suitable was eventually passed. If this is not interference of an objectionable kind, I should like to know what is. Interference in a case, where human life is at stake, may, as an exceptional circumstance, be excusable; but interference with the sentence of imprisonment of a legally constituted judicial tribunal by the Resident, who is not a recognised appellate authority, is anomalous—to say the least of it. I merely mention these instances in support of the remark that interference in such matters clogs the wheels of justice, saps the independence of judicial officers, belittles the Government of a Native Prince, and is subversive of sound political principles. That the highest Court in the State where such things occurred should be silent, and make no protest is significant; and clearly shows that the Political Agent is too great a personage to contend with. Occasionally the Dewan of a Native State has the courage of his conviction, and courageously and loyally battles for the right. One such instance will serve to indicate that tact on the part of the Political Agent goes a great way to smooth out differences and remove difficulties. The case was as follows: His Excellency the Governor of Madras was on a visit to a Native State, the ruling Prince of which was entitled to a salute of 19 guns—outside of his territories. Within his own borders His Highness' salute was 21 guns; and it was represented to the Dewan that His Excellency the Governor might object to the 21 guns, as only 19 guns were prescribed by the Government of India. It was an anxious moment for the Dewan; for His Highness had not the remotest idea of giving offence to the Queen's representative who visited his territories as an honored guest. On the other hand, to submit to the proposition was to lower, irremediably, the prestige of His Highness.

The Dewan represented to the Political Agent that, from time immemorial, his Royal Master had, in his territories, been given the salute of 21 guns, and, if on the occasion of His Excellency's visit the salute was reduced by 2, the impression that the salute had been reduced by order of the Governor in Council for some grave fault of omission or commission would get firm hold of the public mind, and thus lower the prestige of His Highness among his own people. The matter was taken by the

Political Agent to His Excellency, and the Dewan subsequently received a communication that the 21 guns could be fired, but that the matter would be brought to the notice of the Foreign Secretary. This looked like an ultimatum; but the Dewan, nothing daunted, held his ground, and explained personally to His Excellency that to reduce His Highness' salute was impossible. More, he put it to His Excellency that as His Highness's guest His Excellency, surely, would not willingly do anything either to lessen His Highness in the estimation of his people, or cause His Highness pain. His Excellency assured the Dewan that he personally had not the slightest desire to cause unpleasantness, and requested the Dewan to put down, in a demi-official form, his (the Dewan's) views on the debated question. This was done, and the Government of India, a little later, formally sanctioned the salute of 21 guns within His Highness's territories; and a year or two later, accorded His Highness the 21 guns even outside of his Raj. Here was an instance which, but for great tact on the part of the Political Agent, and the Dewan, might have resulted in political consequences of the gravest kind. To return to our thesis: the Political Agent holds the keys of all the actions in the State. If laxity is in vogue at the Residency, it will be found that license and liberty prevail outside. This is no reflection on any one. A corrupt court: a corrupt administration! one is the natural sequence of the other. A lotus-eating, do-nothing Resident enervates the entire administration. A meddlesome Resident, on the other hand, cramps administrative action, negatives responsibility and arouses strong, but silent discontent. Only to a select few is it given, to discover the *via media*. Most Political Agents think themselves called upon to *rule*, that is, to force their ideas on the Dewan or the Ruling Chief, and give administrative expression to their particular fads. If they continued passive, and confined themselves to giving advice when advice was sought, there would probably be a continuity of policy. In the smaller Native States, a continuity of policy is absent. Political Agent A has an educational fad, and a vast increase in expenditure on education, to the detriment of other equally legitimate claims, is the result. Political Agent A goes, and B arrives. He has a craze for Judicial reform, or Police reform, Railway extension or Irrigation projects. Straightway, costly experiments are entered on, only to be given up altogether, or languish

for want of funds, when Political Agent C comes on the scene, and cares nothing about Education and still less about Irrigation or Railway extension! One of the lessons it is necessary for the Political Agent is how *not* to do it. Better in the case of Residents the "stagnant peace of the swamp than the breezy leap of the torrent." The Dewans of Native States are, most of them, able men who may well be left alone to govern the country over which they are placed; and it is only when they seek advice that advice should be given. Nothing is so ruinous to initiative than needless intermeddling, and more frequently, than otherwise, the Dewan of a Native State is quite the equal, and is occasionally the intellectual superior, of the average Political Agent; and interference only serves to thwart rather than to help him. Comparisons are odious, but it seems to the writer no harm in saying that no more successful Political Agent resided at a Native Court, than the Hon'ble Mr. Nicholson lately at Travancore, now translated to a higher sphere of action. His tenure of office was all too short. Calm, patient, able and broad-minded political, and socially a thorough gentleman. Mr. Nicholson commanded the respect and esteem of Prince and Peasant. Would that others were like him. Up to the present time Political Agents have been all but omnipotent; but the solvent of public opinion, and public criticism—the result of increased knowledge and a wider outlook—will, in the end, be too strong for them. What Mr. Abernethy Mackay of lamented memory calls "their 13 gun tall talk," will die away to gentle whispers reduced in substance to conveying the exact instructions of the Foreign Office authorities. It would not be a difficult task to fill a fairly sized volume with the irresponsible vagaries of Political Agents at Native Courts. I commend the idea to some person acquainted with the history of Native States behind the scenes; and I am sure it could easily be shown, that, far from Political Agents preventing friction between the Supreme Government and Native Rulers, they have, more often than not, acted as the fuse to set fire to the combustible material sometimes existent in Native Courts. The Native Princes of India are sons of the Empire, who have acquitted themselves nobly. They have, during times of storm and stress, been weighed in the balance of loyalty, and truth, and have not been found wanting; and it is about time, that the Foreign Office should instruct Political Agents, accredited to all Native States, to be more careful than they have been in the past to refrain from unnecessary inter-

ference; to respect as they do their own, local laws and local Government; to move along the line of least resistance and, above all, to accept no favours, small or great, which is incompatible with their position as Political Agents; or at variance with the standing orders of the Government of India on the subject of their relations with the Native Rulers they are brought into touch with.

R. H.

THROUGH THE MINT.

CONSIDERING its important function—that of supplying about half of the British Empire with coinage,—the Mint presents an unpretending appearance. It gives a visitor the impression of being an enormous house, or some Royal residence, rather than a stronghold wherein there is often over two or three millions worth of precious metal at one time. Once past the official quarters however, the back of the Mint becomes more like a Barrack, with the buildings fronting on to a square courtyard; and it is here that the absolute manufacture of pounds, shillings, and pence takes place.

The metal in its pure state is kept in stronghold; this portion of the building resembles a huge safe, with barred windows and a heavy door, where the ingots are piled until the time comes for passing them on to the Melting House. On an average, gold is not coined more than three or four months in the year, but the silver and bronze coinage is going on almost all the year round, and it sometimes happens that the three metals are being dealt with concurrently. The gold ingots arrive at the Mint from the Bank of England, the silver being bought from the dealers, while a Birmingham firm supplies the bronze already transformed into bars. The gold ingots weigh about 400 ounces, generally of fineness 990 to 998,—and the silver ingots 1,000, fineness 990 to 999,—a statement accompanying them to the Mint as to weight and fineness. Very alluring are the gold ingots to gaze upon,—great blocks of glittering metal, whose solid value enforces itself upon you should you attempt to lift them. The weight is checked, and a small piece cut off each ingot, marked with its number, and sent to the Assay Office to be assayed or tested.

To the uninitiated in Chemistry, the Assay Office is the most bewildering in the Mint. Half a gramme of the standard gold to be tested is alloyed with one gramme and a quarter of silver, by cupelling in a muffle furnace, with four grammes of lead, in a cupel (or refining vessel) made of bone ash, which being porous absorbs the oxide of lead and copper which forms. The gold and silver not being oxidised are left in the cupel in the shape of a button; silver and any trace of copper is then “parted” by means

of nitric acid, leaving the gold spongy, but pure, and sufficiently coherent though brown in colour. It is then heated to redness, which causes it to shrink and become yellow. 73 assays are fired at the same time, and 144 are boiled together in solutions of acid, washed with hot distilled water after each boiling, and then heated to redness in a muffle,—which, by the way, is an oven-shaped vessel. Then the pure gold is weighed, and if it registers 916.6, or within a fraction either way of this weight, the ingots are passed.

In silver assay a solution of salt and water is employed of sufficient strength to convert the gramme of silver into chloride of silver. The metal is dissolved in bottles, a white powder sinking to the bottom, and a clear liquid remaining on the top when the bottle is shaken by machinery. This is precipitated by means of a weaker solution, and the quantity required to precipitate all the remaining silver is carefully calculated and noted down. The weighing machines in the Assay Office appear miracles of delicate balance. A hair, it seems, would turn the scale, when one observes the grave difference made by those infinitesimal grains of gold.

After the ingots have been assayed they are rated, and the amount of copper to be added to each ingot to bring it to the standard is estimated before they are sent to the Melting House. The process of melting is more comprehensible to an outsider. The ingots are melted in air furnaces, the plumbago crucibles for gold being large enough to contain 1,200 ounces of metal, those for silver and bronze 5,000, and are already heated when the ingots are put into them. When gold coinage is going on about forty pots are melted daily. The metal is thoroughly mixed by stirring, and a very picturesque scene it is, the glow of the fire falling on the blackened faces of the men, whose hands are encased in sackcloth while they stir up the great clay pots with a stick made of the same material and fixed in a socket of an iron rod. The molten metal is next poured into moulds, and forms bars of different thickness according to the coin to be produced, the upper end of each bar being cut off and trimmed by means of revolving rasps. A fresh assay piece is cut from the first and last bar in the case of gold and silver, but not from the bronze, and after the bars have been weighed in bulk, they are passed on to the Rolling Room.

Nothing, perhaps, shows the wearisome accuracy necessary

to such a process as coining, as the many times the metal is placed on the weighing machines. The Foreman of each room weighs up every ounce of metal entrusted to him at the time of receiving it, and again before passing it on to the next room. Thus the Foreman of the Melting House weighs the ingots when they come to his department, and subsequently the bars before passing them on; and so on through the whole round until the perfected coin leaves the Mint.

The Rolling Room is a noisy place, the whirring of the powerful machines making it necessary to bawl if you want to ask questions, the answers to which are doubly difficult to grasp. The bars are passed between two rollers, which has the effect of drawing them out to a great length, but not increasing their width. In their flattened condition they are called fillets, and are cut to convenient lengths by shears. The metal is compressed by the rolling, and becomes so hard that it is in danger of splitting at the edges, therefore half way through the process the fillets are annealed in a reverberatory furnace to soften them, the gold in copper tubes to protect them from the action of the air, and the silver and bronze exposed and consequently blackened. In the case of the bronze fillets the oxide of copper formed on the surface by annealing is removed by dipping in a leaden trough containing weak sulphuric acid about 5 or 6 %, but in the case of silver the oxide is not removed at this stage. When the fillets have been rolled to the necessary thickness of the coins which they are destined to produce, they are passed on to the Cutting Room. There is, however, a further process for gold and silver before the blanks are actually cut from the fillet. The remedy for weight in the more precious metals is very close; thus, to take the sovereign as an instance, the weight in grains is 123.274, and the remedy in grains for weight is 200; for silver, take the florin, the weight in grains is 174.545, the remedy in grains for weight 997. As it is not possible to roll the fillet sufficiently accurately, coins cut along the centre of the fillet would be heavier than those at the edge, the metal being denser, therefore a Drag-bench is employed, the principle being the same as drawing wire through a plate. The fillet is flattened at one end, and then passed between the cylinders about half an inch in diameter, and set, so that the rest of the fillet, which is not flattened, requires some force to drag it through; this equalises the metal, so that coins cut from all

parts will weigh the same. Three trial blanks are then cut from the fillet, something in the shape of a treefoil, thus  weighed, & if found to be correct the fillets are passed on to the cutters to be cut entirely into blanks, the skeleton work which remains being known as Seimal, and melted down again. The raised edge of the coins is made by passing them through the Marking Machine, which has two grooves, one fixed and one revolving, between which to catch the coin horizontally and force it through at the rate of some 600 per minute, pressing up the edges. The blanks are then passed on to the Annealing Room, and the gold and bronze heated in covered pots under two or three inches of charcoal. They are afterwards cooled by plunging the covered pots into tanks of cold water without allowing the blanks to have access to the air. This prevents oxidation, and they come out bright and glittering, the charcoal dust being washed off with water.

Silver is annealed in iron trays and exposed to the air; the thick black film of oxide of copper which forms upon the blanks is removed by treatment with sulphuric acid, which renders them perfectly white, with a film of pure silver on the surface, after which they are most appropriately said to be "blanched." All the blanks are dried in hot sawdust in revolving wooden drums, the sawdust being afterwards shaken away by means of sieves, and used again after being dried upon a hotplate.

The Press Room, for which the blanks are now ready, contains fourteen Ulhorn lever presses, each of which is capable of striking 100 coins per minute. The designs on either side the coin, and the milled edge, are all struck at one blow; the workman takes up a pyramid of blanks, which he skilfully stows into a rounded shaft whence they slide, one by one, over the metal ring or collar, which rises and grips them fast, while the dyes above and beneath crush the coin between them so that it takes the impression on both sides, and being pressed closer into the collar, which is milled inside, its edge takes the same pattern.

In the Weighing Room the coins are first examined on an overlooking table, a contrivance which looks like a broad strip of canvas passing over and between two rollers. The coins are spread out on this table, and all that are stained and defective picked out; but a coin that is perfectly sound on one side may be defaced on the other, so the machinery rolls the canvas over one roller and thence over the other, the mysterious part being

that the coins reappear, the other side up. It is very curious to watch the over-looker table in motion—the speedy way in which the canvas shifts along, and the coins are sucked up under the rollers, and the inexplicable manner in which they reverse themselves and reappear at the opposite end, resembles nothing so much as a conjuring trick. After being examined, the silver and gold coins are weighed on automatic weighing-machines; the bronze are not weighed separately. The machines are worked by a cam, the balance being so arranged that the weight of a coin adjusts the scale to drop it into a separate division indicating either "light," "heavy," or "correct weight." There are three slots into which a coin can fall, the one immediately below the scale when the balance is even indicates correct weight, or with the remedy allowed; if the coin be light, the weight drags the scale back until the coin drops into the slot nearer the centre of the machine; if, on the other hand, the coin be heavy, the scale drags the weight the other way, and drops the coin into the furthest slot. The remedy for gold has been already stated; it will show how nicely balanced these automatic weighing-machines must be.

Lastly, the coins which are correct weight are rung, one by one, on anvils, to test for those that are dumb or cracked; the latter strike the steel with a flat sound and are rejected. Boys are usually employed for this part of the work. The rejected coins are defaced in the Weighing Room by a machine made on the same principle as the Marking Machine, save that instead of the smooth groove, there is a terrible arrangement something like monster teeth, which notches the metal round the edge, and prevents it ever being possible to mistake it for a legal coin. The defaced coins are sent back to the Melting House and melted down again like the Seimal.

The pounds, shillings, and pence, that have come through the ordeal safely, are weighed up in drafts, placed in bags, and sent up to the Mint Office to be afterwards delivered to the Bank of England. The bags are made up with 701 sovereigns, and 1,402 half sovereigns, so many bags being called so many "journeys," but before sending the gold and silver to the Bank of England, one piece is taken out of every bag and put into what is called the "Pyx" chest. On a set day in each year the accumulation is handed over to the Goldsmiths Company, who weigh and assay the coins and report on their weight and

fineness—a ceremony which is known as the On each delivery at the Bank of England also, every tenth bag of gold, and one in every fifth bag of silver, is assayed by the Mint itself.

So ends the long series of testing and manufacturing, and testing yet again and again, which is necessary for the production of every single piece which leaves the Mint to become current coin. The produce of the Mint is far from being the least interesting or elaborate of English manufactures, but unless absolutely witnessed, it is very seldom realised how much labour and time and ingenuity go to the making of a single Coin of the Realm.

DOLF WYLLARDE.

LEGENDS OF ANCIENT MADURA.

III.

DURING Varaguna's reign an excellent musician came to Madura from the north. He performed before the king and gave so much satisfaction that he was rewarded handsomely and a lodging assigned him. Soon afterwards the king sent for the chief of his musicians, named Bhadra, who was of the Bana caste, and enquired of him whether he could excel the stranger. He said he could with Siva's help: and a match was made. But having heard of the performances of some of the stranger's pupils, he felt convinced he would be worsted; and in great distress applied to Sundaralinga to assist him. The god heard his prayer; and having disguised himself as an old laborer for hire, he went and sang and played on a guitar outside the foreigner's house. His performance being superlatively excellent, he soon attracted the foreigner's attention and on being questioned by him informed him that he was once a pupil of the Madhurâ Master. Hearing this, the foreigner very naturally came to the conclusion that he had no chance of vanquishing his opponent, and secretly left the city. Bhadra was therefore highly honoured: and directed to sing daily in the Pagoda before the gods. Whilst so employed Bhadra gave great satisfaction to Sundaralinga and was rewarded by valuable presents of money, which the god abstracted from the royal treasury. But after a while the thefts were discovered, and sentries were posted round the treasury: and the god being unwilling to bring trouble upon them, discontinued making presents to his favorite. However he wrote a letter to the king of the Chêra country, directing him to give the bearer of it handsome presents, and ordered Bhadra to carry it to the addressee. He did as he was bidden: and was rewarded with splendid presents, which he brought back to Madhurâ. Bhadra never omitted to sing before Sundaralinga every night, whatever might be the state of the weather: and on one occasion he pleased the god so much by finding his way as usual to the Pagoda in the midst of a tremendous storm, that the god presented him then and there with a thick plate or tablet of pure gold, upon which he might stand without keeping his feet in

the water which covered that part of the Pagoda where he always performed.

When Varaguna died his son Raja Raja, succeeded him. This king had a wife who was an exceedingly skilful musician: and as Bhadra's wife was also an excellent musician, the two ladies grew very jealous, each of the other's ability. The queen therefore induced the king to send for a musician from a foreign country to vanquish her rival and thus cure her of her conceit: and a match having been made between the two professionals, the king improperly pronounced judgment in favor of the foreigner, wishing to please his wife. But the unsuccessful lady protested against the award, knowing it to be unjust, and begged to be permitted to try her fortune once more in the presence of Sundaralinga, with a view to the god pointing out the real victor. Her request was granted, and on an appointed day the rivals met before Sundaralinga, and having tuned their instruments began to play. The Madhurâ lady was clearly the better musician: but nevertheless the king had not the moral courage to reverse his former decision, and was about to confirm it, when Sundaralinga, who was present in the form of a handsome young minstrel, miraculously caused the king to decide in favor of Bhadra's wife. The king soon became conscious of the god's interference, and worshipped him fervently. Soon afterwards he was blessed with a son Saguna, by whom he was afterwards succeeded.

During Raja Raja's reign the god was pleased to perform the following miracle. In a place on the south side of the river, called the Guru Tirtha, from the Guru of the gods having passed sometime there meditating on god's perfection, there were twelve brothers, who having been left orphans at an early age had grown up to be wild unmannered youths. One day these boys saw the celestial Guru intent on his meditations, and jeered him. The Guru thereupon cursed them, that they should be born as pigs in another life: but taking pity on them he was pleased to add a blessing to the effect that Sundaralinga should himself suckle them, make them ministers of the Pandya, and eventually admit them into heaven. In consequence of the curse the young men were in due time born as the offspring of a wild sow, which was the mistress of the principal wild boar of the forest. Soon afterwards Raja Raja Pandya came to the forest to hunt there, and after a terrific struggle killed both the

parents of the young pigs. The dead body of their father was forthwith turned into a huge hill, which is still known as the "boar hill": but his spirit was translated to heaven in a celestial vehicle sent for the purpose. At this point the Rishis asked Agastaya to explain, how it was that so vile an animal as a boar was turned into a mountain. He informed them that the boar was really an angel, who had been cursed by a Rishi for accidentally disturbing his meditations: and on being killed in that form, naturally resumed the form proper to him, whilst the slain body was turned into a mountain through his merits as an angel. After the death of their mother the twelve pigs began to starve: but the God Sundaralinga, who happened to come that way hunting with his wife, took compassion on their forlorn condition, and assuming the shape of their dead mother suckled and revived them. Immediately afterwards they were transformed into young men: but their faces still resembled those of pigs. Subsequently in obedience to a divine command the Pandya made the young men his Ministers, and married them to daughters of his nobles. They proved excellent servants, both of Siva and of the king, and administered the kingdom with distinction. All the king's subjects were satisfied with their Government: and unruly vassals were easily reduced to obedience.

The Pandya died and was succeeded by his son Saguna. During his reign a soul that had been pious was compelled for some transgression to enter the body of a small kind of black bird, called Bharadwaja: and was terribly harassed and chased by other and stronger birds, till at last it was compelled to live a solitary life in the branches of a big tree that stood by the side of a high road. One day the little bird overheard some travellers talking about the rare holiness of Madhurâ; and at once flew off to that city, bathed in the golden-lily tank, and for three days flew round and round the Pagoda. Sundaralinga was pleased with its piety, and taught it a prayer, by virtue of reciting which it obtained from the god an improvement in its condition, and was enabled to hold its own afterwards amongst the birds of the air. And after death its soul was taken to heaven. About the same time a heron was induced by hearing some devotees praise Madhurâ to come to the golden-lily tank, and bathe in it, and flew round the Pagoda. Afterwards, being hungry, it was tempted to feed on some of the many fish which it saw in the

tank. But just as it was about to seize due, its eyes were opened to the enormity of the offence contemplated: and it forthwith prayed to the god to kill its sinful body, and remove its soul to the regions of bliss. Further it prayed him to prevent the possibility of such a sin being committed thereafter by other birds, by causing the tank to cease to produce fishes and frogs. And the god graciously heard its prayers.

Saguna died: and was succeeded by twenty-three kings, whose reigns were not distinguished by any miracles. His twenty-third descendant, was Kirtj Vibhushana: and in the reign of that king was the general deluge. By this the whole world was destroyed with the exception of the buildings which immediately surrounded the shrines of Sundaralinga and his wife Minakshi, the Golden-lily tank, the "Elephant hill" the "Bull hill," the "Cow hill," the "Serpent hill" the "Boar hill," the "Seven seas," and the town of Madhurâ. When the waters subsided, the world was re-created by Siva, and everything appeared to be as it was before the flood. Moreover in every country kings were created of the very families which had formerly given kings thereto. For Madhurâ there was raised up a king of the race of the moon, called Vamsha Shekhara, who forthwith built a small city round the Pagoda. And the population of the city having increased with marvellous rapidity, it became necessary to re-construct it within its former limits. Prayer was made to Sundaralinga, who appeared in the form of a prophet, his person adorned with serpents. Taking one of these, the god pointed out with it the ancient limits of the city: and the Pandya built houses up to them on every side, and raised fortifications along them. The east gate was placed at Pushpavana Kshetra; the west at Patrikapuri; the north at the Varashaba or bull hill; and the south at Parachala. This being done, the city was named Halasya.

The Chola King Vikrama invaded Madhurâ with a large army: and the Pandya being unable to resist him prayed to Sundaralinga. The god bade him march against the enemy: and when an obstinate battle was being fought, appeared as a hunter and shot deadly arrows into the Chola ranks, killing and wounding many, and throwing the rest into confusion. The Chola king examined one of these arrows, and observing that the name Sundaralinga was engraved on it, concluded that the hunter was none other than the god, and began to retreat. On

the hunter abusing the Chola's men for being cowards, the Chola attempted, to rally them: but in vain. The rout became general, and he was forced to return to his capital. Rejoiced at this victory, the Pandya made and consecrated to the use of the god a bow and arrows of gold ornamented with precious stones, and with the god's name engraved upon them.

In this reign was established the celebrated Tamil college of Poets at Madhurâ. Brahma had performed ten *ashvamedha* sacrifices at the holy place on the Ganges, called Kasi, and was about to bathe in the Ganges with his three wives. As he was going to the bathing-place Saraswati loitered behind, listening to the melodious tunes of a celestial minstrel: and finding fault with her husband for bathing without her, she was cursed for her impudence with the curse of undergoing forty-eight successive births upon earth. However, to mitigate her fate somewhat, Brahma willed that instead of assuming several forms one after another, she should take upon herself forty-eight different forms at one and the same time. There being fifty-one letters in the Sanskrit alphabet, of which two were merely contractions and one the origin of all the others, she was to take upon herself a human form for each letter; each form was to become a Tamil poet of unrivalled excellence; and Sundaralinga himself was to represent the forty-ninth and original letter. Portions of Saraswati's soul were transfused according to this curse into forty-eight human beings, who became wonderful poets, came to Madhurâ from Mount Meru, and were led to the Pagoda by Sundaralinga himself. The Pandya received them kindly, and built a hall for their convenience in the Pagoda, which he called the College Hall. They settled in the city, and lived very happily, being greatly honored and respected; but they were much annoyed by the importunities and impertinences of envious blockheads, who fancied themselves to be their equals. Accordingly they petitioned the god to give them a bench which would receive them, but none inferior to them, on which they might sit undisturbed: and a miraculous bench, white as moonlight, measuring a cubit every way, and having the property of expanding just as much as was necessary to receive such members of the College as offered to sit upon it, was presented to them by Sundaralinga. Upon this they all seated themselves, and no one was able to find a seat amongst them: for all who approached the bench were inferior in attainments to its occupants. But at

last Sundaralinga appeared in order to put an end to some jealousies which began to disturb their tranquillity; and the, bench, having admitted him forthwith, he became the principal of the College, and under his guidance numberless poems were composed in his honor. After this the king died; and was succeeded by his son Vamsha Chudamani.

The king obtained the surname of "Champaka" through constantly adorning the god with wreaths of Champaka flowers, of which he planted out large gardens for the sole purpose of divine worship. He was walking one day with his queen on the upper terrace of his garden enjoying the cool fragrant breeze, and suddenly smelt a perfume far more delicious than that of the flowers, which he fancied must come from the beautiful hair of his queen and not from the flowers which adorned it: and pleased with the idea he went off at once to the College Hall and offered a bag of one thousand pieces of gold as a prize to whoever should write a sonnet disclosing the conceit which had presented itself to his imagination. No one was able to guess what the king had been thinking about: and there seemed to be no chance of anybody winning the prize. But a devout young Adi Siva Brahman, who wanted but could not afford to get married, prayed to Siva and obtained from him the key to the secret: the god at once composed a good sonnet embodying the king's thought and presented it to the suppliant. Having taken it to the College Hall, the young man claimed and was about to take possession of the bag of coins, when Natkira, one of the poets, asked him a question relative to the king's thought which he was unable to answer: and eventually forbade him to take the prize. Upon this he went to the Pagoda, and again prayed to Sundaralinga to assist him. The god appeared presently before the College as a poet, and desired to know wherein lay the fault which Natkira attributed to the poem. The objector then explained that in his opinion the idea of human hair having a fine perfume of its own was ridiculous: and gave other futile reasons for rejecting the poem. But the god suddenly opened his terrible middle eye, and directed at Natkira a glance, the burning splendour of which compelled the poet to leap into the waters of the golden-lily tank to prevent his body from being burnt up. After this the prize was awarded to the Brahman. The god then disappeared; but was re-called by the prayers of the whole College offered up in Natkira's behalf:

and was pleased to look graciously upon the unfortunate man, who was forthwith enabled to come out of the tank. After this Natkira used to bathe thrice a day in the golden-lily tank, and to walk round the Pagoda out of respect to Sundaralinga, and to pray devoutly to that deity. And Sundaralinga being much pleased with his piety, desired the sage Agastaya to instruct him in the art of Tamil grammar. And his order having been obeyed, Natkira, taught the rest of the College what he had learnt from the sage. Great jealousies prevailed amongst the members of the College, and each was claiming for himself superiority over his fellows. At last they begged the god to settle the dispute: and he ordered them to read their several compositions before a certain dumb man, whose form had been assumed by the god's son Subramanya. They did so: and the arbiter showed by signs that Natkira, Kabila and Bana were the three best poets amongst them. And thus their disputes were settled.

Vamsha Chudamani died: and fourteen kings succeeded him during whose reigns no miracles took place. The fifteenth king after him was Kulesha, who was so learned and clever a man, that the miraculous bench permitted him to sit upon it. But he was very proud and conceited and thought no one could surpass him in acquirements. And when an extraordinarily clever stranger named Madahyaranyeswara came to Madhurâ, the king paid him not the slightest respect. Angry at this the stranger complained to Sundaralinga: and the god, in order to punish the king's bad manners, removed with Minakshi from the Pagoda to the place where was a linga consecrated by Kubêra, the god of riches, attended by the whole of College. When the king heard what had happened, he was much grieved and besought the God to return to his old quarters. A voice was heard, which declared the reason of the god's anger: and soon after the gods returned to the Pagoda with all the members of the College. The king then made up for his former discourtesy by setting the stranger upon a throne of gold, attentively hearing his works read, and paying him every possible honor. He died: and was succeeded by his son Arimarhana. During his reign Sundaralinga was one day explaining the mysteries of the Vedas to his wife Minakshi. She was inattentive to what he said: and he cursed her, that she should become the daughter of a fisherman. On her complaining that existence would be insupportable were she to be separated from him, he promised

to become a fisherman and marry her upon earth. The god's two sons Subramanya and Vighneshwara were angry at their mother being cursed, and rudely threw the Vedas into the sea. Upon this the god cursed his head poster Nandeshwara for allowing his sons to appear before him without permission, and willed that he (the head poster) should become a large fish. And he punished Subramanya by willing that he should be born as the son of a Madhurâ merchant. On Vighneshwara he was unable to inflict any punishment, having previously granted to him the boon of being able to transfer to his father the evil consequences of any curse that might fall upon him. In due time Minakshi was transformed into a new-born female child, the offspring of the headman of a caste of fishers who lived in a large city on the coast of Madhurâ. When she had become a girl of a marriageable age, Nandeshwara, who had been turned into a huge sword-fish, picked up all the Vedas which had been thrown into the sea, and then began to harass incessantly all the vessels which frequented the Madhurâ coasts. In consequence of this the putative father of Minakshi promised her in marriage to whoever could catch the intruder: and Sundaralinga having appeared in the form of a fisherman and caught the fish, claimed his prize and married her amid great rejoicings. As soon as the ceremony was performed, the two gods resumed their proper forms, and mounted their sacred bull, Nandeshwara attending them; heavenly music was heard from on high; and showers of flowers were rained down from heaven. The pair then returned to the Pagoda at Madhurâ; but they halted on their way at Uttharakosa Sri Mangai, a holy place near Ramañathapura, and the god there explained to his wife the mysteries of the Vedas.

*During the same reign there lived in Vattthapura, on the north side of the river Veigei, a young Brahman of wonderful talent and ability. Before he was sixteen he had mastered the four Vedas and the sixty-four Kalagayanas: and his fame had spread in every direction. The king heard of him, and having sent for him, was so much pleased with his acquirements that he made him Prime Minister. The youth gave every satisfaction in this capacity, and was highly honored; but he nevertheless was unhappy, and could not find rest, being unable to satisfy himself with regard to the way of salvation. Religious doubts filled his mind, and

troubled his heart. One day the king looked over his stead of cavalry horses, and finding that remounts were much needed, gave his Prime Minister a very large sum of money, and ordered him to go to a distant country, and purchase a number of horses. The Prime Minister took the money, and set out; but stopped at a holy place called Mahathirtha, and there, after being favored with a vision of Siva, spent the whole of it in erecting buildings for the honor and glory of the god. He sent excuses from time to time to the king, and at last returned to Madhurâ declaring that the horses would appear in a day or two. The god had promised to help him out of his difficulty, and he felt confident that all would be right. But the horses did not come: and the king lost patience, and had the minister tortured. He was placed in the sun, with a heavy stone on his back and wooden pinchers on his hands. However he prayed to Siva, and was comforted. He felt no pain in his body: and after he had been imprisoned for a few days, the god appeared as a cavalier, mounted on a white horse formed of the four Vedas, and brought with him an immense number of horses, which were placed in the royal stables. And he instructed the king, who was much pleased with his noble appearance, in the science which treats of the proper selection of horses. Now these horses were in reality jackals, which had been transformed by Nandeshwara at Siva's command. Being unable to eat grass, they became mad with hunger after a while; broke loose from the ropes which held them; resumed their proper shapes; bit and killed some of the grooms and the King's horses; and eventually ran off to the forest. Hearing of this, the king was convinced the minister was playing him a trick, and again had him tortured. Siva became angry at seeing his favourite thus used: and sent a terrible flood in the river Veigei which soon threatened to entirely destroy the Pandya's capital. The torturers thereupon set the minister free: and he went to the Pagoda and prayed to the god with a serene mind. The king called a council to determine how the impending danger might best be averted: and it was resolved to compel every citizen of Madhurâ to assist in raising the bank of the river so as to keep off the flood. And accordingly a certain portion of the bank was assigned to every citizen, and he was directed to raise it to a certain height within a given time. A pious old woman named Amba, who made a living by selling cakes, was much troubled at not being able to find a laborer to

do the work allotted to her: but at last Sundaralinga took pity on her, and having assumed the form of a laborer sixteen years old, agreed to do her work in consideration of receiving some cakes. He then went off to the river with a spade and a basket to raise the bank. But instead of doing as he promised, he loitered about and amused himself: till the king perceiving that the bank was watertight everywhere but at the place where the old woman had to raise it, took a rattan and laid it heavily across the laborer's shoulders. Upon this the laborer started up; threw a basket of earth into the gap; and forthwith to the astonishment of the king and all present the gap was securely filled up. The laborer then disappeared. While the king was wondering who the laborer could be, he perceived that a wheel had made its appearance upon his body in the part on which he had applied the rattan to the laborer's body. And on enquiry he found that every inhabitant of Madhurâ, male and female, and every living creature had been marked in the same manner. The reason of this was that, Siva being Omnipresent, the blow which struck his assumed body affected every creature in the world at the same time. The king was greatly astonished at all that had happened: and proposed questioning the old woman. But as soon as the king and his courtiers approached her dwelling, she was so alarmed, thinking that she was about to be punished for the fault of her laborer, that she fell down dead; and her soul was carried away in a celestial vehicle, amidst the joyful congratulations of the blessed and showers of flowers from on high. The king then went to the Pagoda and prayed to Siva to forgive him. A voice in the air replied that he must forgive his disgraced minister, and excuse him from returning the money advanced to him for the purchase of horses. This was done: and the minister was permitted to go abroad and visit Chidambara. And the king was blessed with a son whom he named Jaganatha. When the young prince had grown up, the king crowned him; and soon afterwards died. Meanwhile the minister worshipped at Chidambara the God Sabapathi or Siva: and thence retired to a forest on its west side, called the Thillivana, where he passed his time in meditation. Whilst he was thus employed, a number of Buddhas, professors of the Buddha religion and enemies of that of Siva, came to Chidambara from a certain island, and began to contend in argument with a Brahman sect, called the "Thilli, three thousand," then

settled in Chidambara. The Brahmans, prayed to the god who directed them to fetch the minister from his place of retirement. They did so, and the minister confounded the Buddhas by explaining to them that his god was sex-less, was the beginning and the end, and was present in the souls of all living creatures. Moreover he took some sacred ashes in his hand, and declared that god was white as that substance, and was used to besmear his person therewith. Now, the then Chola king of Kanchipura, being a Buddha religionist, was greatly scandalized when he heard of the defeat of his sect at Chidambara. And he came to that city bringing with him his dumb daughter, and he promised to become a convert to the Saiva faith if its champion could cure his child's defect. Manikya Vachaka, the minister, effected this by prayer, and by daubing sacred ashes on the princess's forehead, and agreeably to his promise the Chola king became a Siva worshipper. Moreover he had all the Buddha worshippers, crushed in oil presses; they having agreed to so suffer, if defeated, before they argued with Manikya Vachaka.

Jaganatha's ninth descendant was Kubja or "the hunch-back." He was a valiant prince and conquered the Chola king. However he permitted the conquered king to retain his kingdom and married his daughter Vaniteshwari. He also appointed the Chola Minister Kulabandhara, Prime Minister of Madhurâ. Sometime afterwards the Pandya became converted to the religion of the Shapana heretics, and imposed it so rigorously on all his subjects that the outward worship of Siva could not be observed. But Sundaralinga still had secret adherents, amongst whom were the queen and the minister. One day a Saiva Brahman came to them from the Chola country, and informed them that in that part of it, called Brahmapura, a certain Brahman named Sivapadhaja Hrudaya had a child, which had been nursed by the goddess Minakshi when three years old, and having drunk in wisdom with her milk had become, while still an infant, a teacher of the greatest ability. Being of the essence of Siva, the child was called Guyanasambandha Murti: and he was now performing miracles. Hearing this, the queen and the minister thought that by means of this illustrious youth they might perhaps win the king back to the true faith: and they wrote respectfully to him, asking him to pay Madhurâ a visit and purify it of its heresy. As soon as he received the letter Guyanasambandha Murti got into his palanquin adorned with

pearls, and came to Madhurâ at the head of 16,000 disciples, and with bands of music-playing before him. The Shapana heretics became very angry, and tried to destroy the intruder by setting fire to his house. But he was too strong for the fire: and having prevented it from doing more than make a great smoke, bade it enter the body of the king, which it did causing a violent fever. The Shapana people were thereupon called upon to cure the disease; but they failed utterly. And then, very reluctantly the king sent for Gnyana Sambandha Murti. The young priest cured the fever at once by rubbing on the sick man's body sacred ashes, over which he first recited ten extempore verses. And besides this the curvature of his back was removed instantaneously: and the king assumed the name of Sundara or "the beautiful," being possessed of a handsome face and elegant figure. Seeing that the Saiva faith was undoubtedly the true faith, the king adopted it without delay: and its apostle prepared to retire to his own country. As soon as the king had recovered from his fever, the queen begged of him to destroy the 16,000 Shapana heretics: and the king, having consulted the god in the temple and received a favourable answer, granted permission to destroy them. In the meantime the Shapana chiefs came forward, in spite of the ill omened dreams of their wives, and challenged the young professor of the Saiva faith to a fresh trial of strength. They proposed that he and they should write prayers upon palmyra leaves and throw them into a fire: and he whose leaves were not destroyed should be the victor. The challenge was accepted: and all the leaves except those of the youth were destroyed. Another trial was then made. Other leaves were inscribed with prayers and thrown into the river, upon condition that he whose leaf floated upstream should be held to be victorious, and the youth was once more successful. Upon this Shapana heretics acknowledged themselves to be beaten and forthwith several thousand stakes were erected outside the city for their impalement. And all were put to death, who were found in Madhurâ, with the exception of those who consented to smear themselves with the sacred ashes which symbolize the faith of Siva. After this, search was made for the leaf which had moved upstream, and Gnyana Sambandha Murti found it at last in a forest of bilva trees at a spot about ten miles west of Madhurâ, where also a linga was then seen for the first time. Siva appeared there in the form of an aged Brahman,

blessed the young priest, and commissioned him to travel about and exterminate professors of the hated Shapana religion wherever he found them. The king carefully marked this spot, and constructed on it a temple, which he named Patrikapura. This happened in the Kaliyuga.

In a certain city on the coast there lived a wealthy and pious merchant who had no issue. After much prayer he was at last to his great joy blessed with a daughter, who grew up a fair handsome girl and showed signs of a good disposition. He intended to marry her to the son of his sister, then living in Madhurâ. But before he could carry out his wishes in this respect, he died; and his wife unable to bear her widowhood died shortly afterwards in the rare hope of meeting him in heaven. After this the merchant's relatives sent for his nephew. He obeyed the call, leaving his wife behind him to await his return. Having come to his uncle's house and taken possession of his property, he was returning to Madhurâ with his cousin; when at a place called Sivapura he was bitten, whilst sleeping, by a serpent, and died. As the young lady overwhelmed with grief was passionately lamenting her hard fate, Gnyana Sambandha Murti happened to pass by: and taking pity on her looked with a compassionate eye upon the corpse. Straightway the dead man became alive: and the lately separated couple were then and there married by the advice of their benefactor. In default of witnesses a linga, a well and a Shemi tree which belonged to the temple of Siva at the place where they then were, were called upon to witness the marriage. In due time the happy pair arrived at the husband's house in Madhurâ; and they lived in great harmony at first with the first wife. But by and bye a quarrel arose between the two women, and the first wife abused the second on the score of her not having been really married. If she had been married, where were her witnesses? The second wife thereupon consulted the god and obtained from him the following boon. The linga, the well, and the Shemi tree came from the temple and appeared publicly in the Madhurâ Pagoda. After this no one could gainsay the marriage. The linga and well may still be seen in Madhurâ.

With Kubja or Sundara Pandya who is also known as Kûn or Kûna Pandya came to a close the long list of Pandya kings.

In our next article we propose to discuss these legends in the light of history.

E. H. BROOKES.

JOURNALISM IN ENGLAND.

A FEW facts about journalism in England, gathered from various sources and presented in the form of a magazine article, may not be uninteresting to the readers of the *Madras Review*. The rise and progress of the newspaper press in England is a study as instructive as it is interesting. To my mind it is the most notable instance of Englishman's pertinacity and his love of enterprise. Excepting the United States of America, England alone of all countries is blessed with a press which is as bold and independent as it is enlightened and pure. In the words of a writer 'the English press is the only press in the world, that has grown purer as it has grown freer and it is the only press that has improved in its tone as it has become cheaper.'

There are many theories, perhaps guesses, as to the origin of newspapers. Some trace it to the *Acta Diurna* of Rome which, as its name implies was an account of the day's doings, hung up in places of public resort, for the information of the people. Others give the credit to Venice, as the name *Gazette* is of venetian origin. *Gazetta* was a small coin one had to pay to read the news of the day, an account of which was hung up, as in Rome, in all public places. Others again pay the compliment to China, the reputed home of all ancient institutions, competitive examinations, the printing press, railways and what not? But the Englishman is too patriotic to put up with any of these theories, and he boldly asserts that it has been the 'spontaneous growth of his own soil. Whatever its origin, it is undoubtedly an ancient institution

"Whose distant footsteps echo
Through the corridors of time."

But we are more concerned with the rise and growth of the newspaper press in England, the difficulties it had to contend against and overcome its signal triumph over the jealousy of the court and the prejudice of the aristocracy, till it has come to occupy the proud position of the Fourth Estate of the realm.

The interesting episode of the Spanish Armada gave rise to newspapers in England, and Lord Burleigh founded a newspaper in the year 1588 with a view to put all England on the alert for the Armada. There seems to be some doubt on this point, but the 'Weekly Newes' started in the year 1622 was beyond all doubt the first newspaper. Its publisher was one Nathaniel Butler. At that time, country gentlemen, country magistrates and nobles of all ranks, had in their employ a class of men called news-writers, who collected the gossip of the day, wrote it out in a readable form and regularly posted it for the edification of their patrons. The publishers of early newspapers had in these news-writers their real rivals and they flourished till the year 1712. The prejudice among the better class of people against the newspaper was such that they 'looked down with scorn and contempt upon the crowd who were willing to share their news in common, as in the roadside inns they sometimes shared a bed.' Nathaniel Butler was a newspaper publisher and a news-writer as well. This might account for the success and circulation of the 'Weekly Newes'. The civil wars and the commonwealth were powerful incentives to newspaper enterprise, but the effect languished with the Restoration. No newspaper could be published without the sanction of the star-chamber and that precious body did not grant permission readily. Discussion of politics was strictly forbidden. But a thirst for journalism had already been created in the public mind. Neither star-chambers nor Licensing Acts could successfully check the popular tide. The Government of the day saw this, and they made the best of a bad job by placing the entire press in the hands of their own men. Under this system the *Intelligencer*, the first newspaper worth the name, appeared in the year 1663. Sir Roger L'Estrange was appointed its editor and the Government licenser of the press. It is sad to think that his was not an honourable career. He changed his colour with the government of the day. He supported Oliver Cromwell and was the first to welcome Charles II. He ended his days in poverty and prison, a fitting close to his not very honourable career. The Revolution established the Freedom of the Press. But with the age of Anne, dawned a new era for English journalism, and the classic age of English literature is memorable for the appearance of the first daily newspaper, 'than which there is no greater triumph of art in the present day and which is laid upon our table all the year

round with the regularity of the sun and the seasons.' The *Daily Courant* was published on the 11th of March 1702. It was not a political newspaper. No editor dared to commit the crime of discussing politics; but Daniel Defoe, the immortal author of 'Robinson Crusoe,' violated the rule, and an offended government confiscated his auditory organs as a sign of its displeasure. Though Defoe lost his ears, the people gained political journalism. Till the year 1729 newspapers were not allowed to report discussions in Parliament. The editors of newspapers were in the habit of violating this rule on the sly. They smuggled themselves into the gallery of the House of Commons, sat through a debate, and published in their papers a report of it in a disguised form. It was a feat of memory and required considerable skill. Dr. Johnson was famous for such reporting. 'It is said of him that he took special care that the 'Whig dogs did not have the best of the argument.' Even now it is against the standing orders of the House of Commons to report its proceedings, but these orders stand there 'like a rusty nail in monumental mockery.' The newspaper that settled an important constitutional point was the *North Briton*, published by John Wilkes on the 5th of June 1762, with the sole purpose of criticising the administration of Lord Bute. It had a stirring history. It was the first newspaper to criticise a Royal speech. The famous No. 45 was the offending number. A general warrant was issued by the Secretary of State, against the authors, printers, and publishers of *North Briton*. Wilkes questioned the legality of general warrants and contested the point in a Court of Law. Chief Justice Pratt tried the case, decided it in favor of Wilkes, and delivered the ever memorable judgment against the Secretary of State. He said "To enter a man's house by virtue of a nameless warrant in order to procure evidence is worse than the Spanish Inquisition, a law under which no Englishman would wish to live an hour. It is a daring public attack upon the liberty of the subject and in violation of the 29th chapter of Magna Charta which is directly pointed against that arbitrary power," and awarded Wilkes £1,000 damages into the bargain.

The *Public Advertiser* deserves special mention, because it was the paper that had the courage to publish the furious letters of Junius, still a mysterious personality in the political history of England, who, according to Burke, 'made kings, lords, and com-

mons the sport of his 'fury.' These letters made the fortune of the paper whose circulation rose 100,000 copies a month. The *Advertiser* met a formidable rival in the *Morning Chronicle*, published in the year 1769. Under it, Parliamentary reporting attained a high level. James Perry may be said to have made the *Chronicle*. Such eminent men as Mackintosh, Coleridge, Parson Hazlitt and John Campbell were on its staff. John Black was its most famous editor. A characteristic story is told of him. Lord Melbourne said to him one day 'you are the only man, who forgets that I am Prime Minister and you are the only man, I know, who never asks a favour of me.' 'I have no favor to ask, my lord,' Black replied, 'I have no favor to ask any one in the world, You are Prime Minister of England, but I am editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, and I would not change places with the proudest man in England—not even, my lord, with you.'

No account of journalism in England would be complete without a prominent place being given to the *Times*, the most formidable newspaper in the world. It was founded about the year 1782 by John Walter, a man of energy, enterprise and sagacity. He edited it till the year 1812 when he died, and his second son John Walter succeeded him to the throne of the *Times*. Dr. Stoddart was its first professional editor. On the retirement of the doctor, Robert Southey was offered the editorship on a salary of £2,000 a year. But the poet thought otherwise and Tom Barnes took up the appointment. John Walter adopted steam machinery in printing the *Times*, and this was the turning point in the history of this paper. The *Times* was printed for the first time on the 27th November 1812 by steam printing machinery, the invention of Frederick Koeing, the son of a small farmer in Prussian Saxony. This gave the *Times* the power and the position it enjoys to-day. We can have an idea of the vastness of its organisation from the following account of it. It has on its staff, a foreign editor, a colonial editor, an ecclesiastical news-writer, the agricultural writer, the art critic, the council of five military experts, the naval expert, the geographical writer and the dramatic critic. It also employs 18 law reporters for the Civil Courts, 8 for the Assizes, and 17 for the Police Courts. London is mapped out into 19 districts and there is a reporter for each district. In addition to this, there is a labour reporter, a cricket reporter, a golf and football reporter, a yachting reporter and two racing reporters. There is also a special writer

for fires, one for railways, and one for astronomical news. The *Times* maintains a representative in each of the 670 electoral districts of Great Britain, not to speak of its 'own correspondent' in every civilized spot on earth.

Many are the anecdotes told of the *Times* and its editors. Here is one. We know that the *Times* is familiarly known as the 'Thunderer.' When Edward Sterling was the editor between the years 1830-40 he began one of his articles in this way, 'when we thundered the day before yesterday,' and thenceforth the *Times* came to be known as the Thunderer. Carlyle gives a sketch of Captain Sterling at work. "At one in the morning, when all had vanished into sleep, his lamp was kindled in his library" and there, twice or thrice a week, for a three hours' space, he launched his bolts which next morning were to shake the high places of the world. Not only on politics, but on all questions the *Times* directs and moulds public opinion—religion not excluded. Archdeacon Denison has said in one of his sermons, 'If Scripture said one thing in England and the *Times* newspaper another, five hundred out of every five hundred and ten people would believe the *Times*. Not alone the *Times*, but all the leading newspapers in London, such as the *Daily News*, *Daily Telegraph* and the *Standard*, and a considerable section of the provincial press which can boast of papers like the *Manchester Guardian*, wield a power and possess an influence which to us the natives of India, with our sedition acts, seems well-nigh incredible. Still it is a fact that the press in England has, throughout this century, gone on adding to its power and position till, at the present day, it wields the destinies of the British Empire equally with the sovereign and the parliament. No doubt, now and then it makes mistakes and it is not infallible, but to quote a writer 'it is on the whole honest, independent, and able, and as long as that is the case, the English press, with all its faults, must remain what it is at present—one of the ornaments of our public life, one of the surest guarantees for the purity of our public men and one of the bulwarks of public liberty.'

S. M. RAJA RAM RAO.

THE TAMILS: EIGHTEEN HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

(Continued from page 211.)

THE professor of the *Sankhya* system then said that the Original Producer (*Mula-Prakriti*) is unknowable, undisturbed by mind, grand and all-comprising, possesses three qualities* and is the source of all things. From that Being, Intelligence is born: from it, ether: from it, air: from it, fire: from it, water: from it, earth: from the union of these the mind is born: from the mind self-consciousness is born: from ether sound is produced through the ear: from air the sense of touch is produced through the skin: from fire the sense of light through the eye: from water the sense of taste through the mouth: from earth the sense of smell through the nose: from the union of these appear the tongue, hands, feet, anus and genitals: by the union of the (grosser) elements are produced mountains, trees and other objects of this world. In the same manner in which these objects were evolved into existence, they will recede and disappear. Till the universal deluge these will expand continuously throughout space. The soul (*Purusha*) is easy to be recognised and capable of perceiving all things, one, eternal, unchangeable and sensitive, but without the three qualities, possesses no organ of sense and is incapable of producing anything by itself. There are twenty-five entities, *viz.*, earth, water, fire, air and ether: The skin, the mouth, the eye, the nose, and the ear: the sense of taste, light, tangibility, sound and smell: tongue, feet, hands, anus and genitals: the mind, intelligence, self-consciousness, the Original Producer and the soul.

"After listening to this faultless exposition (of the *Sankhya* system) she asked the *Vaishishika* professor to explain his doctrine. He said that there are six divisions (or categories of objects) *viz.*, *substance*, *quality*, *action*, *genus*, *individuality* and *concretion*. Of these, *substance* possesses quality and action and is the origin of all objects. It has nine divisions: earth, water,

* The three qualities are (*Sattva*) goodness or purity (*Rajas*) passion or activity, (*Tamas*) darkness or stolidity.

fire, air, ether, space, time, soul and mind. Of these earth has five *qualities*; sound tangibility, colour, savour and odour. The remaining four (water, fire, air, and ether) have each one quality less (than those possessed by its predecessor in the order in which they are named: that is to state more clearly, water has the qualities of sound, tangibility, colour and savour: fire has the qualities of sound, tangibility and colour: wind has the qualities of sound and tangibility, and ether has only one quality, sound.) Collected substance has many qualities such as, sound, tangibility, colour, odour, savour, largeness, smallness, hardness, softness, goodness, meanness, form and space. *Action* is produced by substance and its qualities. The highest *genus* is truth or (being). As motion and rest are general qualities, dissolution and existence are natural to substance. *Individuality* is in atoms, *Concretion* is the intimate connection between attribute and subject."

"She then asked the *Bhikṣu* to speak and he said:—Just as the intoxication of toddy is generated by adding jaggery and the flower of the Dhatake (Bauhinia racemosa) to other ingredients, so does consciousness appear when the elements mix together (and form a body.) Consciousness disappears like the sound of a broken drum when the elements (which form a body) disperse. The elements which, associated with life, possess feeling, and the elements which, separated from life, possess no feeling, are born from their respective elements. This is the true doctrine: The opinions of the *Lokāyata* are the same with slight differences. Except what is perceived by the senses, all that is inferred by the mind does not exist. The world and its effect exist in the present birth. That we enjoy the effects of our deeds in a future birth is false."

Having listened to the professors of the five systems of philosophy, viz., (i) The Vedic Pramāṇavāda or Mīmāṃsā, (ii) the Naiyāyika which comprised the Ajīvika and Nigranta Schisms, (iii) the Sāṅkhya, (iv) Vaiśeṣika, and (v) Bhūtavāda or Lokāyata, Manimekalai was eager to learn the Baudha system and went to the venerable Buddhist monk and said "I have heard the five philosophical systems, and as none of them appear to me to be correct, I do not believe in any of them. Venerable monk, I beseech thee to teach me the truth." "I shall teach thee, listen to me attentively" replied the monk (and continued). "The sources of true knowledge according to A'dhi-Jinendra

are only two. Right *perception* and *inference*. *Perception* he has described as conscious feeling (through the senses) name, species, quality, action and so forth (of an object) are (known by) *inference*. (In ascertaining) cause or effect and (in making a) general inference we may be wrong: but the inference of an effect as smoke from fire is correct. All other sources of knowledge are irregular inferences. There are five (parts in every inference or syllogism) *Assertion*, *Reason*, *Example*, *Comparison* and *Deduction*.

'This mountain has fire' is *Assertion*.

'Because it has smoke' is *Reason*.

'Like the kitchen-hearth' is *Example*.

'This mountain also has smoke' is *Comparison*.

'As it has smoke it has fire' is *Deduction*.

'Whatever does not possess fire cannot be accompanied by smoke' as for instance a stream (of water) is an example of the Negative of the Assertion. Enquiring into the nature of the correct Reason of an effect is as follows:—

'Sound is non-eternal' is *Assertion*.

'Because it is made' is *Reason*.

'Whatever is made is non-eternal like a jar' is *Example*.

'Whatever is eternal is not made like the sky' is a *Negative Example*.

An inference without correct reason is as follows:—

'There is no jar in this open space' is *Assertion*.

'Because it is not visible' is *Reason*.

'Because the hare has no horn we do not see it' is *Example*.

'Whatever exists can be seen, like the *nelly* fruit on the palm' is a *negative example*. In this manner a cause should be established. If it is asked what smoke has proved, the answer is: By the concomitance that 'where there is smoke there is fire' and the converse negative fact that 'where there is no fire there is no smoke' smoke proves (the existence of) fire. The upward and curling progress of smoke is the effect of fire; and hence the rising black smoke proves (the cause which is) fire. If the concomitance (alone) is to prove the fact, one who saw a donkey and a harlot together at a certain place and at a certain time, should at a subsequent time, when he sees a donkey, infer also the presence of a harlot: but this is (manifestly) incorrect. (Similarly) if the converse negative fact that "where there is

no fire there is also no smoke" (alone) is to prove the (above) fact (when one sees) that there is neither a dog's tail nor a fox's tail in the hind part of a donkey, he should not infer the presence of a dog's tail, when he sees the tail of a fox at another place.

"Both *Comparison* and *Deduction* are subordinate to *Example*. *Assertion*, *Reason* and *Example* may be correct or fallacious. "A correct *Assertion* is that which has a clear *subject* and a clear *predicate* distinct, and well defined; as for instance (the *Assertion*) 'sound is eternal or non-eternal.' Here sound is the *subject*, eternity or non-eternity is the *predicate*.

"Right *Reason* is of three kinds: it may be founded on the *Assertion* itself; or it may be from *Analogy* or from the *Negative* proposition. If it is from *Analogy*, it should be from a perfect similitude, for instance, if it is intended to assert that sound is non-eternal (the *Reason* by *Analogy*, would be) 'even as non-eternal as a jar.' If it is from a *Negative* Proposition it is as follows: 'whatever is eternal is not made as the sky.' To be made: and to appear during a certain action, constitute a proper reason for non-eternity, according to *Assertion*, *Analogy* and the *Negative* Proposition.

"Right *Example* is of two kinds: it may be *Positive* or *Negative*. A *Positive Example* is (as follows):—'Non-eternity is concomitant with Jars and the like.' A *Negative Example* is to show that the effect (*predicate*) does not exist where the cause (*reason*) does not exist. The above are correct premises (in argument)."

Having explained the means by which a correct knowledge of the nature of things may be obtained, the Buddhist monk proceeded to expound the doctrines of Buddha as follows:—"Once upon a time when all the sentient beings (of this world) were wholly bereft of wisdom, Vâman (the beautiful) quitted the *Dustrialoka* (a heavenly region) and appeared (in this world) yielding to the earnest prayer of hosts of crowned immortals. He sat at the foot of the *Bôdhi* (tree) and having conquered *Mâra* (the tempter) the hero got rid of the three evils, and preached the truths of salvation, which countless Buddhas had graciously proclaimed (in past ages). *Twelve Causes* form a path (for births). They arise one out of another and disappear one after another

* The Mani-Mekalai explains further in detail Fallacious Assertion, Fallacious Reason and Fallacious Example. I omit them however as their description is too technical to be interesting to the general reader.

in regular succession. They act in a cycle disappearing in the same order in which they appear; each one vanishing when the next one vanished or springing into existence when the next one appeared, and may be regarded as a continuous chain. (This chain) is in four parts (*Khanda*) and has three links (*sandhi*). It leads to three kinds of birth: and there are three divisions of time suitable to those births. Out of (this chain) spring our defects, deeds and their results. It ensures our salvation when we realise that it is ever in motion and leads to no good but ends in suffering. Four Truths depend on it and the five aggregates (*skandhas*) form its basis. It may be described by six modes of expression. It produces four benefits, through four excellent qualities (of the mind), and questions about it may be answered in four ways. It has neither beginning nor end. It acts continuously and never ceases. It has no creators, nor was it ever created. In it there is no idea of 'I' or 'mine' and nothing is lost or gained. It cannot be brought to a close, nor will it itself come to an end. All actions and their results, Birth and Release and all such (changes) are caused by itself.

Ignorance, action, consciousness, Name and Form, the senses, contact, Sensation, Desire, Attachment, existence, Birth and the Result of deeds; these are the twelve causes. If those who are born understand (these twelve) they would attain great happiness: if they do not understand (them) they would suffer in the lower worlds.

Not to understand those abovementioned (the twelve causes) and to act under mental illusion, forgetting the conditions of nature which are perceivable by the senses: to trust in hearsay and believe in the existence of (such imaginary objects as) a hare's horn is *Ignorance*.

The innumerable living creatures in the three worlds are of six kinds: men, Gods, Good-spirits, infernal beings, beasts and ghosts. According to their good and evil deeds they are born and, from the time of their conception, they enjoy pleasure and pain in due time, and corresponding to the accumulated effect of their deeds (*Kârmâ*).

"What are evil deeds? listen thou fair maid who wears choice bracelets! Killing, theft and adultery which are the three sins of the restless body: lying, slander, abuse and vain conversation, which are the four sins of speech: covetousness, malice and scepticism, which are the three sins of the mind: These

ten (sins), wise men who know the effect (of their deeds) will avoid. If they do not avoid them they would be born as beasts, demons, or inhabitants of the lower worlds, and be distracted by sorrow.

"What are good deeds? (They are as follow): to avoid the above-mentioned ten (sins); to observe the rules of purity: and above all to practice charity. Those who do these good deeds will be born in the three higher forms of birth (that is) as Gods, human-beings, or good spirits and enjoy pleasure according to (the measure of) their good deeds.

Consciousness is like the perception of men in sleep, and is not affected by the senses.

Name and Form are the conceptions of (one's own) life and body arising out of that consciousness.

The *six gates (or senses)* are the organs through which impressions are made on consciousness.

Contact is the approach of consciousness to outside objects through the senses.

Sensation is the feeling created in consciousness by external objects.

Desire is the wish for more of (a particular) sensation.

Attachment is the bond created by desire. *Existence* is the life (we lead) being the sum of our deeds of consciousness drawn by attachment.

Birth is the appearance in an organised body which is the effect of former deeds.

Disease is the falling off from the natural (healthy) state and the advent of pains in the body: *Old age* is the weakness which sets in the body after long life. *Death* is the dissolution of the body, which bore a name and form, and its disappearance, like the setting sun.

From Ignorance springs action: from action springs consciousness: from consciousness spring Name and Form: from Name and Form spring the senses: from the senses springs contact: from contact springs sensation: from sensation springs desire: from desire springs attachment: from attachment springs existence: from existence springs a continuation of births: from birth springs a train of unavoidable suffering such as old age, disease, death, grief, lamentation, dejection and despair. (In this manner) Desire acts (and reacts) in a circle ceaselessly. By the destruction of Ignorance, action is destroyed: by the destruction

of action consciousness is destroyed: by the destruction of consciousness, Name and Form are destroyed: by the destruction of Name and Form, the senses are destroyed: by the destruction of the senses contact is destroyed: by the destruction of contact sensation is destroyed: by the destruction of sensation desire is destroyed: by the destruction of desire, attachment is destroyed: by the destruction of attachment existence is destroyed: by the destruction of existence Birth is destroyed: by the destruction Birth disease, old age, death, grief, lamentation, dejection, despair and the like endless suffering will be destroyed. In this manner *salvation* (is effected). *

Ignorance and action, these two being the cause of the rest, form the *first Khandu* (or section); consciousness, Name and Form, the senses, contact and sensation being the (immediate) effect of the foregoing (section) form the *second Khandu*; Desire, Attachment and existence, being the evil result of sensation form the *third Khandu*; Birth as well as disease, old age, and death all of which follow birth, form the *fourth Khandu*:

Action and consciousness form the *first Link (sandhi)*. Sensation and desire, faultlessly understood, form the *second Link*. From good and evil deeds (or existence) to proceed to births is the *third Link*.

"The *three kinds of birth* are as follows:—Birth with consciousness but without (external) form: Without consciousness but with form: with both consciousness and form: as human beings, gods, or beasts.

The *three (divisions of) time* are:—the past which ought to be said to include (the stages of) ignorance and action: the present which may be described as including consciousness, name and form, the senses, contact, sensation, desire, attachment, existence and birth: the future which is said to include birth, disease, old age, death, grief, lamentation, dejection and despair. The *defects* are Desire, Attachment and Ignorance. Action and existence constitute our (*good and evil*) deeds.

Consciousness, Name and Form, the senses, contact, sensation, Birth, old age, Disease, and Death are the natural *Result (of our deeds)*.

All sentient beings who suffer by the above Defects, Deeds and Results are temporary. No being has an (immortal) soul. To understand thus (and realize these truths) is *salvation*.

* Compare Mahāvagga, I, 1-2. Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XIII.

Consciousness, Name and Form, the Senses, Contact, Sensation, Birth, Disease, Old-age, Death, Grief, Lamentation, Dejection and Despair are, (four) *Distempers*. The cause of these Distempers is Ignorance, Action, Desire, Attachment and Existence.

"Birth is painful; attachment is its cause: Release is joyful; absence of Attachment is its cause. These are the *Four Truths*."

"Form (or organised body). Sensation, Perception, Discrimination and Consciousness are the *Five Aggregates* (*Skaṇḍhas*).

"The *six modes of expression* may be explained as follows:— Words denote collection, continuance, excess of a quality and Division; and they are used to express what exists, what does not exist; a truth about what exists; an untruth about what does not exist; an untruth about what exists; or a truth about what does not exist. (Words such as) body, water, country, denote a collection. The (word) Paddy which is used for the grain, sprout, stalk, etc., of rice denotes a continuance (of phenomena). (The words) cessation, appearance and growth, denote the excess of quality, (in the successive stages of an object). When several letters are spoken of as a 'word' or several days are specified as a 'month,' it denotes Division. Sensation is 'what exists.' A hare's horn is 'what does not exist.' That consciousness is associated with mind is 'a true statement about what exists.' That the mind comes into existence like a flash of lightning is 'an untrue statement about what exists.' To speak of something as an effect without knowing the cause is a 'true statement about what does not exist.' To say that a hare's horn is not seen because does not exist, is 'a truth about what does not exist.'"

There are *four excellent faculties of the mind* which perceive (i) agreement, (ii) Non-agreement, (iii) Non-action, and (iv) action. To understand the connection of cause and effect in objects is to perceive *agreement*. To distinguish objects individually is to perceive *non-agreement*. To say that the mind cannot understand the primary cause which leads to effect in eternal and temporary objects is to perceive *non-action*. To say that the germ of rice springs out of the rice seed is perception of *action*.

The *four benefits* are the knowledge that (i) the world is nothing but a concretion of objects, (ii) that attachment to them is not good, (iii) that there is no connection with a creator, (iv) that an effect springs from its immediate cause.

Questions may be *answered in four ways*. (1) By a decided answer. (2) By answers in parts. (3) By a further question. (4) By silence.

If it is asked 'whether an object which comes into existence will disappear or not'; the decided answer would be that 'it will disappear.' If it is asked 'whether a dead man will be born again,' it should be answered 'Has he got rid of all attachment or not (implying thereby that he will not be born again if he has no attachment and that he will be re-born if he has any attachment).' If it is asked 'which is earlier, an egg or a palmyra palm?' it should be asked in reply 'which egg to which palm?' If it is asked whether an aerial flower (an imaginary thing) is old or new, no answer need be given.*

"There is no one competent to explain the first cause of Attachment and Release. (As far as we see) the immediate cause of all the objects above-mentioned is lust, anger and mental illusion. Lust should be got rid of by discerning (and realising) that (our body is) temporary, that it is suffering, is soul-less, and unclean. Feelings of Love, compassion, and benevolence should be cultivated so that anger may be entirely suppressed.

"Listen earnestly (to the preaching of the doctrine), meditate upon it fervently, practise it zealously and realise its truth, so that all illusion may be thrown off. In the four ways (mentioned above) enlighten your mind."

The most popular review, at present, of the philosophical systems of India is the *sarva-darsana-saṅgraha*, the author of which was the great religious reformer Mādhavāchārya. It was composed in the fourteenth century, when the Buddhist and Lokāyata faiths were almost extinct in India, and hence it mentions the names of the six systems as follows:—(i) Pūrva-Mīmāṃsa, (ii) Uttara Mīmāṃsa or Vedānta, (iii) Sāṅkhya, (iv) Yōga, (v) Nyāya, (vi) Vaiśeṣika. Oriental scholars in Europe following the *Sarva-darsana-saṅgraha* have treated Buddhism and Lokāyata as Non-Hindu systems.† But it will be seen from the foregoing summary quoted from the Mani-mekalai that the six systems of philosophy which were current in India in the early centuries of the Christian Era were the Lokāyata, Baud-

* "When Mālunka asked the Buddha whether the existence of the world is eternal or not eternal, he made him no reply; but the reason of this was, that it was considered by the teacher as an inquiry that tended to no profit." Mālunka Sutta in Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, p. 375.

† Sir Monier William's Hinduism,

dha, Sāṅkhya, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika and Mīmāṃsa. These were the original six systems of Hindu philosophy: and the Bauddha and Lokayata, far from being non-Hindu, formed two of the six Hindu systems. It is noteworthy however that in describing briefly the doctrines of each of the above systems, the Manimekalai does not give any account of the Nyāya: but in its place it mentions the Ajivaka and Nigranta philosophies which were then evidently the representatives of the older Nyāya system. The Ajivakas and Nigrantas appear to have been very numerous during the reign of the Magadha emperor Asoka as they are mentioned in his edicts.

The student of history will be doubtless surprised to find that all the phases of philosophic thought now current in Europe have their counterpart in the ancient philosophies of the Hindus. The Lokāyata which asserts that life is a certain collocation of matter, that there is no soul nor a future existence, and that men need not care for anything but their welfare in the present life, is identical with "the scientific creed" of the modern Materialist. The Bauddha which teaches that "there is no one competent to explain the First cause" and that "life is a continual suffering" combines the Agnosticism and Pessimism of the present day. The Sāṅkhya which assumes a material First cause, but recognises no intelligent creator has many points in common with modern Atheism. The Nyāya which holds that matter and soul and god are eternal is almost the same as recent Theism. The Vaiśeṣika which does not mention a god, but believes that the universe is made of eternal atoms, and an eternal all-pervading soul, is very much like Naturalism allied to the atomic theory. The Mīmāṃsa which contains very little of philosophic discussion but is a dogmatic assertion of the authority of the Vedas, may be compared to the philosophy of the Christian church which believes in the Bible and claims to be the only "revealed religion."

The specimen of Hindu Logic given above, from the Manimekalai, shows that the study of Logic had received considerable attention among the learned classes of the Hindus. It was not however pursued as a distinct science, in the early period which I describe, but only as a method for the correct conduct of philosophical enquiry. The Hindu syllogism of five parts is more complete than the Aristotelian syllogism of three parts. Their manner of stating the Major Premise avoids the use of general

propositions: for instead of stating, for example, that "all smoke is accompanied by fire" they say "wherever there is smoke there is fire." The argument is directly from a particular case to another particular case, which is the most usual and natural method of reasoning.* Hence there is no mention in their system of the various modes of syllogism, the discussion of which takes up a considerable portion of European treatises on Logic.

V. KANAKASABHAI PILLAI,

(To be continued).

* English Logicians have quite recently adopted this view. It has been asserted by Mill, (system of Logic Bk. II., Chap. iii) and partially admitted by Mr. Fowler (Inductive Logic, pp. 13, 14) that we can argue directly from case to case. Professor Bain has adopted the same view of reasoning. He thinks that Mill has extricated us from the deadlock of the syllogism and effected a total revolution in logic. He holds that reasoning from particulars to particulars is not only the usual, the most obvious and the most ready method, but that it is the type of reasoning which best discloses the real process." (Deductive Logic pp. 208, 209). "Doubtless" says Professor Jevons "this is the usual result of our reasoning, regard being had to degrees of probability." (The Principles of Science, p. 227).

KARNA'TAKA'S AND DE'SASTHA'S

†T may be an astounding assertion but it is no less true—that England and India began their histories under similar circumstances: the natural position of each has attracted to itself the most daring and adventurous nations of the world. But one circumstance seems to have altered their subsequent developments: complete ethnical fusion in England has made it the pre-eminent State it is now in the world and the utter non-fusion of the races in India not only stunted its material civilisation comparatively early in its history, but has also brought into existence the evils from which it is now suffering. What led to fusion in the one case and non-fusion in the other? While in the one case as between the commingling races there were no broad ethnic differences in the other they were present to a degree. These ethnic differences in India not only gave rise to the caste system† but to it also must be traced the peculiar religious trait in the Indo-Aryan which he has imparted to all his non-Aryan brethren he has come across and which is perhaps the key to the Hindu character and temper in general. Though the caste system at first favoured progress by a specialisation of the social functions, yet after it had reached a certain stage of progress, all the good it did was to keep it at that stage to prevent it from going to pieces. It has held together the heterogeneous elements of Hindu Society together, but it has kept them permanently distinct and has thus prevented that fusion which in other countries, like England, has produced more or less homogeneous nations.‡ It is herein that caste system has injured civilisation.

But is there no hope of a fusion of the several castes that divide the Empire to themselves? Of immediate ethnic fusion

* Cunningham's "English Industry and Commerce," Vol. I.

† Cf. Risley's "Castes and Tribes of Bengal" Introduction. Sir W. Hunter's "Indian Empire."

‡ "A History of Hindu Civilisation under British Rule, by P. N. Bose. Introduction.

there is not the least possibility; yet we need not despair. Providentially, England and India have been brought and bound together in an indissoluble tie. English Education, the greatest benefit to India of England's relations with it, is the greatest solvent of Hindu Society. It is also its salvation. It has created new aims and aspirations in the peoples of ancient India and the famous minute of Macaulay marks the dawn of a new epoch in the history of India—it marks the death pangs of mediæval India and signifies the birth-throes of Modern India. It has made possible an "United India." It has created an intellectual sympathy unknown in former times. It has displaced the old religious bond of union by the newly developed political bond. It is the heaven of Hindu Society. It is breaking the protective spirit of Hinduism in social matters, so long the greatest impediment to ethnical fusion. It is to Hindu Society what the Reformation was to England. The Reformation "was," says Canon Westcott + "the affirmation of Individuality..... Individuality is not the sum of life, but it is an essential part of life in every region of our nature and our work, in our work for the part and for the whole. It is true, though it is not the whole truth, that we must live and die alone, alone with God." One of the most important effects of English education in India is the rise and growth of this individualistic spirit as the Congresses and Conferences and even recent Acts of Legislature ‡ surely indicate. An invariable concomitant of this individualism is the growth of selfishness, and selfishness in the joint Hindu family means its break up. But if Hindu Society is to progress at all, the customary basis upon which the joint Hindu family rests must break and rest upon a more stable basis, and that is that true self-controlling freedom, which is the result of the growth of knowledge and self-reliance, which enables men to impose of their own free will restraints on their own actions. But the time during which the "old order changeth yielding place to new," the time within which the new collectivism based upon strong self-disciplined individuality displaces the old collectivism based upon instinct, in fact, the transition stage may be (and it is so in fact) difficult to pass through. But no transition stage is a

* Cf. Buckle's "History of Civilisation in England," Vol. II.

† "Social aspects of Christianity."

‡ E. G. "The Madras Hindu Gains of Learning Bill." Etpassim it may be observed that as Legislation must move on the lines of least resistance taking into consideration the phase of progress through which the Hindu Society is now passing a better Act can't have been conceived.

bed of roses. Individualism will have to be pruned of its roughness, of its barrenness, of its selfishness before it can work out India's salvation. But the day that sees egotistical Individualism, of which the chief factor is selfishness, giving place to Individualism based upon self-abnegation, the mark of true Individualism sees India shining forth to the glory of all Englishmen, proud of their august mission in her historic soil, as the brightest jewel in England's crown. Meanwhile it might be allowed for us to look forward with the * poet that

"There shall come from out the noise of strife and groaning

A broader day, a juster brotherhood :

A deep equality of aim postponing

All selfish seeking to the general good.

There shall come a time when each shall to the other

Be as God would have him, brother to brother."

Such, then, are some of the effects of English education in India and it is through English education only that we can look forward with hope for the fusion of races in India. For it is that alone that can dispel ignorance from the minds of the people and prepare the way for a better adjustment of their social relations on which depends entirely their political redemption. Reformation in the sense of educating the masses of Hindu Society that they might with the poet † realise that

"Self-knowledge, self-reverence, and self-control,

These alone lead to sovereign power,"

by the diffusion of correct ideas regarding their rights and duties in the social, political and religious spheres of action is, indeed, imperatively necessary. The question whether the time is ripe for such a task need not trouble us at all, since Macaulay's minute settled that for us long ago, and if we lose time in idle talk and vain rivalry, we may be left behind in the race of nations and remain condemned in the eyes of the world as those who though the inheritors of a grand old civilisation had not the grit and the political sagacity to make the most of a favourable opportunity—a just retribution it would seem, to a spiritual civilisation that had killed its material part. But it is in the methods of reform that its exponents, able, honest and conscientious as they are, differ utterly from each other. And it is

* Lewis Morris.

† Tennyson in "Ænec."

unfortunately here that the greatest caution has to be exercised by every reformer who has the success of his work at his heart. A little carelessness or hastiness may retard the progress of his work for decades and a little caution and moderation at the right moment may ensure lasting success. And in this respect the teachings of the evolution doctrine have great force, because they teach that growth is structural and organic and must take slow effect in all parts of the organism and cannot neglect any and favour the rest. The process of growth, as that veteran reformer the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ranade has observed, * is always slow, where it has to be a sure growth. The best natures generally want to shorten this long process in their desire to achieve the work of a century in a decade. The temptation has to be resisted. If not, the results are disastrous. For, as another distinguished writer has observed, "projects for great and sudden changes are now, as ever, foredoomed to fail, and to cause reaction. We are still unable to move freely, if we move so fast that our new plans of life outrun our instincts. It is true that human nature can be modified; new ideals, new opportunities and new methods of action may, as history shows, alter it very much even in a few generations. This change in human nature has perhaps never covered so wide an area and moved so fast as in the present generation. But still it is a growth and therefore gradual; and changes of our social organisation must wait on it, and therefore they must be gradual too. How truly these sentences portray the present situation of the Indian Social Reform movement it is not for the present writer to say since the Reformer's crusade against what he quaintly calls the Hindu Revivalism itself very well betrays it. So then if to-day the Reformer finds his work checked he has not only to find fault with himself but also to thank himself that the resulting reaction has laid bare the faulty character of his methods of action. He must take his lesson "slow but sure" in the school of experience. He must unlearn his old balderdash method and get at the convincing method of patiently studying in a scientific spirit each problem as it comes, and put it before the public in such a light that it will have the effect of destroying its old intellectual hold on them and give place to the new ideas presented to them. Criticism to be fruitful must be constructive instead of

* See Report of the 9th social conference.

† Prof. Marshall in his "Principles of Economics."

being purely destructive. In the present article an endeavour is made to study the vexed question of the relationship between Karanataka and Desastha Brahmans of Southern India in the above spirit. It will be shown that both of them belong essentially to the same racial stock, that differences between their customs are due entirely to the peculiar environments that either of them subjected themselves to and that as language is no sure test of race and no differences in their physical features are discernable, they can intermarry with each other with an easy conscience.

The first question that troubles us at the outset is who are the Karnataka Brahmans? They are the descendants of the earliest immigrant Aryans into the South. Dr. Burnell* is of opinion that "there is not much historical evidence to prove that there were Brahmans in South India before the 7th century." But this cannot be accepted. Mr. Foulkes† points out that the earliest Pallava grants show that Brahmans were in the 4th and 5th centuries sufficiently in Court favour to receive land grants. Mr. Rice‡ says that there are authentic traces of the introduction of Brahmans in the Nagar country in the Mysore Province in the 3rd and 4th centuries. Mr. H. A. Stuart§ in confirmation says that Brahmans were already in the 4th century settled in the Pallava and the Chalukya countries. The testimony of the Tamil poets points to the existence of Brahmans in the Chera and the Chola countries in the 1st century A. D. || The Asoka Edicts, the foreign relations of Ceylon, the writings of Megasthenes and Bandhayana point to Brahmanical influence in the South in the 5th century B. C. The Ramayana, which belongs to the 10th century B. C., has been plausibly interpreted** to allegorically mean the introduction of Aryan civilisation and culture, typified by the various agricultural implements, into the South. With the decline of Buddhism and the rise of Brahmanism with redoubled vigour at about 500 A. D. fresh colonies of Brahmans continually settled

* "South Indian Paleography."

† Salem Manual, Parts I and II.

‡ Rice's "Mysore" and "Mysore Inscriptions," and Campbell's "Ethnology of India."

§ Last Census Report.

|| See Mr. Kanakasabhai's article on "Tamils Eighteen hundred years ago" in the *Madrass Review*.

** Hunter, Weber and Dutt.

on the banks of the Godavari and the Krishna, the nearest eligible sites in their southward course and thence gradually at later times spread further south. The successful preaching of Sankara during the 8th and 9th centuries seems to have laid the foundation of a Brahmanical mission at Kumbakonam. Ramanuja's preaching during the 12th century gave an impetus to fresh Brahmanic descents into the south. All later immigrations date subsequent to the Mahomedan conquest at the end of the 12th century, and the movements from the Northern to the Southern portion of the Peninsula date subsequent to the capture of Warrangal and the annihilation of the Telingana monarchy by the Mahomedans, followed immediately by the foundation of the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar on the Tungabhadra in the early part of the 14th century.*

It has been authoritatively† suggested that the introduction of Aryan civilisation could not be the result of conquest but of a peaceable and gradual process of colonisation. The obviously conciliatory and conservative course pursued by the Aryan colonists, of which abundance of proof is found in the religion of the country and the philology of its dialects, points distinctly to an intellectual body of priestly colonists holding in the absence of that authority which conquest gives the relation of friendly instructors and welcome guides to the pre-Aryan population. So, then, it seems conclusive that the stray Brahman colonists who settled in Southern India were much affected by the Dravidians who by common consent form even at the present day the main bulk of the South Indian population.‡ In process of time they gave up the Sanskrit tongue to the different Dravidian ones, found accommodation in their religion for the various Dravidian deities and even adopted Dravidian customs, the most ghastly of which, Sati, has been shown by a great authority§ to be purely Dravidian in origin and to have no basis in the Rig Veda, the only one passage generally cited as from it in its favour being undoubtedly spurious. These early immigrants were, in later times, in virtue of their geographical position

* See Tanjore Manual.

† Caldwell, Mac-Muller, and Kanakasabhai Pillay and Tanjore Manual.

‡ See Oppert's "Bharathavarsha" and Stuart's "Census Report."

§ Prof. Wilson, See "Collected Essays," Vol. III, Art. "On Human Sacrifices," and Meheane's "Manual of Administration."

called Karnatakas, the term Karnatic* meaning the black-cotton soil country and comprising the Western tableland and the Eastern plain.

During the middle of the 17th century, with the Mahratha adventurers who overran the South, of which their political capital and social rallying centre was the town of Tanjore, came Brahman priests, accountants and administrators.† Also the general unrest and disorder ‡ that prevailed in Northern India from the epoch-making third battle of Paniput in 1761 to the death of Madhava Rao Scindia and the final crushing of the revived Hindu Empire under him led to Brahmanical descents into the South which was then comparatively quiet. Again, as the operations of the East India Company increased from that of a trading corporation to that of a conquering nation, the Marathi language was continued as the official language for a pretty long-time, and military officers of the Company whose services were transferred from the West coast to the South brought down Brahman assistants with them, and these finally settled with their families here. Finally, the consolidation of Madhwacharya's Mutt system throughout the whole of India led to fresh Brahmanical settlements in the South. These latter Brahmanical immigrations were entirely from Poona and the surrounding Maratha country, and comprised the Marathi speaking Brahmans, both of Madhwa and Saiva persuasion, with freedom of intermarriage which now, it is sincerely to be regretted, shows signs of cessation. These immigrants are called the Desasthās, the word Desasthā meaning § literally "native" and in the Dekhan was applied to the Maratha Brahmans inhabiting the country above the Ghauts to distinguish them from the Konkaneese inhabiting the country below the Ghauts. Poona with the surrounding country is considered pre-eminently *the* country, and the people coming from it to the Karnatic distinguished themselves by the term Desasthā from the earlier Brahman immigrants to the South who, as already seen, went by the name of Karnātakās.

* Mr. T. Wheeler (History of India, &c.), suggests that this term signifies the territory occupied by the "Kanarese speaking people." This seems to be erroneous. The term is of general application to the four chief Dravidian languages and the peoples speaking them. The term has as much, if not as little exclusively to do with the "Kanarese speaking people" as with the peoples speaking the other Dravidian languages. The view taken in the text has the authority of Dr. Caldwell. See "History of Tinnevely."

† Lewis Rice's "Mysore," Vol. I, p. 439.

‡ See H. G. Keine's "Fall of the Moghul Empire," and "Madhava Rao Scindia" in the "Rulers of India Series."

§ Cf. Duff's History of the Mahrattas.

So, then, it is clear that the Karnātakā and the Desasthā Brahmans belong essentially to the same racial stock, viz., Indo-Aryan, and both as Brahmans can have no objection to intermarry with one another. But on the other hand, ignorance seems to have such power over the minds of even supremely well-educated persons, not to speak of others, as to cloud their understanding so much that both of them have come to think that they each of them belong to essentially different racial stocks, the one to the Dravidian, the other to the Aryan. Indeed, the mistake is not entirely theirs. It is shared in even by occidental ethnologists* of note who think that the caste system was prevalent even amongst the Dravidians as amongst the Indo-Aryans and connect them on that account with the Australians and certain African races who retain traces of it. A greater mistake than this has never been committed. The caste system was unknown to the Dravidians, who at the time of the Aryan advent were acquainted only with the *extensive* system of culture, until it was foisted upon them by the Indo-Aryans, who, of all the sections of the Aryan race, have developed it to its greatest perfection. The date of its introduction amongst the Dravidians can only be inferred. The oldest Tamil grammar extant, which was written by one Tolkappiyam, a Brahman of the Bharadavaja *gotra*, who flourished about 1st or 2nd century B. C., † shows the earliest traces of its introduction. In his classification of the South Indian population the Brahman heads the poll; the fighting or the military classes appear as Kshatriyas; the trading classes as Vysyas, and the Vellalas, the agricultural community of the South, are singled out and left off without any remark, evidently thereby meaning that they should be classed as Sudras. By the time of the great poet Tiruvalluvar, who according to Drs. Pope and Caldwell ‡ lived about the 10th century A. D., but according to recent investigations § about the 1st or 2nd century A. D., it had not made any very great progress. It is a well-known fact that this poet is not hampered by caste distinctions. This proves not so much his Pariah descent as the fact that the newly introduced caste system had made little or no progress

* E.g. Drs. Topinard and Quatrefages.

† *Madras Review*, Vol. III.

‡ Pope's "Kural" Caldwell's "Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages."

§ Mr. Kanakasabai Pillay on "the Tamil's Eighteen Hundred Years ago" in the *Madras Review*, and Mr. Seshagiri Sastri in his "Essay on Tamil Literature."

at all at that time. But by the time of the religious reformers Sankara and Ramanuja (8th and 11th centuries A. D. respectively) we find that all the Dravidian tribes are brought under the caste system and the 14th century sees it so much in vogue that the right hand and left hand faction disputes are already seen to disturb the quiet of even petty villages. So that it is clear that the term "Dravida" or "Karnatakâ" Brahman means *not* that there was caste system amongst the Dravidians and that there were Brahmans amongst them as among the Indo-Aryans; but that they are Aryan Brahmans settled in the Dravid* or the Karnatakâ† country.

Another objection for intermarriages between the two sections is the fact that they both speak different languages. It is not infrequently asserted even by well educated Marathi-speaking gentlemen that marriages ought to be contracted only between the Marathi-speaking peoples. This statement in scientific language means that language is the best characteristic of a race. This no doubt was the old stand point. A fuller study of the matter has, however, recently brought to light that language is no sure test of race. Indeed, Dr. Broca's recently enunciated axiom that "the ethnic characteristics of the first order of importance are not linguistic but physical, is universally accepted. Language, it is true, separates man from beast, but does not one race of mankind from another. The identity, nay even similarity, of the language of two tribes can only establish that there is or has been some social relation between them and does not necessarily imply common descent. For example we may take the case of the Guanche of the Canary Islands, which is often cited in this connection. They were long supposed to have died out since the inhabitants of those Islands to-day speak Spanish. But it has recently been shown that the population of that group of Islands is fundamentally Guanche to-day with an admixture of Spanish due to Spanish conquest. Similarly the Slavonic inhabitants of East Germany now speak German, the Negroes of the United States of America speak English, the Aryan Brahmans of the South of India, the mother-tongue of whose ancestors had been either Sanskrit or its Prakritic dialects

* Name given to the southern portion of the Peninsula from the main bulk of its population, which is Dravidian.

† Name given to the same portion from the peculiar black cotton soil of the country.

have adopted one or the other of the Dravidian languages of the provinces in which they settled, and the Jews everywhere have adopted the language of the country they have entered! Marathi was no more the original language of the now Marathi speaking Brahmans than Tamil or any of the other Dravidian languages was the original language of the Brahmans now speaking them. The original language of either of them was Sanskrit, but everywhere as colonists they were fewer in number than the Dravidians amongst whom they settled, and consequently in a few generations their original language died out even as their religion, customs and modes of life largely changed by Dravidian admixture, and the languages of those amongst whom they settled ultimately prevailed, of course, with large additions from their own original language. Besides this, identity of language may be due to conquest, invasion, immigration, absorption, religious contact and the necessities of trade. Thus it is clear that identity of speech no more implies identity of race than diversity of speech implies diversity of race. If it did, we should have to say that there is a closer racial connection between the Yankee and the Negro, or between a Vishnava Brahman and an Irulan than between the Frenchman and the Spaniard. Language in fact is of no more value, if as much, than religion as a test of race. Hence Dr. Broca might very well exclaim that the ethnological value of comparative philology is extremely little. Indeed, it is more misleading and mischievous in its consequences than otherwise.

The same objection applies with equal force to the argument that customs differentiate races and that therefore Marathi-speaking peoples should not marry with those who do not observe the same set of customs * with them. As even at the present day Marathi-speaking people, carried by the exigencies of the public service to remote parts of the Presidency where languages other than Marathi are prevalent, have come to lose in a few generations their original language and taken to other languages, so their customs have been *visibly* affected by

* Among the Desasthas the worship of the tonk or the coin of Sri Rama, the performance of Gondala, invoking some tutelary deity on particular ceremonial occasions, &c., prevail. Among the Karnatakas the use of the coral in the mangalyam, which among the Brahmans answers for the European marriage ring and the Dravidian tali, seating the couple upon large quantities of rice and presenting them to the presiding *purohit* of the bridegroom, wearing the female cloth in a peculiar way, &c., prevail.

Dravidian usages, but *fundamentally* have ever remained the same. And such differences as have arisen amongst both the sections are entirely foreign to both of them as Brahmans and have been evidently borrowed by them from the surrounding Dravidian population.* If to these arguments we add the fact that the same Aryan physical type is discernable amongst both the classes, the last shred of an objection against the view that the Karnataka Brahmans are of the same Aryan racial stock as the Desasthas entirely disappears.

Having so far pointed out the erroneous character of the objections generally adduced against intermarriages between these two Brahmanical sections we come to the true explanation of this peculiar phenomenon. The first immigrants settled in the South, comparatively early in the history of Hindu civilisation. Considering their numerical minority and the length of time they have lived amidst the Dravidian population, it would be nothing less than wonderful if they were not much affected by the Dravidian religion, customs, language and modes of life. But the later immigrants had, before their advent into the South, absorbed all that was best in the civilisations with which they had come in contact in their Northern abodes. Also, as civil and military administrators under Mahratta chiefs, they had refined their modes of life and tastes. When the earlier and the later immigrants came in direct contact with each other in the South after centuries of separation, it is no wonder that they should, as between themselves, perceive all the differences between the ideal Aryan and the Dravidian racial types. And none are more alive even to trivial differences in customs than are the Brahmans, and the sentiment is so strong against disregarding them as of no consequence that they would not think of sacrificing them for a distinct and tangible gain they would acquire by it. The only thing that can bridge over this difficulty is English Education, the greatest solvent of Hindu society. It is levelling all distinctions that have hampered free social intercourse between the various castes and tribes that make up the Hindu nation. And if this article leads to a better understanding of the true relation between these two Brahmanical sections and brings about their amelioration, the present writer shall deem

* It is worthy of note that the most barbarous of all Desastha customs, *viz.*, Gondala, is being given up by educated Desasthas.

himself amply repaid for all the trouble he has taken in putting these few pages before his Karnataka and Desastha brethren, who form no small portion of the South Indian Brahman population, and feel as much as himself on this vexed question since it is their sad daily experience that matches, otherwise acceptable in every way, are condemned solely on account of the parties being respectively of Karnataka and Desastha origin.

C. H.

EDUCATION AND CHARACTER.

OUR minds contain many impulses, each capable of driving us in the direction of its gratification. Lust, anger, covetousness, ambition, malevolence and others of the like nature form a powerful array of forces in the direction of vice. The social and domestic affections, along with the few stragglers towards the good of others, constitute the weak provision of nature for the support of virtue. These inward impulses of ours for good and for evil are all of them our common property. Our nature is made up of them. It is given to none of us to say, that he is born without any one of them. But there is this difference between man and man, that in this armoury of the mental frame, each has his own particular feature of strength, each has his own dominant mental impulse; and it follows, therefore, that in spite of the sameness of the elements of our nature, a diversity results from the variety in their relative strength and mutual correlation, in other words, a diversity of character.

The first to be remembered is the diversity in our mental equipment due to our nature and birth and in no way the result of our own action. We hear frequently of the burden of *original sin* or of *karma*, which is said to weigh us down in our worldly career. Leaving aside the religious aspect of the question, considering it simply as a fact of our original constitution, there is considerable amount of truth in this doctrine. It is only an expression, from the religious point of view, of an indisputable fact of our nature, namely, that we are born with sentiments and impulses for which we are in no manner responsible, but which yet dominate irresistibly over the whole duration of our existence in the world. Our original stock of mental furniture, due to our human nature, whether it go under the category of innate impulses, or of heredity, is of no small account in the matter of our future conduct; and yet we have no option in the matter, and the freight with which we are started on our temporal course is thus not a matter of our choice, but is forced upon us from sources over which we have no control and of which we have not even a clear understanding.

In this initial stock of our constitution, considerable modifications are effected by our experience as children, as boys and as men. The mind is not a fixed quantity that remains unchanged or unchangeable at any time. It is mobile and receives impressions from all our surroundings. The ripples on its surface are continuous and ever-changing, and each passing ripple leaves a permanent residuum in its composition. It is not that there is at any time added to the mind, a force or an impulse not already present in it, in actuality or in potentiality. But the forces and impulses in it and born with it are variously strengthened and weakened and variously brought out into action or withdrawn from it by the changing facts of experience. The whole forms a sphere of moving molecules, each molecule ever receiving fresh impetus or check even when whirling on in its mobile course and the whole system yet presenting an apparent solidarity of existence. There is the initial force of our nature, and there are the daily accessions to the inner currents of the mind from every passing experience of the individual; and it is a whole so equipped and so modified that goes to form the character of an individual.

It is the latter aspect of the question that we have to consider here, the part played in the formation of our *Character* by *education*. Education is the whole course of each one's experience and in a restricted sense, it is what we receive in schools and colleges.

There is no difficulty in discriminating between virtue and vice. It is seldom or never that we are placed in a situation in which there is the difficulty of deciding what we ought to do and what we ought not to do. No society with which we are concerned leaves this question in any doubtful light. The real difficulty lies in following the right path, eschewing the other. And in this matter of the adoption of the right path, the individual is swayed by a host of mental impulses which are strong or weak according to the inherent constitution of his mind and according to the nature of his education and experience. It is a fact to be always borne in mind that man is by nature weak, which means in plain language, that the tendencies for evil are more potent over us than those for good. The evolutionist says that the struggle for existence has so moulded our nature that selfishness stands supreme in it and that, but for the supremacy of selfishness, the race must have long ago disappeared from the world. It may be so. But the explanation, whatever its value, in no way diminishes

the force of the consideration that man is essentially a selfish animal, that he almost invariably seeks his own pleasure, that this is in his original composition, and that it is extremely doubtful whether there is in it any unselfish element at the time of the commencement of its career upon the earth. Now, selfishness means a host of forces all tending more or less in only one direction and each competent to lead us away from the recognized path of moral rectitude. Education has to step in to regulate the forces that are thus powerful for selfishness, to keep them within due bounds and to co-ordinate them with the impulses in us towards righteousness. This education that has so difficult a task to accomplish begins in the arms of the mother and goes on to the very brink of the grave. As children, we are like loam in the hands of a potter, and it rests with those who are responsible for our welfare to give the impress of their ideal to our minds in the period of plasticity.

I know that there are many who are not satisfied with the results of the early training in our Hindu homes. What with uneducated and superstitious parents and the uncivilized surroundings of the pial school, they consider it impossible that our boys can derive any very great benefit in regard to their character during the years of early life. And even in later years, when the boys are under the influence of the new model of education these critics still feel that much that is done for the boys within the school and during school hours is undone by the baneful influences outside. There is in their view an antagonism between the learning and enlightenment infused under the new system of education and the slum of ignorance in which the mind is made to wallow at home.

But that is not the proper view to take of the matter. It is my conviction that the Hindu, as a Hindu, stands high in the scale of national morality. Run over the catalogues of virtues and vices peculiar to us and compare them with those of any other nation of the globe, and you shall have no cause whatever to blush for our nationality. Defects there are in us and some of them of a serious nature. We are, for example, cowards in the extreme, without any moral backbone, wanting in self-assertion and disposed to forgive and forget, to a fault. The climatic and political conditions of the country have for centuries worked upon the mental constitution, and we carry with us in our character the inheritance of ages of political subordination and tropical

heat. But great are also the virtues woven into our souls by these very conditions and by others of no less potency; and we stand to-day the foremost among the nations of the world in respect of charity, purity, fortitude, reverence and piety. I do not think that there is any nation of the world which can present a picture of domestic affection and of true piety and charity as lovely and ennobling as that presented by ours.

Be this as it may, my object in dwelling upon this here is not to glorify my countrymen, but only to show that the virtues of the educated Indian, whatever they are, are not his because of his education, but belong to him because of his nationality and form the common inheritance of the whole race. It may be that his education has strengthened a trait here or weakened one there. It may have furnished him with reasons for what the so-called uneducated do from mere faith. It may also have imparted a varnish to his manners and enabled him to disguise himself in conventions and forms. To some extent, it has also added some undesirable features to his character. But on the whole he is yet of the old stock of the true Hindus, not yet lost to the true instincts of this land of sages and Rishis. We yet retain traces, indelible, I hope, of the virtues engendered and fostered by ancient wisdom and philosophy. Such being the trend of the social education we receive, the question is, what is the work done by education in the formation of character?

Years ago, a controversy was raised on this question, and eminent educationists ranged themselves on opposite sides. Secular education as it is imparted under government management was declared by one party to be quite inadequate as a system of education, as it left out entirely the training of the moral side of our nature while its advocates asserted that this moral training was not neglected in the system. The question was, whether a knowledge of the classic works of the English language imparts a sufficient impulse to our moral nature or whether a special training of it over and above what is incidental to secular education was imperative. We read the poems of Milton and Wordsworth or the works of Carlyle and Ruskin; and if we are led rightly to appreciate the teaching of these authors, it must be that our minds are ennobled by the education, secular though it be. When the heart of the reader "leaps into the heroic page" and is lifted up to the height of the writer's imagination, though this may be only temporary, such temporary companionship

with the immortals must leave a permanent effect upon the mind and make it impossible for us to descend down to the low depths of grovelling vice. Against this it was argued that all this is of no avail because of the powerful promptings to vice which have to be eradicated. For this, a more systematic discipline than the one implied in the knowledge of the literature of a language is necessary. Morality as such, combined, if possible, with religion, should be taught directly and in specially impressive forms and not be left to drift into suggestions and implications.

This controversy, hot though it was at the time, came to nothing. We are now exactly where we were in the sixties and seventies. And in re-opening the question I cannot pretend to do anything towards a solution of it. I shall content myself with placing it before you for your own consideration with a few suggestions of mine. We must recall what I said in the beginning regarding the innate tendencies of our nature to estimate aright what education can accomplish in regard to our character and to decide what the nature of education should be if it is to be successful in this respect. Our character depends partly upon our innate constitution and partly upon the modifications effected in it by our experience. Education is experience and ought to work *for* virtue and *against* vice. But school education is only a part of the whole sphere of our experience—and unless there is a uniformity of procedure in the whole of it, the effect cannot but be marred and injured. The influences under which we are brought up at home and those under which we study at school and college must work without jarring against one another. Is this so at present? It is my opinion, open of course to correction, that school-life is devoid of all incentives to moral development; nay, that it is calculated even to undo what of moral education there is in our home life. I admit of course to the fullest extent the benefit we derive from our study of the noble literature of England; and I admit also that the educated Indian is somewhat ahead of his uneducated brother in some respects; though it must also be confessed that he has fallen on evil ways in some other respects. But taking the educated section of the community as a whole, it cannot for a moment be argued that they have advanced perceptibly upon the uneducated because of their education. And this is due to the fact that our educational training stands in isolation from the whole course of our life experience. The exotic from the West has not been grafted upon the life of the

nation. Education has not become national. It stands apart from the inner currents of our souls, a holiday guest in so far as morality and religion are concerned, not yet working down its way into the depths of our minds.

I couple religion with morality because the union between the two is unique. The safeguards of conduct are religion, society and law. A fourth is of course always ignored—and it is conscience. This is generally powerless in emergencies by itself. It always seeks strength and support from the others mentioned above. Unless all these forces are made to work in unison, the forces in our nature cannot be quelled into peace. The present system of education admittedly leaves morality to itself. And if we are yet in a position to be proud of our virtues it is due to the instincts of the race to which we belong and to the wise provisions for religious and moral discipline made in our social and family customs. There is no doubt a tendency to question the efficacy of these in the directions indicated. The so-called educated are now and then seen to scoff at the crude ways of our society. The germs of piety and reverence instilled into them by their Hindu surroundings fail occasionally to sprout and grow. Their Hindu charity withers at the touch of the economical selfishness of the new cult. The energetic nations of the north have a code of morality which is essentially selfish and essentially materialistic. Commerce, science, luxury, politics usurp the place in our minds sacred to religious and moral reflection. We are dazzled into admiration by the wealth and power of the races of Europe, and they become our ideal and we hunger for their comforts and for their luxuries. The simplicity of our life is in danger. The idea that what we acquire and earn we hold in trust first for those near and dear to us and then for humanity at large, the binding union of heart and soul among the members of the Hindu family, the daily arrangements in our social customs to remind us of our dependent condition and of the support we must eternally seek in our omnipresent creator—these and the like features of our race are looked upon in some quarters as antiquated and perhaps as signs of barbarism. It will be an evil day for the land if these wise social customs and observances so carefully elaborated for our moral and religious welfare should be indiscriminately condemned and hastily discarded.

It follows from what I have said that, in my humble opinion,

our educational system should be moulded upon national lines, if it is to co-operate with the other forces at work in the formation of character. I am not for recasting society on the ideal of the West and make it fit in with education. I am for recasting the latter so as to accord with the main features of our national life.

Not that the latter is perfect and needs no improvement. Of no human institution can this be said; and where a whole nation, composed as it is of the cultured and uncultured, is concerned, the institution must suffer from all the defects incidental to human intelligence and forethought. But there is yet such a thing as a national ideal, an ideal framed upon the experience and traditions of ages of national life, which ought not to be lightly cast aside, but ought to be held sacred and inviolable. Such an ideal must regulate the system of education as it does regulate all our social and religious institutions. In times of old when the teachers of mankind retired to their forest abodes, there to give the last finish to their own education and to impart instruction to such as sought them in those distant solitudes, education harmonised with the Hindu ideal and was national. The student pursued his educational course undisturbed by family, by property or by politics. His mind was concentrated in his studies and in his Guru; he learnt the lessons of charity and piety in his rounds for food; he had ample leisure for reflection; and living away from friends and relations and depending for everything upon strangers he learnt self-reliance and learnt also early to appreciate the truths of human brotherhood and human love. Then was he introduced to the nobler side of our nature to retain traces of gentleness and charity to the end, even when he may be thrust upon the rough paths of the world.

Such an ideal, it may not be possible for us in the 20th century to realise. But we may modify it so as to adapt it to the present changed circumstances and refit the old system of studentship to correspond to the conditions of the present age. The present rage for the fashioning of all persons after the one model for which a patent has been taken by ENI savants who assemble periodically at the Chempauk palace must be assuaged and more liberal views must be made to prevail on matters educational. Our teacher-ridden University would throw all the minds of our youths into one stereotyped mould and would allow no liberty to any to seek enlightenment and edu-

cation in ways other than its own. The Government plays into the hands of the University by unduly recognising its diplomas and degrees, and the University thinks that it has a monopoly of all wisdom and judgment. It was on an evil day that an institution was started to turn out minds after one unalterable model, a *depressing and deadening uniformity*, no room being allowed for an independent workman. It is time that we should look about ourselves to overthrow the tyranny of the educational bureau, and to convert it into a constitutional authority contenting itself with a general supervision of education, leaving full space for the development and growth of individual minds each according to its natural instincts and aspirations. Its monopoly must be overthrown, and its patent to hold examinations and confer degrees must be abrogated and cancelled.

It is not possible for me to dwell in more detail upon this subject. I have indicated my views and my only prayer is that you should not be carried away by the glamour of what is presented to us in the sacred name of education, but should pause to consider and weigh it with wisdom in the scale of individual advancement and national welfare.

N. VAITHIANATHEN.

RISE OF THE MARATHA POWER.*

HISTORICAL works on India have been mostly written by foreign Mahomedans or by Europeans; and their value accordingly as an accurate retrospect of the past has been considerably discounted by many intelligent Indians. It is not always that a foreign writer appreciates the virtues and merits of a people from whom he differs in race, religion, social usage, manners and customs. Nor would he have always the breadth of view and good sense to judge leniently, not to say generously, of their failings and shortcomings; nor has he those sources of information and those means of correct knowledge which are essential in writing the history of a people, of their institutions, of their ambitions and aspirations and of their victories and defeats. He is moreover apt to set up one standard of judgment for his own people, and another for those about whom he writes; and to exalt the former at the expense of the latter. Partisan history can reflect only one side and it is partisan histories that we have hitherto had. A history to be really valuable and reliable must be written with knowledge, with judgment, with impartiality and with a keen sense of justice. Such a history of India, it is the belief of many, has not been hitherto written. It is impossible for natives of India to expect full justice at the hands of foreign historians. A reliable history of the country must be written by themselves if it is to have a true historical value, if it is to record events as they occurred, and if it is to place them and their ancestors in the true light of historical perspective. Our people have seldom exhibited much historical spirit; they have been content to accept facts and conclusions furnished by others. Recently, however, some attempt has been made by individual Indians to investigate historical facts and to write correct histories of their country. The result of one such attempt is found in the little volume by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ranade. He belongs to a people that has a history which has been so long presented through distorted media. No class of people has been more greatly mis-

* By M. G. Ranade, M.A., LL.B., C.I.E., &c., Judge of Her Majesty's High Court of Judicature, Bombay. Publishers Punalekar & Co., Girgaum, Bombay.

represented and misjudged than the Marathas. Their past glory has been discounted by all sorts of charges levelled against them by European historians; their merits have been obscured by their supposed defects and even crimes. Mr. Justice Ranade's book is a vindication of their national character from the charges levelled against them by writers who have failed to grasp the true spirit and the true aims of the movement which resulted in the formation of the Maratha Confederacy and the establishment of the Maratha Empire. We are exceedingly glad that Mr. Ranade has undertaken this patriotic task. By common consent, he is one of India's greatest men now living. As a scholar, as a lawyer, as a statesman, as a reformer and as a student of history, he stands in the first rank; and imbued as he is, thoroughly with the modern spirit, his writings and his speeches have none of the defects of narrow bigotry or sectional sentimentalism. His aim in this book has been to set out the truth about Maratha History, to rescue it from the prejudices which have long surrounded it, and to represent his nation in the light that it appears to a patriotic, thoughtful and enlightened member thereof. In this we must admit he has been eminently successful although the title of the book led us to expect from the renowned scholar a connected and comprehensive history of the Rise of the Maratha Power, in which we must confess we are rather disappointed.

The present volume contains a series of essays relating to particular phases of Maratha History, and each has its value as containing thoughtful reflections on a variety of human motives, on the springs of human action, and on the secrets of statecraft. The Marathas achieved a position unique in the history of Modern India. They stand out as the one people who, amidst great difficulties and dangers, concentrated their national forces and built up a national empire; and it is interesting to pursue Mr. Ranade in his investigations from the starting point of their history. That history had its beginning in the birth of a son to a petty Maratha Jhalagirdar of the Ahmednagar Nizam Shahi-Kingdom in 1627 at Shivner, and its course was destined to be affected by another event which had preceded it—viz.,—the establishment of an English factory at Surat in 1612. Neither of these events, as Mr. Ranade says, attracted much notice at the time; but they heralded the birth of two mighty powers which were brought into strange contact with one another during the

next two centuries; and now as allies and again as foes, they competed for supremacy in India till at last the more organised foreign power prevailed in the struggle and displaced the disorganised native power from its position as Supreme Ruler.

The age when Shivaji was born was an essentially religious age. During the past three hundred years the whole of India had been moved by the new contact with the Mahomedan militant creed. Hindu reformers and teachers had risen who taught unity and cohesion for all without difference of birth and position; Hindus were impressed with the monotheistic creed of the Mahomedans and they often clothed their God in the garb of a Mahomedan Fakir. In Marashtra, Brahmin and Non-Brahmin preachers called upon people to identify Ram with Rahim and ensure their freedom from the bonds of formal ritualism and caste distinctions and unite in common love of man and faith in one God. The Mahomedans themselves were influenced by the force of this teaching; they began to have recognised that God was not the God of Mahomedans alone but was the God of all mankind and that to nullify the religious customs of the Hindus was to set at naught the will of the Almighty. Mahomedan Scholars translated the Mahabharata and the Ramayana in this spirit. The eldest son of Shahajahan translated the Upanishad and the Gita. Akbar strove to amalgamate the two religions in a new dispensation which was intended to abolish all religious differences; Mahomedan Saints like Kabir in the North and Shaik Mohammad in Maharashtra preached the same higher law to Hindus and Mahomedans alike. Religious revival and a puritan enthusiasm were at work and were neutralising the old bigotry in the land. This religious enlightenment was, according to Mr. Ranade, the principal point of departure from the earlier traditions of submission to brute force, and made itself manifest in the form of a determination that Mahomedan intolerance should not again overspread the land. This was the new influence, the new aspiration, which filtered down from the religious teachers and worshippers to the masses; and Shivaji who mixed on equal terms with the great religious teachers of his time represented these new influences and these new aspirations in an intensified form in his own person. These gave him the chief source of his strength and his hold on the people.

Shivaji's mind was cast in an intensely religious mould; he was from his early youth fond of hearing the old epics of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata; he listened most attentively to the recital of Kathas by specially noted teachers. He is said to have felt an intense religious enthusiasm and to have been moved by the idea that he had a commission which required him to think little of his own interest and advancement. This peculiar mental characteristic made him a truly representative man of the age and one whom the masses with their intense religious zeal were prepared to follow. Such is Mr. Ranade's explanation of the circumstances which gave Shivaji the supreme position and influence that he wielded among the Marathas and of the causes which made him the rallying point of national forces. Those who have fixed their attention upon the spiritual characteristics of the Hindu race will find it difficult to believe that their religion supplied the motive force to the purely secular movement which Shivaji directed in pursuit of worldly greatness and military glory. The Hindu religion has never concerned itself with such matters as the acquisition of gold or territory, and has never encouraged the militant instinct in man. It has been always passive and content to be left alone. That it should have served as a unifying or militant force for secular purposes is inconceivable. It is possible that the contact with Mahomedan religion and Mahomedan civilization conveyed the idea of unification to the Hindu mind in the Maharashtra; it is also possible that the aggressive fanaticism of the invading Mahomedans suggested the idea of active resistance in self-defence. For we find that Shivaji was moved by the feeling that a threatened invasion of the foreign Moslem conquerors could only be adequately met by an united opposition. His aim and policy were to unite all who were Marathas and to inspire them with the idea of acting as a united nation. Without such union it

ON to throw back the tide of Moghul invasion, and the dictated a policy of union and mutual trust for a
ROLL pose. Hence Shivaji set himself to organising his
 men forget their differences and, in Mr. Ranade's
 men's interests or ambitions in a way to make
 hem feel pride in common success and shame in common defeat.
 All who showed a separatist tendency were disposed of by force
 or skill. The Mahomedan Powers themselves were played
 one against the other. In this way he went on removing obsta-

cles, disposing of enemies, and keeping before his mind the supreme importance of union against the foreign hordes. It is possible that in this process he did many things which the modern historian would find it difficult to condone or justify. But we cannot here enter into that aspect of his career.

Mr. Ranade says that Shivaji had the magnetic power which only true leaders of men possess and which neither bandits nor mad fanatics can ever claim. This, we think, is true. He was undoubtedly a born leader of men and he had in him elements of greatness. Very likely his inherent merits had more to do with his success as a leader, soldier, and statesman than the surrounding influences which, according to Mr. Ranade, shaped his career. Circumstances alone do not make genius; they may help to develop it and even lead to its success. Shivaji possessed genius of a high order; but many men of like genius have died without leaving any impress on the world's history. Men of genius often lack opportunity; and without opportunity even genius cannot make a mark. Shivaji did not lack this advantage. He was born at a time when the country required a leader, and he possessed the qualities which were essential for leadership. His magnetic force drew all classes of people around him; he possessed the power and the force to keep them under his influence and control; and he had the foresight to make them share his own aspirations. He succeeded in merging all differences of caste and position in the common feeling of a united nationality; he attracted towards himself all that was hopeful and aspiring in the land without distinction of class, caste or creed or colour; he selected his very councillors from all the great communities which constituted the strength of the country; he even employed Mussulmans both on sea and land to carry out his designs; and he had also the privilege of commanding the loyal and continued co-operation of all who gathered under his banner. Whatever were his faults and whatever the excesses which he permitted or perpetrated, one circumstance stands out to his enduring credit, *viz.*, that in the worst excesses committed by his armies under the stress of war and need of money, cows, women and cultivators were never molested. When captured in the chances of war, women were sent back to their husbands with all honors. Shivaji's character as a whole is briefly sketched by Mr. Ranade in a singularly eloquent sentence—"Religious fervour almost at

a white heat bordering on the verge of self-abnegation, a daring and adventurous spirit born of a confidence that a higher power than man's protected him and his work, the magnetism of superior genius, which binds men together and leads them to victory, a rare insight into the real needs of the times, a steadiness of purpose which no adverse turn of fortune could conquer, a readiness and resourcefulness rarely met with either in European or Indian History, true patriotism which was far in advance of the times, and a sense of justice tempered with mercy—these were the sources of the strength that enabled Shivaji to sow the seeds of a power which accomplished in the hands of his successors all that he had planned out, and enabled his race to write a chapter in Indian History to some purpose." Those who have been content to learn the history of the Marathas at the feet of English writers have been led to believe that they were a class of freebooters who thrived by plunder and adventure, and that they succeeded only because they were the most cunning and adventurous among all those who helped to dismember the great Moghul Empire after the death of Aurangzeb. But, as Mr. Ranade says, freebooters and adventurers never succeed in building up empires which last for generations and permanently alter the political map of a great continent. The rise of the Maratha Power, Mr. Ranade shows, was not a mere accident due to any chance combination, but was a genuine effort on the part of a Hindu nationality not merely to assert its independence, but to achieve what had not been attempted before—the formation of a Confederacy of States animated by a common patriotism; and the success it achieved was due to a general upheaval, social, religious and political, of all classes of the population. Shivaji, as we have said, was the rallying point of the Maratha forces; but he was not like other military leaders known to Indian History who had no national force behind them. Hyder and Tippoo, Nizam-ul-mulk and Shooj-ud-Dowlah, Alivardikhan and Ranjit Singh, were great military adventurers; but they were not backed up by any national force as Shivaji was, and their power accordingly perished with them. But the Maratha Confederacy was maintained for ten successive generations, and successive leaders sprang up to fill up the place of those who perished in the struggle. Thus while individual leaders disappeared, the Confederacy maintained itself amidst all opposition showing thereby that it had a force and vitality apart from

what individual leaders alone could impart to it. It had its foundation laid broad and deep in the hearts of the whole people. "It was a national movement or upheaval in which all classes co-operated. The strength of the organisation did not depend on a temporary division of the higher classes, but it had a deeper hold on the vast mass of the rural population—cowherds and shepherds, Brahmins and non-Brahmins, even Mussulmans felt its influence and acknowledged its power." The religious and social upheaval which, according to Mr. Ranade, preceded and resulted in the political revolution, was not Brahminical in its orthodoxy; it was on the other hand heterodox in its spirit of protest against forms and ceremonies and class distinctions based on birth; it was also the work of the people, of the masses and not of the classes. At its head were saints and prophets, poets and philosophers, who sprang chiefly from the lower orders of society—tailors, carpenters, potters, gardeners, shopkeepers, barbers and even *Mahars*—more often than Brahmins. Hence fortuitous circumstances had very little part to play in the early foundation of Maratha Power. The forces were at work among all classes of the nation; the separatist tendencies, so characteristic of the Indian people, had dissuaded the Marathas from facing the Moghuls in the open field. But Shivaji brought the common forces together and united and directed them against the common enemy. His grand aim, which was also the aim of his nation, was to reestablish the Hindu Power and maintain it against foreign aggression; and the chief merit of Shivaji was that he united the scattered forces in a common Confederacy, animated by a common purpose and sanctified by a common devotion to the country. He was also able to attach to himself the best men of the time, who never failed him in the hour of trial—men who constituted the chief source of wisdom and strength. In Mr. Ranade's words, "Shivaji's contemporaries fully sustained their place as a generation of men at once wise and brave, who were worthily led by him in the work of national construction."

English Historians have written much about Shivaji's dealings with Afzulkhan and of the manner in which he disposed of the Pathan General. Shivaji's act has often been characterised as treachery. The account which Mr. Ranade gives of the incident is not without interest. And we shall briefly give Mr. Ranade's version in as few words as possible. In the series of conflicts between Shivaji and the Bijapur authorities, many

things had apparently been done which incensed either party; and Shivaji's successes led the Bijapur authorities to make a supreme effort. Their first army which was sent to attack Shivaji unawares was defeated and their generals found themselves unable to hold their place against Shivaji's generals. They therefore resolved to send an overwhelming force under their ablest general Afzulkhan. This man had taken part in the Karnatic wars and rightly or wrongly had been suspected as having helped Shahaji's enemies and brought about the untimely death of Shivaji's elder brother. He ostentatiously undertook in open Durbar at Bijapur to capture the mountain rat as he called Shivaji dead or alive. On his way from Bijapur to Wai he desecrated the great temple at Tooljapur and Pandharpur and broke the idols. His march therefore appeared like a religious war, and naturally excited the worst passions on both sides. The issue which depended upon the result of the contest was of the gravest character. It was a struggle for life or death to the victor or to the vanquished. Shivaji and his advisers perceived the gravity of the situation; they prepared themselves to repel the invasion. Shivaji invoked the guidance of his goddess Bhawani and believed that he received a promise of protection directly from the Goddess. Thus encouraged Shivaji resolved to meet his great antagonist on a spot carefully chosen by himself. He had taken great care and exercised great caution, whereas Afzulkhan proud in the possession of a large army and confident that Shivaji would not stand against him in the field, was bent upon bringing out Shivaji from the shelter of his force, capturing him and taking him in triumph to Bijapur. Afzulkhan thus hoped to avoid all the perils of a long campaign. Each had a large army and each might have desired to surprise and capture the other's person in the hope that the fall of the general commanding the army would determine the result of the fight. Shivaji, through his emissaries, pretended that he was prepared to make his submission; and Afzulkhan, to make himself sure sent his own Brahmin Pandit to obtain correct information. This man, however, was gained over by the other side by an appeal to his religious and patriotic sentiments. It was then arranged that both should meet one another for personal explanations unattended by their forces. What followed has been variously described. The Mahomedan historians charge Shivaji with treachery in the first attack he made with the fatal tiger claws and the Bha-

wani Sword; while the Maratha chroniclers aver that Afzulkhan first siezed Shivaji's neck by the left hand, and drawing him towards himself caught him under his left arm, and when this treachery on the part of the Khan was manifested, Shivaji dealt the fatal blow. Mr. Ranade is disposed to accept the version given by Mahomedan historians as the more probable one, for Shivaji had on his side strong motives. He had his brother's death and the desecration of the temples to avenge; he knew he was then unable to face the enemy in the open field, and the success of the whole of the scheme depended upon the result. He had therefore greater temptation to effect his purpose by stratagem than his enemy. The personal character of the two men also leads Mr. Ranade to the same view. The one was vain and reckless and the other supremely self-possessed and always on his guard. Shivaji accordingly having disposed of his rival proceeded coolly to surprise the Mahomedan army, while Afzulkhan's men were wholly unprepared for the attack. There was thus calculation and forethought on the one side, and there was an entire absence of them on the other. Mr. Ranade thinks that the will to-do mischief might have been equally operating on both sides though one was not prepared to take full advantage of the situation as it developed itself to the same extent as the other was. This memorable event in Shivaji's life has formed the subject of repeated controversy. Judged by the modern rules of warfare it is impossible to justify Shivaji's act. But one cannot pretend to pass a judgment on it without a full knowledge of the practices of those days and of the methods of warfare which were then considered to be lawful and proper.

Mr. Ranade devotes a separate chapter to Shivaji as a civil ruler, to the system of government which he organised and to the administrative measures which he provided. This affords very instructive reading, and furnishes an explanation of the success which attended the Maratha Power in Shivaji's time and the disaster and final collapse which overtook it later. We have seen how great Shivaji was as a Military Commander and organiser of Military forces. He was equally great as a builder of civil institutions. In both respects his aim was to keep his people together as one nation and to make them powerful for self-defence and self-assertion. The chief merit of his civil institutions was that they had an originality and breadth of conception altogether foreign to the systems of government which

then existed under the Hindu or the Mahomedan rule. He built a number of hill-forts which, with the territory they commanded, formed the unit of Shivaji's civil government. He made elaborate arrangements for the garrisoning and provisioning of these forts which thus formed strong points of resistance or centres of aggression; and the empire was knit together by the chain of these forts. So far as the Maratha country proper was concerned this was an excellent arrangement and served its purpose. But, as Mr. Ranade points out, when the Maratha Power was extended to distant parts of the country that system could no longer be maintained. In the limited area in which the Marathas formed one nation, the army, the officers, and the kings were all of the same race; and a common bond of loyalty knit them together. But in distant parts of India where the conquered population differed essentially from the conquerors, these and some of his other measures, which were designed in view of all people being of a common nationality, were found unsuitable. With these exceptions, Shivaji's scheme of government served its purpose well; and a departure from it in subsequent periods proved disastrous to Maratha Power.

Shivaji discouraged the hereditary system of transmitting high offices in one and the same family. Natural capacity and virtues are not hereditary endowments. They vary with individuals. But without a certain amount of talent and ability it is impossible to meet the requirements of high office. The hereditary system of succession to office is also fatal to the development of powers of the nation generally. Those who are outside the pale of hereditary families have no means of rising by merit; there is no inducement for people generally to strive after eminence and distinction in a legitimate way. Shivaji had the foresight to provide against this danger; but his successors lost sight of the principle.

Another instance of his great foresight is furnished by his refusal to grant Jahagir assignments of land for the support of Civil or Military officers. Under the Jahagir system people became virtually owners of territories which they conquered by the strength of their military prowess, and several of them established themselves as supreme masters in different parts of the country under a very loose system of allegiance to the central power represented by payment of a certain portion of revenue. In course of time these Jahagirs were treated as hereditary, and

the holders thereof became more and more detached from the central authority, and resented all interference with what they came to regard as their own private possessions. Shivaji destroyed this system. His successors revived it. The same motive which actuated Shivaji in this also actuated him to establish a direct system of revenue management without the intervention of district or village Zemindars and to disallow the farming system. Among other measures taken by Shivaji were the establishment of a council of ministers with their proper work allotted to them, each being directly responsible to the King in Council, the subordination of the military to the civil element in the administration, and the intermixture of men of all classes, Brahmins, Prabhus and Marathas, in all offices high and low so as to keep check upon one another. These had in them the germs of stability and strength which the later Maratha rulers do not seem to have recognised, and to the extent they lost sight of them, the central power was weakened and mutual rivalry and distrust did not rest. Mr. Ranade observes: "In all the points in which the principles of government laid down by Shivaji were departed from by his successors, we can trace the causes of the weakness and decline of the Maratha Power long before it came in conflict with British authority in India. That authority, when it obtained supremacy, gave its deliberate preference to the principles laid down by Shivaji over those which found favour with his successors. British rule in India is carried on, on the principle of enforcing a complete separation of the civil from the military department and a due subordination of the latter to the former. It insists upon cash payments for services rendered and declines to make grants of lands by way of assignment for military or other services. It refuses to recognise any hereditary claims to public offices high or low. The government is carried on by Boards and Councils and not by the unfettered discretion of a single ruler. It collects its land revenue by its own paid agency and never farms it out to the old Zemindars and farmers. It also provides for a due distribution of offices among all classes of its subjects. As a consequence of the observance of these maxims of state policy, a handful of Englishmen have been able to govern the whole country in a way that strikes both native and foreign students of its administration as a marvellous feat of statesmanship." Thus does Mr. Ranade vindicate the wisdom of Shivaji's principles of Government as having contributed to his own success

as well as to the success of those who built their power upon the ruins of the confederacy which he had tried to knit together.

The Maratha Power, though it took its rise in Western Marashtra, soon extended the sphere of its influence over a very wide area and on all sides. Except in Bengal, on the Madras coast, and in the Malayalam country where the ancient Hindu kings held sway, the chief power in India was in the hands of rulers controlled by the Maratha confederacy; and it was with them that the British power had to contend for supremacy. It was as a result of this extension of Maratha influence that they established the kingdom of Tanjore in Southern India, of which at present the only survival is the palace at Tanjore and the surviving old Ranees. It was Shivaji's father Shahaji that first led a Maratha army into Southern India as a general in the service of the Bijapur kings; and it was Shahaji's son Venkoji that ultimately established his rule over Tanjore. The royal family of Tanjore was thus closely allied to the founder of the Maratha Power in Western India; but it maintained no connection with the Confederacy in Marashtra but stood apart and gradually faded and perished. Though the Maratha kingdom became extinct the Maratha population which it attracted to Southern India still forms an important section of the people. Mr. Ranade computes their number at 2 lacs and a half spread over all districts in the Presidency; and it is undoubtedly a fact that the reputation which Tanjore still enjoys as a seat of learning and the fine arts is due to the Maratha influence. "The Tanjore Rajas," Mr. Ranade says, "were all of them great patrons of learning; some of them were poets and scholars themselves of no mean repute, and their charities were on a scale which arrests attention. The Tanjore Library is the largest collection of the kind to be found in any Native Court in India. The cultivation of the fine arts, music both vocal and instrumental, etc., was carried to perfection, and Tanjore attained in those days a pre-eminence which it still retains of being the most refined and cultured district of the Southern Presidency. After the fall of Tanjore, the professors of those arts removed to Travancore, and gave that State the reputation it now enjoys." There are also other effects of Maratha civilization found in Southern India; and several Maratha families have furnished distinguished statesmen and ministers of State for the more important Hindu principalities on this side of India.

Before we conclude we desire to refer to one more lesson which Mr. Ranade deduces from the history of the Marathas. Why was the first successful attempt to throw off the Mahomedan yoke on a large scale made in Western India? And what were the circumstances in the nature of the country, in the habits and the institutions of the people inhabiting it which favoured such an attempt and rewarded it with success? Mr. Ranade's explanation is highly instructive. In the first place the country of Marashtra by its position, climate and physical features, was exceptionally situated; giving it a commanding position. The hill-forts on the top of the mountain ranges protected the naturally defensible position of the country. In the next place the union of all classes of people appears to have been more complete than in other parts of India. "In Northern India" Mr. Ranade says "the element of the Aryan race has predominated to an extent which dwarfed the aboriginal races and drove them to the hilly parts of the country. In the Southern Peninsula, the Dravidian races have retained their predominant position, the Aryan element being not powerful enough to impress its stamp upon the population generally." But in the Mahrastra country the Aryans and Dravidians have been mixed in due proportion so as to retain the good points of both without exaggerating their defects. The popular religion of the country also avoided the extreme sectarianism and the minute sub-divisions of caste which disunite people in Northern and Southern India. The sects and castes did not present the exaggerated differences which prevail elsewhere. The Brahmins and non-Brahmins were brought into contact on more equal terms. The village and Panchayet system combined with the ryotwari Mirasi tenure of land, held in full ownership by small peasant proprietors directly responsible to the State, gave a stability and sense of independence to the ryots which is not seen in other provinces. The result was that the people retained habits of mutual helpfulness and independence which helped them to act as one united people against their common enemies.

There are indeed other suggestive lessons to be learnt from Mr. Ranade's book. But we have here to be content with a passing reference to the chapter on "the Saints and Prophets of Marashtra" which is a record of the conflicts between old and new social and religious forces which operated on the minds of the Marathas of those periods; and the social reformer will

find inspiration and encouragement in the examples furnished by the struggles which culminated in the steady growth of rational sentiments and spiritual virtues. The religious movement led by the Saints and Prophets modified the strictness of the old spirit of caste exclusiveness. It raised the Sudra classes to a position of spiritual power and social importance almost equal to that of the Brahmins; it gave sanctity to the family relations and raised the status of women; it made the nation more humane and at the same time more prone to hold together by mutual toleration; it subordinated the importance of rights and ceremonies and of pilgrimages and fasts and of learning and contemplation to the higher excellence of worship by means of love and faith; and it tended in all ways to raise the nation generally to a higher level of capacity both of thought and action.

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“THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT IN MODERN
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AS kinship is the basis of ancient, and religious faith the basis of mediæval, Society, so the basic principle of modern civilisation is its insistence on the rights and interests of man in society. This idea was vaguely foreshadowed at the re-birth of the secular spirit of classical antiquity in what is known as the Renaissance, but for the first time it was clearly apprehended in the Rationalistic movement of Voltaire; and it has since given birth to the epoch of Militant Nationalism which continues to the present day in undiminished lustre of vitality and vigour. Henceforth each group of men bound together by common interests was to seek to promote its own welfare by all possible means, and the competition and conflict of interests were to be the means by which the advance of human civilisation was to be accomplished. The Gospel of Evolution, put by Darwin in a sentence of marvellous brevity,—“Marry, multiply, let the strongest live, and the weakest die”—is the necessary product of the Revolutionary doctrine of the Rights of Man; and it need cause us no surprise that in practice modern morality, according to a living English writer, “tends to resolve itself more and more into the strength of the strong and the cunning of the weak.” Modern European society, then, has for its basis and import the idea of promoting the common interests and rights of



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certain collections of human beings, and it is hereby differentiated from the forms of social life—the ancient and the mediæval—which preceded it. This idea is the direct result of the decadence of religious faith and of the old ideal of duty for duty's sake which was the product of religious inspiration—a decadence which has been going on in Europe now for nearly five centuries. When Mr. Benjamin Kidd insists that "there is no rational sanction for moral progress," there is certainly some appearance of exaggeration in giving his view that absolute and unqualified extension which it assumes in his hands, and we shall perhaps do well to remember the unquestionable fact that since the appearance of French Rationalism and the Revolutionary doctrine of the Rights of Man, many practical legal and political reforms have been carried out chiefly through the earnest labours of men imbued with these new doctrines and with the spirit of the social philosophy founded upon them. Still, morality and moral progress rest *ultimately* on the vivid realisation of certain truths known as spiritual,—truths for which we have no warrant in the conscious experience of humanity and which can only be realised when we have learned to rise, as the blessed ones among mankind in all ages and climes have risen, to the state of super-conscious and, therefore, supra-rational, experience. Modern civilisation has discarded this "supra-rational sanction" of morality, and hence modern society and all that men now regard as worth striving for on this side of life have come to be inspired by the rival doctrine of the rights of man in society. Our present purpose is not to expose the weakness of this principle, or indeed in any measure to endeavour to contribute to the formation of a judgment of any kind respecting it, but to dwell on one of the latest phases of its development,—*viz.*, that which is known as the National State. What are the historical conditions and causes which have originated, fostered and developed the sentiment of nationality among European communities and have made it a working force in the European politics of this century?

Before entering on this topic it is necessary to carefully distinguish this sentiment of nationality from two other conceptions with which it is apt to be confounded, *viz.*, the principle of the Sovereignty of the People and the principle of Personal Liberty. Mr. Morse Stephens, the historian, explains these principles clearly. The Sovereignty of the people means "that the Government should be directed by the people through their

representatives and that it is far better for a nation to make mistakes in the course of its self-government than to be ruled, be it ever so wisely, by an irresponsible monarch." This principle, as we can see, is the exact reverse of the principles of the Peace of Paris, confirmed and developed later on at the Congress of Vienna into the Treaty of the Holy Alliance—principles of absolutism accepted by the leading Sovereigns and statesmen of Europe with the express purpose of persecuting liberal opinion, suppressing the freedom of the press, refusing to assign the smallest particle of self-government to any of the peoples of Europe,—in a word, abolishing constitutional rule. Everything was to be done for the people, and nothing by themselves, and Europe was to witness a recrudescence of the forms and methods of government which were in vogue in the age of Pombal, Aranda, Tanucci, Leopold II, Joseph II, Catherine and Louis XIV. Throughout this century a continuous protest has been raised in every European country against absolute government, so that the principle of popular control in the management of local and central Government has now become an accepted postulate of all forms of modern political life, and irresponsible government according to the sweet will and pleasure of autocratic Sovereigns and statesmen may now be considered quite dead. The other principle of modern politics above mentioned is that of Personal Liberty. This means that in all states the subject is no longer, in his social status or economic activity, to be hampered or exploited by a superior in the shape of a tyrannical feudal lord, a selfish and autocratic guild, or an employing master. Men are no longer to be kept in bondage as serfs or journeymen-workers, but to breathe the free atmosphere of modern citizenship and to have perfect freedom of action to settle their own status in social and economic life according to the existing conditions of industrial competition and educational progress. Now, the principle of nationality as an article of modern political belief is clearly quite different from those already explained. When the feeling of racial kinship unites a community together and overcoming every other element of disunion and difference, incites it to found an independent state, then we see the working of the sentiment of nationality and the birth of a national state; and this, in fact, is a re-awakening and re-assertion of the primitive feeling of blood-relationship as the bond of social union, though on a larger scale and, therefore, in a more attenuated form,

than that in which we find it working in the history of ancient society. We have already pointed out that, in all modern political societies, the essential bond of union is the feeling of common interest. For the existence of a state, the most indispensable thing is that this common interest should centre round certain common laws and a common government. It is only when the feeling of common race actuates a community not only in rendering obedience to the laws and government of a state, but in practising the utmost vigilance of exertion and self-denial, even to the extent of shedding its life-blood in times of crisis and danger, that we may speak of a State as a national State and of the community as actuated by the sentiment of Nationality. Professor Warde Fowler speaks of the common bonds of law and government as artificial ties, and of those of common race, language, religion, territory and historical association as naturalities. Of these the bond of common racial descent and the bond of common language as indicating in a rough way the existence of such a blood-bond, form pre-eminently the naturalities and have to be accepted as constituting the essential factors and sources of national sentiment, while the others contribute to the sustaining and strengthening of that sentiment after it has begun to be consciously felt and accentuated as an inspiring force in the determination of social activity and thought. Every nationality is the product of a long historical evolution, and every one of these influences has a substantial share in bringing together the various separated elements of the same racial brotherhood so as to form an organized nation-state.

I

In proceeding to investigate the conditions and influences under which the sentiment of nationality, as defined above, has been brought into existence and developed so as to achieve political emancipation and state solidarity among certain modern European communities, we find that everywhere—in France, in Spain, in Germany, in Italy, in Greece, in Hungary, &c.,—it has taken its rise and influenced the destinies of communities of men only when they have been threatened, under aggressive foreign influences, with the loss of independence and, consequently, of self-respect and honor or when, having been reduced to foreign subjection, they have been placed under intolerable restraints so as naturally to awaken the desire for freedom and the resolve to regain it at the earliest opportunity and by every possible means.

The most prominent fact of human nature is the consciousness of free will. Human life loses its meaning and value when deprived of spontaneity, for without it we lose the sense of continuity and feel as if we are subjected to a wrench and a violence of handling which no longer makes life worth living. Self-assertion and self-restraint are equally evidence of human power and vitality, and nothing tends to debase and stultify human nature as the loss, or withdrawal of the power to practise these essential requisites of progressive life. And this is evidently true not only of individuals, but of communities of men. Everywhere in Modern Europe, nations have been roused to assert themselves when foreign communities have, from the desire of self-aggrandisement, sought to interfere in their concerns and prevent them from settling their own political destiny in the manner most suitable to their own racial antecedents and inclinations.

France has always played the part of storm-bird in European revolutions; and, as we naturally expect to see among the French the first instance of national sentiment asserting itself, we also find it to be true in actual fact. It is well known that, when the French people demanded the assembling of the States-General, they had no hatred personally towards Louis XVI, or even towards monarchy in the abstract, but only wanted to reform the monarchical system then prevailing. They wanted to curb the extravagance of the Court and to abolish feudal privileges. They wanted to abolish the irresponsible system of "benevolent despotism," which had brought on their country a state of chronic financial deficit and of military impotence abroad. All that they wanted was to introduce a regular system of taxation and make the government responsible to the nation for their expenditure. The constitutional system devised by the doctrinaire politicians whose influence was paramount in the Constituent, or the later Legislative Assembly was doubtless marked by an excessive and maniacal love of the principle of election and the distrust of executive authority, but there was much that was commendable in it. There was also every prospect that the people would soon begin again to trust the executive and restore the King's authority, and even the King's flight from Paris was largely forgiven when, in September 1791, he frankly accepted the Constitution and thereby identified himself with his people. But the sky was soon overcast and events beyond the frontier combined with the King's irresolution and insincerity to develop

the sentiment of national unity among the French and the great events to which it led. In the first place, the assembling of the army of the emigrant French nobility at Worms under the Prince of Conde and the issue of the Declaration of Pillnitz by which the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia threatened to set their armies in motion in order to deliver the French King from what they referred to as his present embarrassed and enslaved position in the midst of his rebel subjects,—these tended to exasperate the French people and to make them feel unanimously in favour of war and to set three armies in motion for the purposes of defence on the frontier. *Secondly*, when the Austrian Emperor, at the instigation of the Diet, protested against the adoption of a revolutionary constitution for France on the ground that the contagion of anarchy tended to spread from France to other countries, this at once brought a Girondin Ministry into power, and war was at once declared. *Thirdly*, when the French attack on Belgium failed, and the Prussian armies were concentrated on the French frontier, the French people were profoundly moved and everywhere raised the cry of treachery. Just at this time Louis dismissed his Girondin Ministers and justified the prevailing distrust of him. Immediately, the Paris mob invaded the Tuilleries (20th June, 1792), and this indicated the final breach between the King and his subjects, and from that moment the Jacobins never ceased to plot for his overthrow. *Fourthly*, when the Duke of Brunswick issued his Proclamation threatening to hold Paris responsible for Louis' safety and vowing vengeance on the French people as rebels, their patriotism was roused to the most passionate heights, and thousands of armed volunteers came forward ready to march to the front and take part in the war. The coming in of the Marseilles volunteers, singing the martial air known thenceforward as the "Marseillaise" was the signal for the insurrection of the 10th August. The Paris mob captured the Tuilleries, imprisoned the King, restored the dismissed Girondin Ministry and seized and imprisoned the opponents of the Revolution. A camp was also formed for the defence of Paris, men were everywhere raised, equipped and sent to the front, and commissioners were sent throughout France and especially to the armies to tell the tale of the insurrection and to secure the adhesion of the people. *Fifthly*, the Russian capture of Longwy and Verdun and the subsequent advance led to the horrible September massacres.

This policy of violent reprisal and retort continued throughout the Revolutionary crisis, and it can be shown that it was due to foreign interference that every Frenchman felt it his duty at this supreme moment of his country's destiny to promote national unity, national freedom and the organisation of national defence against the foreign enemy and invader.

The Spaniards may next be quoted as an example of a people, among whom also the sentiment of nationality was born as a result of foreign intervention and intrigue directed in the most insidious, unscrupulous and artful manner to bring about their degradation and enslavement. Under Godoy's corrupt and weak administration, the royal family and the people of Spain became, through their mutual dissensions and suspicions, the unconscious victims of Napoleon's intrigue. While all along professing to be the friend of both the Court and people, he deceived both and took advantage of a favourable opportunity to send an army of 80,000 French soldiers who spread themselves over the Northern Provinces and, by the most cunning and deceitful contrivances, obtained possession of several frontier positions and citadels. Napoleon also, later on, sent down Murat to assume the command of the French forces in Spain. Truth is often stranger than fiction, and by the mysterious workings of fate both King Charles IV. and his son Ferdinand placed themselves in Napoleon's power at Bayonne by their own voluntary acts of folly and credulity. The father had already abdicated his throne at Madrid in favour of his son to appease the anger of the people against him and his Minister; and now the son, completely in Napoleon's power, had no alternative but to renounce his throne in Napoleon's favour. Without a single blow, Napoleon had obtained the Spanish crown. But he little dreamt that there was a Spanish nation behind with which he must reckon,—a people who had once played a memorable part in European history, who were now poor, indeed, and weak, but who cherished proud memories of their past greatness and who were animated not only by a fervent feeling of national unity and patriotism, but also by a bitter and even fanatical hatred of foreigners and foreign domination. By one irresistible impulse and without communication with each other or direction from any one central source of inspiration or authority, the Spaniards throughout the peninsula rose in arms against the usurper, treating with utter contempt not only his proposal to convene at Bayonne and

consult an assembly of elected representatives of the people of Spain, but also his nomination of Joseph Buonaparte as King of Spain and all his projected political and administrative reforms. In the struggle for honourable national existence which followed, the patriotic Spanish generals, Reding and Castanos, gained imperishable glory; and the French General Dupont's capitulation of Baylen and the great Spanish defence of Saragossa produced a profound impression throughout Europe and brought hope to every community struggling for national independence in the thought that what the patriotic ardour of the Spanish people had effected for themselves was equally possible for others.

Germany was the first to be fired by the example of the Spaniards to resist the tyranny of Napoleon. By his victories at Jena and Auerstadt followed by the surrender of numerous Prussian fortresses and the convention of Charlottenburg, Napoleon had been enabled to enter upon a campaign of extortion by which one-half of the kingdom had been lost and still Napoleon continued to make enormous demands of money and lands positively ruinous to the very existence of the State. Stein was still negotiating for terms less disastrous when the victories of the Spanish insurgents brought light and energy to the Prussian and Austrian leaders. "I do not see why we should not think ourselves as good as the Spaniards" said Blucher, and many others thought and said the same. A war-party soon formed, and Stein everywhere fanned the fierce flames of a popular uprising against the French. Stein and with him Scharnhorst urged the King to place himself at the head of the armed Prussian nation and prepare to imitate the Spaniards in their victorious struggle against Napoleon, and Austria, too, was arming about the same time. Austria was defeated and the Prussian King was powerless for any purpose or achievement worthy of the cause. But the revolt of the Tyrolese and the great military exploits of Brunswick and Schill had their lasting effects in exciting and keeping alive the flame of German patriotism. But many years of progressive social evolution had to elapse before the national spirit could gather head and German patriotism develop into a moral and military force capable of high achievement.

In Italy and Hungary, the stifling influence of Austrian tyranny, and in Greece the equally degrading tyranny of the Turkish rulers formed the inspiring sources of national awaken-

ing. First, as to Italy, the people had become quiescent and submissive in their character. They had for ages had to groan under despotic rule, whether exercised by alien rulers, or those of their own race. They had become commercially inactive. The national mind had lost its original vigour. Hence, except in a few small areas, Austrian influence was predominant or some family closely allied in blood with some other continental dynasty was ruling; and all that the Italian States and peoples cared for was to preserve in safety the existing order to which they had in spite of its intolerable oppression, degradation and ignominy, become accustomed and reconciled, and to avoid all the complications and dangers which history shows to be necessarily associated with all attempts made by human communities, under the impulse of the feelings of national worth, pride, or duty, to improve their lot upon earth. It was when the victories of Napoleon drove the Austrians out of Lombardy and brought about the creation of the Cispadane Republic that the idea and hope of Italian independence dawned on men's minds never again to lose their hold till the time of fruition and achievement arrived. The Congress held at Modena on the 16th of October 1796 and the subsequent assembly of Reggio on the 25th of December next achieved some great things, *viz.*, the abolition of the feudal nobility, the levy of a National Army, and the constitution of the aforementioned Italian Republic; and, more than all, they produced a new enthusiasm for Italian unity in the minds of large numbers of men, for which Napoleon certainly deserves credit. It might be that there was very little of sincerity in Napoleon himself, but history must judge men by what they do, and not by what they think or feel, for men are merely instruments in the hands of Destiny, and hidden moral elements and spiritual forces are at work in determining the great movements of the world. Napoleon told the Italians on one occasion:—"I shall do everything in my power to give you proof of the great desire I have to see your liberty take root and to see this unhappy Italy, freed from the rule of the stranger, at length take its place with glory on the scene of the world, and resume, among the great nations, the rank to which nature, destiny, and its own position call it." Buonaparte behaved treacherously, indeed, in handing over Venice to Austria, but he gave a democratic constitution to the sister-Republic of Genoa. Later on the French established

the Roman Republic on the model of the French Government of the day, and the Parthenopean Republic of Naples. In both these cases there was a good deal of extortion and cruelty practised by the French or under their auspices, but new laws and representative institutions were introduced, and men's minds were excited with the hopes and enthusiasms of the new epoch of freedom, the beneficial influence which was never to be lost for the Italian cause, though Italians had again to go through many more years of suffering under foreign rule, as the statesmen who assembled at Vienna to settle the affairs of Europe on the downfall of Napoleon restored the supremacy of Austria in Italy. A recent writer says of Austrian rule:—"Her rule was not only despotic, but foreign, and even more alien to Italians than the rule of France." This is said of her direct rule in Venetia and Lombardy. But in all the lesser Italian Courts where her will was accepted as law, Austria inflexibly supported absolutism. And what was the result? Prince Metternich, the Austrian Prime Minister, and the staunchest modern apostle of absolutism, instituted inquiries into the condition of the several Italian kingdoms and stated the results yielded by them as follows:—"That the discontent is universal. That, if this discontent were a natural consequence of the sufferings engendered by the last unfavourable years and of the political changes which have taken place since 1814 and 1815, it must also be ascribed to the bad administration of the Governments. That, in Italy, especially in its Southern regions, and in Bologna and Genoa, there is undoubtedly a great ferment in the minds of the populations supported by the different sects, the tendency to which is without doubt dangerous." Thus we see that political discontent and the uprising of national sentiment is directly due to, and authoritatively accepted as caused by, the reaction created in the popular mind by oppressive foreign influences. Truly has it been said of Austria that "she forgot that by giving Italy an unity of misery she was preparing the way for another unity. Common hatred engendered common love; common sufferings led on to a common effort." As regards Greece, there is scarcely any need to describe the oppressiveness of Moslem rule, as the world knows that Islam and tyranny are synonymous words. Throughout Greece, Turks could commit with perfect impunity murder, arson, robbery, rape, in fact, every offence known to the criminal law, and if at all any Greek dared to complain, he was only the worse for his temerity. The

Turkish Kadi invariably let off the offender, only to make the latter even more remorselessly vindictive, insolent and cruel than ever before. Then we have the unlimited exactions of the Ottoman taxgatherer. The poll-tax was levied on the Greeks alone. Until the land-tax could be levied—and it was allowed to be levied at the pleasure of the revenue official—no harvest could be reaped, and necessarily this arrangement led to any amount of exaction and oppression being practised upon the people, no appeals being heard or even allowed against an official. The Greeks were no doubt a degenerate people, but they were not patient Asiatics, and it is no wonder that, after long and patiently enduring the licensed and unlicensed tortures of Turkish tyranny, they developed those habits, dispositions and ties which make for union among the fallen and down-trodden of every European race and clime, and soon began their memorable struggle for independence against their foreign foe and oppressor.

In Hungary resistance to Austrian tyranny inspired a real national movement among the Magyars which was to have so chequered a history and influence so strangely the future fortunes of that people. Joseph II. who succeeded his mother Maria Theresa in 1780 was reluctant to govern Hungary in accordance with the ancient law and custom of its constitution and so refused to be crowned. The illegal and unconstitutional acts of his reign led to bitter struggles between him and his Hungarian subjects and awakened and advanced among them the idea of nationality. He refused to call the Diet, made German the official language of the country, introduced a high protective tariff which seriously damaged the prosperity of the people, suppressed the freedom of the press and in various ways incurred popular odium so that, when the news of the French Revolution and the Belgian revolt spread over the land, Hungarians felt encouraged to assume an attitude of courageous defiance towards him everywhere. At last Joseph repented and abolished all his illegal and unpopular edicts and resolved to convoke the Hungarian Diet. But it was all too late. He died before the meeting of the Diet, and his reign had only had the effect of rousing the Hungarians from their apathy, though so far the national movement had only resulted in bringing power to the reactionary Hungarian nobility and little was done in the way of introducing democratic reforms. Francis I. did not for a moment dream of anything like liberal legislation, and the rebellion of Martinovics

only resulted in bringing in a reactionary and repressive *regime* whose evils were only intensified during the epoch of reaction which set in throughout Europe after 1815. At last, Francis's unconstitutional and unauthorised levy of 35,000 recruits for the army at his sole initiative and without the sanction of the Diet proved the proverbial last straw; and so great was the commotion that the King was forced to summon the Diet in 1825, and thenceforward a new era of modern progress dawned on Hungary.

II.

The birth of the sentiment of nationality as above explained, is not to be understood as necessarily meaning, or as immediately leading to, the actual birth of a nation. Sentiment, no doubt, is a powerful motive force for leading the human will along the path of active progress. But in order that practical steps may be taken in the direction of social and political reform sentiment requires to be helped in various ways. It is the characteristic of weakness to mistake the mere effervescence of sentiment for the achievement of practical aims, and we are apt to forget that the ebullition of sentiment in its various well-known forms often retards fruitful activity. So then we have to study what lessons are taught us by the history of the national movement as to the means and methods by which national sentiment, when it has taken birth among European peoples, has been enabled to take practical shape.

And first, we find that everywhere it has been preceded by the growth of material prosperity. Where grinding poverty prevails, how can we expect a people to have the leisure or the spirit needed for realising acutely the ignominy of political degradation, and still more for achieving political deliverance by exploits of heroic gallantry and self-abnegation. The acquisition and growth of national wealth has sometimes taken place as the result of favourable accidents, but it has also often been greatly advanced by the forethought and efforts of great men feeling intensely the national degradation of their kith and kin and sleeplessly endeavouring to improve their economic well-being. The history of the progress of the modern national movement in Europe brings into relief this fruitful lesson—one that can never be too frequently meditated upon or laid to heart—that economic and material prosperity must precede the achievement of political advancement. This truth is enshrined in the popular wisdom that “money is the sinews of war,” but over and over again we are liable to be carried away by the insinuating sophistry of the

sentimental moralist when he teaches from the abundance of his own speculative imagination that all that is wanted for the political elevation of human society is the love of freedom. But history teaches that even freedom-loving men cannot long be kept together unless they can be guaranteed the means of livelihood for themselves and those that are near and dear to them, that a starving stomach is not the condition most favourable to the maintenance of the spirit of patriotic fervour, and, moreover, even when we have men of fiery zeal and food for their mouths, we have to supply them with the implements and materials of warfare and various kinds of convenience which are needed for the efficient employment of military forces of all kinds. In Greece, after the Venetians were finally expelled from the Morea in 1718 and thereby lost their commercial supremacy in the Eastern Mediterranean there ensued a period of comparative calm, during which the Greeks were able to find ample scope for their natural aptitude for the coasting trade in the Aegean and the Black Sea and many Greek shipowners became rich in consequence. Also, the Treaty of Kainardji conferred upon Russia the commercial privileges of “the most favoured nation” and opened the Black Sea to Russian ships of commerce. It also contained clauses binding the Sultan to observe certain rules in his treatment of the Greek islanders and his Christian subjects of the Danubian provinces generally. The world knows that Russians are the most wily and wicked of diplomatists, and these were able successfully to make use of these clauses to obtain the right of interfering in favour of the Christian subjects of the Sultan generally. The commercial clauses of the Treaty were used so as to permit Greek shipowners to hoist the Russian flag, and thus an enormous impulse was given to Greek commerce. Another war between Russia and Turkey gave Russia the district of Oczakoff on the northern shore of the Black Sea, and thus enabled the Greeks to monopolise the profits of the export trade in corn in South Russia. The Greek merchants were in fact the founders of the Commercial prosperity of Odessa, and in a few years many Greek firms rivalled those of London in their resources and profits. During the revolutionary war, the Greeks profited by the neutrality of Turkey or its alliance with England and secured all the profits of the Mediterranean trade that were lost to France and its dependencies. Not only Odessa and Salonica but even such purely Hellenic communities as Psara, Spetza, &c., prospered, and the develop-

ment of the Greek mercantile marine went on unchecked,—that armed merchant-navy of hundreds of vessels which was one day to be more than a match for the Turkish men-of-war and to drive away the Turkish merchantmen from the waters of the *Ægean*.—While the Greeks were favoured by circumstances in this rise to opulence and prosperity, we find elsewhere that the unselfish and patriotic endeavours of individuals proved a fruitful source of inspiration and guidance to their fellow-countrymen. In Italy we find the career of Count Cavour is highly interesting and instructive in this connection. Though as anxious as anybody else to serve his country, he did not like to join in the conspiracies and agitations by which his countrymen, under the guidance of the *Carbonari* and young Italy, were distracted, and he had in consequence to undergo many undeserved sufferings and trials. He was early convinced that irregular bands of conspirators and agitators could effect nothing against the regular government and disciplined forces of the Austrian rulers of Italy and that the revolts of his countrymen only augmented the irritation and oppression of their rulers. He resolved therefore to wait for his own opportunity and to serve his country in the ways he considered the most proper and the most effective, but meanwhile he did not remain idle. He was a keen and interested student of foreign politics, especially of politics in France and in England, and this was one day to serve him well and to advance his country's interests, as we shall see. He also skilfully promoted the material interests of his country. He obtained a complete mastery of the theory and practice of agriculture, introduced vast improvements on his family estates, and in 1848 he helped in founding the Agricultural Society of Piedmont. He also took a leading part in the application of steam for objects of material improvement, in establishing steamers on Lake Maggiore, in the erection of steam mills and chemical works, in the furtherance of schemes of railway construction, and in founding the Bank of Turin. All this Cavour did, because he was convinced that material prosperity constituted the basis of all national improvement and the best possible means of introducing it, and that no amount of revolutionary fanaticism, however restless or sincere, could be effective for any purpose of substantial national improvement.—What Count Cavour was to Italy, that Count Szechenyi was to Hungary. He laboured incessantly and enthusiastically to improve the industries and commerce of his country. He had to

contend with opposition of every kind, but his iron will enabled him to pursue his own aims and to carry out all the schemes on which he had set his heart. He introduced horse-racing into the country, not as a pastime for gentlemen of means and leisure, but with the object of developing horse-breeding, and in furtherance of this object he founded a National Breeding Association. He started and successfully completed an organisation for building a bridge across the Danube connecting Pesth and Buda and for constructing a tunnel under the castled mountain of Buda. He conducted for years the work of regulating the Danube. He aided in the establishment of the Danube Steam Navigation Company which to this day has hundreds of ships engaged in the local and export trade. He also successfully carried on the work of regulating the Theiss, and this has resulted in the reclaiming of a marshy territory containing 150 miles and turning it into a rich and fertile soil. He was also engaged in various schemes for constructing railways and for the promotion of commerce and industry. The success he thus obtained as a practical reformer, in matters of economic and industrial importance to his country was the necessary prelude to the patriotic endeavours and activities of Kossuth, Deak and others later on.—In Germany, too, we find the career of Stein teaching us the same lesson. By the Edict of Emancipation of 1807 Stein extinguished personal servitude and the system of entail in land and substituted the free disposition of labour and property. He also carried out a scheme of municipal reform. By these measures he laid the foundation of the subsequent political elevation of Prussia and enabled her statesmen half a century later to achieve the triumph of German consolidation and unity. We need not multiply further illustrations, and the history of every national movement in modern Europe can be shown to enforce the same lesson.

III

That the masses of the people have to be moved so as to follow the lead and share the enthusiasm of those who feel the call to undertake their deliverance from political bondage and the uplifting of them into the light and life of national freedom is a truism which does not need to be enforced at length. Where the masses are apathetic in the common cause, all the energy and all the fervour of the enlightened few cannot avail for any purpose of practical achievement and the latter have been very appropriately compared to the arithmetical figures which have a value

of their own but a value which is not of much significance unless they are followed by the ciphers and which increases tenfold with the addition of every cipher after them. In practical politics the masses of the people are the ciphers who have to be made to follow the great leaders who have the knowledge and the will to undertake the cause of political and national emancipation, and this has in every instance been the result of the creation or improvement of a vernacular language and literature. No civilised people have *en masse* adopted a foreign language, and every people who have had a culture of their own and who have maintained their place among the world's communities for any length of time have also had a language and literature of their own during the time they have displayed and retained their vitality. The disappearance of the people has always more or less synchronised with that of their language and literature. Of course, this does not mean that, where there are different languages prevailing among the different peoples constituting a state, some one language should not be preferred for state purposes and even taught in schools, but even here the interests of civilization require that the state should give free play to the particular languages in use among the different races or nationalities comprised in the state. The great German writer on Political philosophy, Professor Bluntschli, says in words which require to be laid to heart that "language is the most peculiar possession of a people, is the strongest bond which unites its members, and the chief means by which it reveals its character." Hence it is "a barbarous violation of rights" and "a fearful abuse of the power of government," according to Professor Bluntschli, to forcibly suppress the language of any of the races or nationalities included within its scope. And we find also as already stated, that in every case in which the spirit of nationality has worked with beneficial effect among the people of Europe in recent times, the development and enrichment of the vernacular language has been one of the chiefest devices to which the national leaders have resorted to gain the support and co-operation of their countrymen in the struggle for liberty and to inspire them with their own stern resolve not to rest till they had wiped out the stain of foreign subjection and recommenced their career as an independent international state.

In Hungary, when the Austrian government, during the first quarter of this century ignored the constitution and tyrannised

over the people, collecting by force of arms arbitrary and illegal taxes, fettering the liberty of the press, &c., the indignation of the country was stirred and everywhere the natural reaction was fostered by the rising Hungarian literature in which a new era was inaugurated by a number of eminent writers whose works kindled the national feeling and public spirit of the Hungarians and awakened in them the resolve to achieve their independence and thereby their legitimate place among the nations of Europe. In this work of fostering the national language and literature, as in the work of fostering the material interest of his countrymen, Count Szecheny stood forth as a worthy patriotic leader. When taking his seat in the Diet of 1825, he introduced a memorable innovation. Hitherto Latin had been in use as the official language of the House of Magnates, but Count Szecheny boldly broke through the established tradition and spoke in Hungarian; and although he was at first severely criticised and reprimanded, he had soon many imitators, and in truth his bold and manly bearing on this occasion largely contributed to the subsequent rapid development of the Hungarian language. Soon after, Szecheny at a session of the Lower House and with the support of many of his influential countrymen in it, inaugurated a scheme for the foundation of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences,—an institution which still flourishes and whose activity has immensely contributed to the development of the Hungarian language and the advancement of science in Hungary. Count Szecheny was a prolific writer and some of his works are reckoned among the gems of Hungarian literature, one of the best known of them being a treatise on Credit. In that work occurs a well-known passage which deserves to be carved and enshrined in the hearts of all who are animated by the patriotic or humanitarian resolve to labour for the advancement of their fellowmen: "Do not constantly trouble yourselves with the vanished glories of the past, but rather let your determined patriotism bring about the prosperity of the beloved fatherland. Many there are who think that *Hungary has been*, but for my part I like to think that *Hungary shall be*." Hungary has not been what he thought it would be, but its position is very different from, and an enormous improvement upon what it was in his time, and one of the chief instruments of its elevation and improvement was the development and enrichment of its vernacular language and literature—a field of work in

which it was his privilege to give an impetus, the influence of which is still beneficently active even though half a century has since passed away.

In Greece, to Koraes belongs the glory and the privilege of giving to the reviving nationality of his people the literature and the form of expression which "every civilised people reckons among its most cherished bonds of unity." Koraes first edited and illustrated a selection of the writings of the leading Hellenic authors whom he considered to be best suited to his countrymen in their actual condition. He also made an attempt to purify the Greek language of his time, of which the vocabulary had been barbarised under Turkish and Albanian influences. He took the best written Greek of his day as his material, and where the forms of classical Greek were not wholly obsolete, he recommended that they should be fixed in the grammar of the language; and he proposed that all foreign words should be expunged, and he replaced them by Hellenic words formed according to the natural laws of language. His plan has succeeded, and the renovated Greek language of to-day is daily approximating more and more to the forms of classical Greek and serving to unite the various sections of the Hellenic people and widen the sphere of Hellenic civilisation in the Eastern Mediterranean.

In Italy, the language and literature which reckon one of the most priceless treasures of humanity—Dante—among its glories still remained, but it had lost all its old life and spirit, and from the depths of its despair rose the dawn of a new life. Have we not often witnessed the spectacle of a trodden and bruised flower regaining its erect posture and its enrapturing bloom and charging the blissful breeze of morn with its sweet-scented treasures? So has Italy risen slowly and painfully from her degradation through long ages of political and spiritual tyranny, and we find the national literature slowly, but steadily, contributing to this progress of evolution. The dawn of national revival appears in the 18th century when Italian literature began to assimilate to the general type prevailing in European countries. As in Germany and France, so in Italy all the best intellects turned towards philosophical criticism, history, moral science and social and state economy. Vico laid the foundations of the modern European philosophy of history by enunciating and applying the principle that human society is an organism. Giannone, the jurist, started the movement which later on tended

to subject the church to the civil power. Beccaria pressed forward the reform of criminal law, and Filangieri denounced the excessive interference of governments and advocated the codification of law. Genovesi stood forth as the first to show the pressing need of Italian unity. Several men kept up the tradition of poetry, though none wrote any work of great merit. In the drama, however, many writers acquired a European renown, the greatest being Alfieri, who had also, unlike other gifted men of letters in Italy at this period, that passionate hatred of tyranny and love of freedom which was to become later on an inspiring force for popular and national emancipation in Italy. His *Misogallo*, though aimed at the French after the downfall of Napoleon, served as an effective onslaught against all sorts of foreign domination and foreign interference, whether political, intellectual or moral. The degenerate Italian people whom ages of slavery had unnerved and who had lost all faith in themselves did not fail to be healthily and nobly influenced by Alfieri's gentle reminder and remonstrance, "shall we learn liberty of the Gauls, we who taught every lofty thing to others?" All this while, however, Italy lacked writers of genius and originality, but she was enabled soon to successfully associate herself with the new enlightenment of Europe. In Italy, as elsewhere, the new movement was foreign, and it was forced upon her by one who not only went thither as an invader, but committed many unjustifiable acts of rapine. But Napoleon taught Italians the idea of national unity, and, when the idea took root and developed, they cordially welcomed revolutionary principles. In Alfieri's denunciations of tyranny and plaudits of freedom we see in Italy the germs of the revolutionary idea; but Napoleon's advent and exploits and, above all, his stirring appeals to Italian national sentiment and his proclamation and inauguration of the Cispadane and other republics had laid the foundation, and quickened the growth, of the national idea. Monti, indeed, played a base and unworthy part as a flatterer and courtier of Napoleon, but even while adulating Napoleon, he was explaining why he did not give his voice to the liberties of his country:—"It would be *vox clamantis in deserto*: besides, how can the grievances of Italy be made known? No one dares to write—scarcely to think—politics." And again:—"Italy will soon be nothing but a lifeless carcase." Monti showed that he too had a spark of patriotism in his composition, when he had the courage to remind Napoleon

that no man could be rightly praised till he was dead and to demand of him that he should deserve the praise bestowed upon him by helping to establish the independence of Italy. Again, when Austrian rule was re-established in Italy he went into voluntary exile and finally took refuge in England. Foscolo, on the other hand, was untainted by any sinister influences, clerical or despotic, and, in spite of all his follies, whims, and vehemence of passion, genuinely patriotic. Monti and Foscolo were both sceptics in religion. But no great and inspiring force for popular movement has ever come from scepticism and we find the revival of religious sentiment and spiritual purity brought to Italy by the importation of the Romantic movement from N. Europe, which is almost mediæval in its religious spirit but without any admixture of the grotesqueness or grossness attaching to religion in its mediæval form. The gentle and retiring, but truly patriotic, Manzoni is the representative of this side of the new movement in Italian literature and claimed the universal veneration of his countrymen by those splendid lyrics and dramas in which he gave expression to the deepest feelings of Italian hearts. Manzoni also refined the Italian language and formed a style equally acceptable to the lettered and unlettered among his countrymen,—a style free from all pedantic restrictions while maintaining its ancient dignity. In the wake of Foscolo and Manzoni came a generation of whom Byron has said:—“They talk Dante, write Dante, and dream Dante to an extent that would be ridiculous but that he deserves it”; and such a generation, such a people, could not but awake to the stern realities of life and develop lofty conceptions of duty and patriotism. Soon a prophet of national unity arose in Mazzini, and with his “thoughts that breathe and words that burn” he inspired his countrymen with the resolve not to rest till they had achieved their national emancipation. Gioberti was another great writer, and he did a noble service to his countrymen by turning them away from conspiracies and rebellion and teaching them the necessity of a great moral reformation. But as Mazzini erred in holding that unity was possible for Italy only under a republic, so Gioberti was bent on pursuing an impossible and unnatural ideal of unity by means of a federation of Italian States. All such crude ideas, however, vanished when there appeared in Cavour a statesman of unexampled sagacity, foresight, knowledge and resource and in Garibaldi a soldier and general of unmatched

fertility of resource and unfailing and dogged persistence of resolution. Still, the great writers of Italy, its poets, dramatists, romancists and essayists contributed largely to the increase of their countrymen's mental and emotional activity, and thus proved the destined precursor of a new life of national independence and honour. Italian music, too, revived and deluged the land with a flood of national song and so served to infuse a new spirit into the national character.

IV.

Passing on to another phase of the movement, we find that everywhere its development has been helped by the renovation of the martial spirit of the people and the effective introduction of military reforms. An unwarlike people has nowhere been a great power for good or evil among human societies. It may indeed be held that courage in war has never been a monopoly among men. All communities of men have shown aptitude for war, and after all it is no great merit, when we remember that superior militancy is an indication of an inferior social evolution. Still we must not forget the lesson taught by history that no modern community has ever been able to attain to, or maintain, its status as a nation unless it has kept up its military spirit and organisation in a state of thorough efficiency. A heroic struggle of arms has almost invariably preceded the birth of a nation, and no victory can be achieved without the acquisition of military strength by means of effective military organisation.

In France, we find that Carnot is the leading spirit of the movement for military revival. The allied foreign governments were threatening to overthrow the national government, and the military situation of France seemed most critical and almost desperate. Dumouriez' treachery had completely demoralised the army of the north; the armies of the Alps, the Rhine, the Moselle, and the Pyrenees were either starving or retreating, or threatened by the enemies; the English were threatening Brest, Cherbourg, and the coast of Brittany; in the south the Mediterranean fleet was under repair. It was at this time that the Convention bestirred itself and seized the direction of the military affairs of France and not only placed the entire male population of France between the ages of 18 and 25 at the disposal of the government and thereby turned the whole country into one great camp and arsenal of war, but also entrusted the operations of the army to Carnot, one of the members of the

Committee of Public Safety, who soon showed a genius for organisation absolutely unmatched in military annals: It was Carnot's democratic army, with its inexhaustible supply of newly-formed battalions, officered by men chosen by the recruits themselves, and led by soldiers who had served in the ranks and who had been selected by the Committee for their natural gifts, energy, experience and patriotism,—it was this new and tremendous engine of power that retrieved the cause of French nationality at a time when its fortunes were at the lowest ebb.—In Spain, there was no doubt a national rising, but the work of organising victory against the French received its inspiration from Andalusia which comprised half the disposable Spanish army with the redoubtable generals, Reding and Castanos, at its head, and thus we may say that the work of liberation was largely accomplished when these generals defeated Marshal Dupont and brought about his famous capitulation at Baylen.—In Germany, Scharnhorst proposed, and Stein accepted, a series of military reforms which resulted in giving new life to the Prussian army. These reforms provided for a regular army of 40,000 men, a reserve comprising all soldiers removed out of the regular army after a short period of service, a volunteer force for employment in internal defence, and a general arming of the entire population comprising all Russians between the ages of 17 and 44 for a species of guerilla warfare. These reforms resulted in converting the Prussian army into a school of patriotism. In Greece we have already had occasion to explain how there came to exist the armed mercantile marine which rendered yeoman's service to the national movement. Moreover the old militia of the Armatoli and the energetic organisation of the Klephts helped to maintain unimpaired the physical vigour of the Greek peasantry on the mainland. There is no need to multiply examples. It may be shown that everywhere military strength has been developed and organised before the national movement has been pushed on to victory and placed on a secure basis. It is absurd to suppose that a nation can be formed or developed or maintained without fighting capacity and forces of overwhelming strength. Throughout history, we see that even politically organised communities of considerable strength run to seed when they neglect their military strength and sea-power, and it does not require to be elaborately demonstrated that rising national ambitions among subject, renovated or newly-forming peoples can only attain to any measure of fruition by the

acquisition of military power and the readiness to pass their best and most vigorous manhood through the baptism of blood and fire. The great strategist who won the prize of German Unity has enunciated one of the fundamental axioms of European political philosophy in the following memorable sentences:—"War is a holy and divine institution; it is one of the sacred laws of the world; it keeps alive in man such great and noble sentiments as virtue and courage, and in a word it prevents them from falling into the most deadly materialism." A people's national existence is assured only when every one of the individuals composing it is ready to sink into the abyss in order that the nation may live. Given the virtue of heroic courage in war and the genius for military organisation, we have one of the most essential requisites for making a living nation. If a people disregard these, they may be great in art, science, literature or spiritual power, but political pre-eminence may not be their portion on earth, and there is no use whatever in rending the air with passionate lamentations against the lovelessness of the human heart or with senseless and piteous appeals to a charity that does not fail to make itself conspicuous by its absence among men when vested interests are imperilled and worldly prestige is at stake.

V.

Another lesson taught by the history of the national movement in Europe is that foreign help has in every case been found necessary in more or less extent for its successful prosecution. Where an alien rule has been established, it is not easy to disestablish it, even though it may press on the subject populations with the weight of an intolerable burden. It often happens that subject populations do not possess political capacity; and, even where this is not wanting, a people may not feel the impulse, and therefore does not possess the right, to found and maintain an independent national state. But when this need is felt and the mission is recognised, the ruling race is not willing to abdicate its power. It is not in ordinary human nature voluntarily to renounce advantages of any kind, and more especially the advantages of sovereign power which is the greatest and most valuable of all earthly possessions and the end for which knowledge, wealth, character and all else is sought here. A struggle then becomes inevitable, and in no case that we know of has a national state been founded without a struggle. But in all such struggles, the present possessors of power must necessarily

have the advantage in every respect. If the machinery of law and justice, the revenue resources of the state, the services of the loyal, peaceful and industrial sections of the subject population are all at the disposal of alien rulers, the national struggle has to be fought under exceptional disadvantages as to military and financial resources and has been won only when foreign rule has fallen into a state of extreme corruption and decay and exists more by habit than by the willing acquiescence of the subject people, and then even the slightest pressure of rebellion or attack is enough to pull down the machinery of the state, as in the case of Garibaldi's attack on the Sicilian and Neapolitan governments. But where the subject populations or portions of them have a political machinery of some kind, as in most of the cases we are now studying, military and financial resources of some kind and extent do exist, but they are so inadequate that any attempt at achieving national independence can always be easily overthrown by the superior forces of the supreme power, and the condition of the subordinate state is, after every such effort, rendered worse than previously by the imposition of fresh restraints and disabilities, calculated to repress or render futile the promptings of future ambition. In all these cases, we find that subject states and peoples have had recourse to foreign help and undergone sacrifices of various kinds in order to secure such help. Let us first take the case of Italy. Napoleon III., having as a youth been a member of the Secret Society of the Carbonari had a genuine sympathy with the national cause, but he would not have assisted the Italians by arms against Austria if he had not been seized with the desire to regain Savoy for France. Savoy had formed part of France between 1792 and 1815, and the Savoyards were more French than Italian in feeling and even in language, and Napoleon's heart was set on its acquisition. Napoleon was also anxious to negotiate a marriage which would ally him with one of the oldest families in Europe. Count Cavour in an interview with the French Emperor at Plombieres proposed to satisfy him in both points and gained his adhesion to the cause of Italian national unity and freedom. To Victor Emmanuel the sacrifice of his ancient family principality of Savoy was a painful one to make, but it was still more painful to him to consent to the giving away of his daughter's hand to an odious character like Prince Napoleon, the French Emperor's cousin, and he made the sacrifice only when the Princess Clotilde, on hearing of the proposal, cheerfully accepted it,

saying :—"This marriage will be useful to my family and country, and I accept." Moreover, Count Cavour, during the Crimean war, with the firm and cordial support of his sovereign, had joined France and England unsolicited in the Crimean war, and his Italian contingent had covered itself with glory by its gallant conduct in the battle of Techernaya. Cavour's policy was condemned as insane at the time, but it enabled Cavour to bring forward the political condition of Italy for examination at a special meeting of the Congress of Paris in 1856, and in fact we may say that it was on that occasion that Cavour won the cause of Italian unity and freedom. In Germany, we find that in 1866 Prince Bismarck had fully in mind the recollection of Napoleon's transactions with Cavour when he carried on his own negotiations with him at Biarritz and hoodwinked the French Emperor by all sorts of promises into permitting him to secure the active alliance of Italy and his own neutrality in the war which he had projected against Austria for the acquisition of Holstein and Schleswig. Then, as to Greece, all Europe sympathised with her cause, and societies were freely formed in England, France, Germany and elsewhere to assist the Greeks with arms, stores, and money; and when her actual struggle for independence against Turkey commenced, the governments of England, France and Russia jointly intervened on her behalf with their forces and gained for her her long and vainly-sought freedom by the Treaty of Adrianople. Finally, the cause of Spain against Napoleon was championed by England, as is well known to every student of English history.

At the same time, we find that where no foreign aid is forthcoming and a foreign state gives its support to the existing alien ruler, the cause of national freedom and independence is, as it must be, necessarily lost. In the Hungarian national struggle of 1848-9, the victories of Kossuth, Gorgei, Klapka, Bem, and others had resulted in driving the Austrians out of Hungary, and the Hungarian Diet, at the instance of Kossuth, had, at one point of the struggle, been even encouraged to proclaim Hungary as an independent state. But when the Russian Emperor's offer of help was accepted by Francis Joseph and one formidable army of 80,000 Russians marched across Galicia and other Russian divisions entered Transylvania the Hungarians found themselves opposed by forces of overwhelming strength, all was soon lost, and with the surrender of Gorgei to the Russian general at Vilagos the cause of Hungarian independence was lost, though later

on Austria's disaster on the battle-field of Koniggratz led Francis Joseph to seek a reconciliation with his Hungarian subjects on the basis of the existing Dual Monarchy.

VI.

In our review of the conditions under which Nation-states have been forged and hammered into existence, in Modern Europe, we have seen that work of a multifarious character has to be done. A community has to be made to advance harmoniously along several different lines of activity, intellectual, economic, military, &c.; and not only concerted action is indispensable, but leaders are wanted who can accomplish all such work so as to secure to their community a place of honor and importance among the powers of the world. Every community must have its prophets and teachers, its statesmen and its soldiers, and also enlightened men in authority and with power to co-ordinate the activities of the leaders in the several departments of social life so as to produce, or maintain in efficiency, the organised nation-state. To be leaders of men, to shine forth as the lights of your community, to be able to inspire your fellow-men to activities along the lines of work on which you have set your heart as the most desirable for them in their present evolution, to make them implicitly and trustfully follow your guidance,—that is no doubt the proudest lot of man on earth and elevates one almost to a celestial eminence even during one's life here below. No reason can be given why such men appear at particular epochs of a nation's history and at no others, and there is no known means or machinery for producing them to order. All that we can say is that with the hour always come the men who are needed, that when the times are ripe great leaders of men are born who guide their race onwards and upwards nearer their destined goal. If it is not possible for us to ascertain by what experimental processes we can produce great leaders of men whenever we would like, to have them, we can at least observe and analyse the characteristics of the men to whom it has been given to do great things for humanity by way of illuminating their minds, inspiring their consciences, or enriching them with an ample endowment of the means and materials which are needed for the enjoyment of plenty and peace on earth. These characteristics may be summed up in two words,—culture and character. What, is culture? Various definitions have been given, but it will be well, instead

of indulging in vague generalities, to seek out the visible marks by which we can distinguish the man of real culture from him who has none, or is merely a simulacrum. To be able to understand one's epoch, to believe in progress, and to be always ready manfully to bear one's own part in active life,—that is real culture. And then as to character, it may be summed up as consisting in independence of all sinister influences and in honest, unwavering enthusiasm for all that makes for progress in freedom and peace.

K. SUNDARARAMAN.

FINANCIAL MACHINERY OF INDIA.

THE recent Royal Commission on the administration of the expenditure of India divided their inquiry into three sections: (1), The Financial Machinery of the Government of India; (2), The Progress of Expenditure during recent years; and (3), The Apportionment of Expenditure between India and the United Kingdom. It is in regard to the last branch of their inquiry that the Commission have made a few unimportant suggestions, while in regard to the other two branches, the conclusions of the Commission are virtually a flattering testimonial to the Government of India. In regard to the Financial Machinery, the Commission consider it to be "well organized" and "its action effectively controlled." The controlling power of the Financial Member of Council in India is, theoretically complete, and as regards his power in practice, a good deal must depend on his personality. Sir David Barbour and Sir Auckland Colvin, two of the more recent ex-Financial Members of the Government of India, who gave very valuable evidence before the Commission, were of opinion that more attention should be given by the Members of Council to general financial considerations, but the Commission have accepted the evidence of Lord Northbrook, Lord Ripon, Lord Lansdowne, and Lord Cromer, that "Members of Council fully recognize their collective responsibility in financial questions." The Commission recognize the power of the Viceroy as the predominant factor in Indian administration. If he should not give sufficient weight to financial considerations, the Commission observe, a check can only be found in the Secretary of State in England. The important question of the relation between the Financial Member of the Government of India and the Secretary of State in Council was considered by the Commission, who approve of the suggestion made by Lord Cromer that "the Financial Member (in common with other Members of Council) should be at liberty, if he wishes it, to state his opinion, in a confidential memorandum, which should not be published without his consent, but should be forwarded through the Viceroy to the Secretary of State. The Commission had their attention drawn to the fact

that two out of the seven members who, including the Commander-in-Chief, constitute the Council of the Governor-General, are military men, and it was contended by Sir David Barbour and Sir Auckland Colvin that the military element had in consequence a somewhat disproportionate weight in the Council. It was argued on the other side that the Military Member of Council is rather a check on, than an ally of the Commander-in-Chief. Lord Lytton was of opinion that the Commander-in-Chief should not be a Member of Council and Sir Ashley Eden's commission on Army organization in India made a recommendation to this effect. But Lord Welby and his colleagues express no opinion on this point as they do not consider that it falls within their order of reference.

Of the numerous witnesses of great weight that were examined by the commission, Sir David Barbour and Sir Auckland Colvin had the most recent experience of the working of the financial machinery of India, and it is evident that their opinions made a deep impression on the Commission. A reference to their evidence in some detail, will not be without interest to the readers of the *Madras Review*. It is with the Military Department that the Finance Department comes most often into conflict. The Military Department is a very strong department in India; and has the control of a great deal of expenditure. The Viceroy is of course the chief and the pivot of Government. His power is very great. If, as Sir David Barbour says, "the Viceroy supports the Military Department, the Military Department is the strongest; and whether great attention is paid to financial considerations or not, depends entirely—almost entirely—on the Governor-General for the time being. If he is favourable to economy, the Government is economical; if he is inclined to be, not extravagant, but liberal, we will say—the Government is liberal." Unlike other departments, the Military Department has the special advantage of having two representatives in the Council, the Commander-in-Chief and the Military Member. In theory, the Military Member is supposed to exercise a check on the expenditure of the Commander-in-Chief, which is enormous, but practically they often vote together, and the original intention of the arrangement is not fulfilled. The Military Member of the Council is a military officer, though he is not bound to be so by the law. When Lord Welby asked Sir David Barbour whether the Military Mem-

ber could not be a civilian, Sir David Barbour replied, he could not be. What circumstances in the Government of the country render the incumbency of a military man necessary, it is difficult to see, more especially when it is remembered that, in England, Her Majesty's ministers at the head of the army and navy are civilians. If the Military Member of the Council is there as a check on the Commander-in-Chief rather than as his supporter, a civilian with the help of military subordinates should be quite able to exercise this function and will have besides the great advantage of being free from the usual military bias. Even if the Viceroy should lean too much towards the Military side, the minister for war or the Military Member might join the Finance Minister whose hands may thus be occasionally strengthened.

The Viceroy naturally exercises a dominant influence in the Council. In the Indian Cabinet, he is the Prime-Minister, only the Indian Prime-Minister is secure against the searching influence of an open and effective criticism in Parliament. The decision of the British Prime-Minister, is originally the outcome of a discussion among the members of the Cabinet, and then it takes the form of a vote in Parliament. His measures are thus subject to the direct criticism of Parliament, more especially of the House of Commons—a great advantage from the public point of view, which is absent in India. On the other hand, the decisions of the Viceroy and his Council are entirely secret, the public having no means of knowing anything about them until they take effect in action, when, in the great majority of instances, any expression of public opinion is too late. From what Sir David Barbour said before the Welby Commission, it would appear that the decisions in course of formation in the Military are unknown to the responsible head of the Finance Department, and when he comes to know of them, he finds it too late to raise his voice in behalf of economy.

Everybody knows that during the last twenty years scores of money have been spent on frontier wars—small and great. Although a petty punitive expedition may not in itself cost very much, still, the collective effect of a number of such expeditions undertaken in the same year or in successive years may produce a disturbing effect on the financial equilibrium of the State. Yet, the Finance Member is not in a position to raise his voice in time to avert such an effect. Of course, before an expedition is actually undertaken, the question is discussed by the whole

Council, but, as Sir David Barbour said, "the proceedings that led up to that expedition or made that expedition necessary, might not have come before the Financial Member in Council." When a proposal to have an expedition comes before the Council and the Financial Member, the Viceroy has generally made up his mind about it. He is in charge of the Foreign Department, and matters may have got into such a position that the expedition may be unavoidable, or, at any rate, the Viceroy may have made up his mind on the subject. The Viceroy's influence being very great, it is easy for him to carry out his decision when he once makes up his mind. And then, if the Viceroy happens to be a statesman of Lord Elgin's Stamp, diffident of his own judgment and ready to place implicit reliance on the judgment of departmental chiefs, or the so-called "experts," or if he is fired by the ambition of territorial acquisition, or adding fresh "spheres of influence" on the frontier, and has allowed himself to be captured by the Military clique, the Finance Minister has no chance of securing attention to the claims of economy in expenditure. Nor is it of much avail that he can express his dissent from the decision of the council.

"It is only rarely that he records a minute of dissent, for the simple reason that he has no surety whatever that his dissent will influence the Secretary of State's decision. To save his own reputation, he is content with having it said in the despatch that the Finance Member does not concur in the decision. He might be of opinion that things looked rather threatening financially and yet he could not easily indicate his views to the Secretary of State and the India Office; he has got nothing but the formal despatches before him. There is a want of touch between the authorities in England and the Financial Member of Council. The Viceroy, of course, corresponds confidentially with the authorities in this country (England), and I cannot say that I would recommend that the Financial Member of Council should correspond with the Secretary of State, as it were, getting behind the Viceroy. I think it is very necessary to maintain the authority of the Viceroy, but there is that difficulty, there is want of close touch between the Financial Department in India and the controlling financial authorities in this country."

These opinions expressed by Sir David Barbour were supported by his predecessor in the office of Indian Finance Minister, Sir Auckland Colvin. He agreed mainly in Sir David Barbour's criticism, "that in a country like India, where deficits are

more dangerous than they would be here; the Government, as a whole, does not give sufficient attention to what may be the financial results of measures which they bring forward," and added that in a country where the tax-payer is an alien, and is not able to make his voice directly heard, the need of giving close attention to economy in administration is greater than it would otherwise be. "I think," said Sir Auckland Colvin, "that since the events of 1885 and the establishment of Russian power in Central Asia, the balance of influence between the Financial Member of Council and the other Members of Council,—more especially, I should say the Military Members,—chiefly the Military Members—has been radically disturbed by the very great preponderance given to Military considerations in consequence of the apprehensions raised in the minds of British officials in India." In Sir Auckland's as well as Sir David Barbour's opinion, the tendency of the Government of India, at present, is rather towards weakening the position of the Finance Minister, than strengthening it. Sir Auckland holds that with all the advantages of the scheme of financial decentralization since Lord Mayo's time, one effect of that scheme has been to weaken the Financial Member's power a good deal indirectly "by throwing the balance of the Viceroy's interest into a class of questions in which he has more direct concern and over which he has now exclusive direct control such as the Public Works, Military, and foreign matters." The Provincial Governments, since the decentralization scheme was introduced and elaborated, have taken the internal administration of India, from off the shoulders of the Council and of the Viceroy as representing the Government, in a degree which before was never dreamed of. The result is that the internal affairs of India occupy less the attention of the Viceroy than the external, which are costly."

The position of the Viceroy in the Executive Council explains the growing tendency of the Government of India towards excessive expenditure. His influence and power are very great, and he generally puts himself in charge of the Foreign Department. This costly department receives his patronage while the real internal administration of the country on which the prosperity and contentment of the people depend is neglected. He alone can strengthen the hands of the Finance Minister, and he does not. Cannot, then, the position of the Viceroy in the Executive Council be altered? He is the President of

the Council, and with the functions of that position he might be content. As President, he will exercise wholesome and judicial control over all the departments. His position should be such as will give him no interest in the expansion or the extraordinary activity of any particular department. The analogy with the British Cabinet in which the Prime Minister is the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or the Secretary for Foreign affairs, does not apply to India, where the decision of the Viceroy is not subject to the criticism of a large representative assembly like Parliament. If the Viceroy were detached from any particular department, he would think more of the interests of the country as a whole, which means the internal administration, and would think less of wars and annexations. More than one Viceroy has laid down his office with deep regret for his failure to give effect to his ambition to initiate measures of internal reform. Lord Dufferin regretted that he had been unable to do anything in the direction of establishing a well considered scheme of technical education. The record of Lord Lansdowne's Viceroyalty is blank in this direction, unless we reckon his currency legislation of 1893 as a measure of internal reform. As for Lord Elgin, frontier wars and famine took up nearly the whole of his time, and he publicly expressed his regret that he was unable to do what he had hoped to be able to do for the material improvement of the people. Lord Elgin had intended to consider the question of agricultural indebtedness, and all that he was able to do was to leave to his successor the legacy of a small palliative measure in the shape of an amendment of the Indian Contracts Act whereby the agricultural debtor can seek in the courts of justice redress against the cunning greed of the money-lender. Only the Indian official mind can imagine that the colossal evil of the poverty and indebtedness of the agricultural classes constituting from 80 to 90 per cent. of the population can be remedied by this feeble palliative. In accordance with the recommendation of the Famine Commission of 1880, Lord Ripon revived the agricultural department of the Government of India with the objects that were stated to be "in fine, agricultural inquiry, agricultural improvement, and famine relief." With the exception of the last, these objects, have, up to the moment, remained unfulfilled. Nothing has come of Dr. Voelker's report, of the numerous Conferences, Committees, and Resolutions, and of all the noise that Sir Edward Buck,

C. S. I., made. The country, by the way, has heard nothing of his successor. These and a score of other questions have had to be neglected, because the Viceroy's work has for some years lain in the Foreign department and his attention has been chiefly engrossed by Military enterprises, and the extension of Railways. The Supreme Government is not in touch with the local Governments, more especially those that are farther from the seat of the central Government, and questions involving the real prosperity and contentment of the people are either not considered or put off from year to year in favour of more influential interests in the Government. This is a great evil, of which one remedy will be to place the Viceroy in a position which will enable him to take a general and judicial survey of the needs of the empire from time to time.

The suggestion that the Viceroy should be merely the President of the Executive Council, and should not be entrusted with the charge of any particular department, was made before the Welby Commission by the Indian witnesses, and has received support from an unexpected quarter. The *Madras Mail* is a typical Anglo-Indian journal, and like many other Anglo-Indian journals it is convinced of the disastrous consequences of the forward policy and of the paramount necessity of finding some effective and self-working method of keeping it under check. In inquiring whether this can be done, this journal concludes that a change in the constitution of the Government of India's Executive Council will best secure this object. It is pointed out that the original object of two members of this Council being Military men, namely, that the Military member will moderate the ardour of the Commander-in-Chief by exhibiting tabulations of the cost, has not been fulfilled. On the other hand, as this journal points out, "the two find it much more profitable to hunt in couples" than fight each other, and there are two voices in the Council to start with for anything that involves gunpowder and glory." Nor does the Viceroy supply this much-needed check. As I have said, his association with the Foreign department, which is mainly military in its composition, is not calculated to detach military influence from him. "The first essential towards a more cautious and peaceful policy on the Frontier," the *Madras Mail* writes, "is to diminish the Military element in the Council, and to dissociate the Viceroy from direct charge of the Foreign department." The first step towards the

reform should be to abolish the Military secretariat, which as at present constituted is a dilatory and expensive post between the Commander-in-Chief and the separate Military departments, (Commissariat, Ordnance, and Military works) on the one side, and the Finance department on which the burden of criticising all Military proposals from the treasury point of view lies, on the other. If all the army departments were placed under the Commander-in-Chief, and he were allowed within budget limits larger powers of initiation and sanction than he now possesses, the Finance Department, with the help of the present Military accounts establishments, and a Military officer as an extra Deputy Secretary, could furnish all the financial control required." The Military Member might be replaced by a member in charge of Foreign affairs, leaving the Viceroy in the position of a Prime Minister without a special portfolio. This would certainly allow the Viceroy to see more of the machinery with his own eyes, and to take a more balanced view of any given question than he can possibly now take.

G. SUBRAMANIA IYER.

LAND ASSESSMENT IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

FOR the last forty years and more the question of land revenue settlement in India has always been more or less before the Government; and there exist at the present day a vast mass of literature—official and non-official—which would show the uncertain and wavering policy of the government in this matter from time to time. The Indian public have within recent years paid persistent attention to the subject. The Indian National Congress, ever since its organization, has been agitating the question; and the rapidly recurring famines and the general impoverished condition of the agricultural classes throughout the country have made it the problem of the day. In the eye of the Indian people no topic is of more vital importance as bearing on the economic condition of the people and their general well-being; and when Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt gave prominence to this particular subject in his Presidential address at the Lucknow Congress, he did so from a deep conviction of the importance which the subject had assumed in the minds of the people as a guiding factor in the Indian economic problem. Mr. Dutt's able and lucid representation of the case gave a fresh impetus to the agitation of the question; and he has himself by his letters to Lord Curzon, by his writings in the English Press, and by his recent publication on "Famines and Land Settlements in India," forced the attention of statesmen in England and of the authorities in India. And it remains to be seen whether the commission of enquiry promised by the Secretary of State for India, will be directed to go into the essential issues raised by Mr. Dutt.

In the meantime the Government of India has evidently felt that Mr. Dutt's criticisms cannot be long allowed to hold the field, for it has sent forth a sort of antidote in the form of a Resolution dealing with the resettlement of a single district in the Central Provinces. The object of this Resolution is to show that, so far as the Government of India has had occasion to test Mr. Dutt's criticisms in the light of ascertained facts, those criticisms are "without any foundation of fact." Uninformed people are likely to be led to believe, in their ignorance of the relative importance of the district of Nagpur to the extensive area covered

by Mr. Dutt's criticisms and of the special features of that single district, that the facts connected with the Nagpur settlement, assuming them to be correct, are typical of the facts that may be furnished with regard to other tracts of the country and as such calculated to demolish the vast superstructure built by Mr. Dutt on the slender foundation of challengeable facts. It is therefore in the first place important to remember, that *a priori* Nagpur ought to be the most prosperous and flourishing district in the Central Provinces, because in it is situated the capital city of the Provinces with its industry and commerce, the seat of Government, the sphere of many activities and occupations and the converging point of the surplus population of the rural parts of the district. It consequently stands on a different footing from that of other districts of the Provinces. Agriculture is not the only or the main occupation of the people. The capital city draws to itself that portion of the population which is thrown out of agriculture, and provides it with other means of livelihood such as cannot be found in other districts. Hence it is impossible to treat Nagpur as a typical district for demonstrating the agricultural prosperity of the masses or to deduce conclusions from it destructive of the entire position taken up by Mr. Dutt.

Even taking Nagpur by itself the contentions of the Government of India appear to us to rest on a number of assumptions which are not admitted by the people and which cannot stand the test of facts. The first point in Mr. Dutt's letter to Lord Curzon is that in determining the rate of assessment, the limit of 50 per cent. of the landlord's assets, fixed by Lord Canning's government as the proper and equitable government revenue, was exceeded in the settlement which followed. Mr. Dutt contends that that one-half of the landlord's assets should be demanded as revenue was repeatedly laid down and insisted upon in the orders of the Government of India; but that as a matter of fact the revenue demanded was sometimes 75 per cent. of the landlord's assets, a rate which would be ruinous to the landlords of any poor and agricultural country. The Government of India does not deny this fact, but replies that "there is no inherent right on the part of the Malghazars or landholders of the Central Provinces to any fixed share of the cultivators' rents, much less to a full moiety," and quotes the authority of Sir Antony McDonnell to the effect that "the assets or rental valuation of an estate was not the actually existing rental but the prospective or

potential figure which might hereafter be reached after rents had risen in process of time and the waste had been brought under cultivation." We dare say that Mr. Dutt will have his own say with regard to this novel and curious method of calculating the landlord's assets. But except the solitary authority of Sir Antony Macdonnel, the Government has not been able to adduce a scrap of evidence justifying its contention. On the other hand it admits that such a method was neither right in principle nor fair to the cultivator when it says that the present settlement rule restricts the settlement officer to the rental valuation as it exists to-day. We are therefore disposed to think that the method of calculating the assets on the prospective or potential figure to be reached in the course of years is only a theory to which Sir Antony Macdonnel thought it proper to give the weight of his authority, and not an intelligible or equitable principle applied in actual practice. It may serve a purpose as a means of intellectual fencing, but not as a convincing or satisfactory explanation of arbitrary assessment. An argument like this can at best show that the Government is not restrained from appropriating as much as it likes out of the produce of the soil; but it does not recognise considerations of equity or the ability of the taxpayer to bear the burdens imposed upon him. Yet the latter point has the most important bearing on the issues raised by Mr. Dutt, and it is that that has found the most emphatic illustration in the successive famines that have ravaged the Central Provinces. The Government assumes that the people are well able to pay the assessment fixed and that the country has prospered under it, but the famines and the general normal condition of the people tell an entirely different tale.

Mr. Dutt has called attention to the vicious system under which the settlement officer not only fixes the land-revenue payable by the landlord, but fixes also the rents of all classes of tenants according to his own arbitrary calculation not understood either by the landlord or by the tenant. The result of such a calculation is that the rents payable by cultivators, to landlords are fixed too high and the revenue payable by landlords to Government is fixed too high. When we remember that the rent is calculated at one-half of the net profits of the soil and the net produce is ascertained by deducting from the gross produce the supposed cost of cultivation, and that the calculations about the actual cost of cultivation

can never be made with sufficient accuracy, it becomes apparent that the settlement officer working with an eye to the Government revenue cannot be particularly favourable to the cultivators. In 1860, as Mr. Dutt has pointed out, about one-third of the gross produce was deducted as the cost of cultivation and one-half of the remainder was fixed as the rent payable by cultivators to landlords. Hence virtually the rent fixed was about one-third of the gross produce. The Government of India does not justify the system, but "agrees that the fixation of rents simultaneously with revenue may in unskilful hands lead to great mistakes and that this part of a settlement in the Central Provinces demands the closest scrutiny"; and as regards excessive rent fixed under this system, the Government's answer is that "the district (Nagpur) had paid the same or a higher sum for 40 years and had prospered under it and that there was no expectation of better terms in the minds of the Revenue-payers who, on the contrary, considered the settlement extremely favourable to them." It is an important point gained when the Government of India admits the possibility of "GREAT MISTAKES" being made in rental valuation under the prevailing system in the Central Provinces, a possibility which can be prevented only by extreme care and skill on the part of the settlement-officers. Mr. Dutt contends that great evil has resulted from this system; the Government admits the evil, but argues that it has not affected the Nagpur district which, as we have pointed out above, forms but a small part of the wide area covered by Mr. Dutt's criticisms and which presents exceptional features of prosperity and well-being. But even in regard to such a district it is only an assumption that it has not been affected by the evil, and even if this assumption is well founded it is too much to assume that the result of the settlement work in the Nagpur district is a correct reflex of what has been done in other districts or that to the extent to which the settlement of Nagpur has refuted the conclusions and criticisms of Mr. Dutt it has refuted them as regards other parts of the Central Provinces.

Positive evidence was adduced by the Hon'ble B. K. Bose in the Supreme Legislative Council, on the occasion of the last Budget Debate, to show how depressive have been the effects of the Revenue settlement over large tracts of the country in the Central Provinces. We do not know whether Mr. Bose particularly included Nagpur in his criticism of the Central Provinces Land

Revenue settlement. But speaking of the condition of the Provinces as a whole he contended that, in view to the economic condition of the people, a change was called for in the principles which had hitherto regulated the resettlement of the Land Revenue demand; and he also pointed out that in some tracts affected by famine, where the payment of enlarged demand had almost become an impossibility, a change in the shape of an abatement had already been introduced and that liberal remissions had also been given. But he contended that something more than makeshifts such as temporary remissions or reductions was needed in the best interests of the country. It is most important to note that, in making these remarks, he had at his back the testimony of several responsible officers of Government as recorded in the Revenue Reports for 1897-98. The Commissioner of Jubbalpore writes: "the Revenue management of certain tracts will require careful handling; in the Khurai Tehsil and in the open country of the Domah district, very liberal general remissions will be required this year and a resettlement will be necessary as soon as there are signs of an upward turn. The abatements granted last year have proved inadequate." Regarding Hoshungabad district which, according to Mr. Bose, was once thought to be one of the richest in the Province, the Deputy Commissioner records that the tenants owe heavy arrears and large sums on account of *takavi* in addition to their ordinary debts, and a considerable area of land has become overgrown with "kans," grass which it is difficult and expensive to extirpate; and he concludes that "the district is bankrupt and requires at least two good crops to become solvent." The Deputy Commissioner of Balaghat says that a large percentage of tenants and Malguzars are heavily in debt and that it is greatly to be regretted that a few years could not have been given to the district before the imposition of the new settlement to give time to the people to recover themselves and to prevent the transfer of Malguzari rights to the money-lending classes. This, we believe, is conclusive of the fact that the new settlement is greatly responsible for the poverty and debt to which the landholders have been reduced; and consistently with the policy reflected in the Punjab Land Alienation Act, the Government ought to have seen that its own sole settlement policy did not necessitate the transfer of lands from the Malguzars to the money lenders. Again the Deputy Commissioner of Bilaspur points out that it will require at least

two or three good harvests, perhaps more, before normal conditions would be restored. And the Famine Report of the Central Provinces concludes as follows: "But the ground lost during the last four years will not all be recovered in a season or two. It is a popular saying among cultivators that three good years are necessary to make up for one bad year. The saying may be tinged by the over-despondent tone which the farmer in all parts of the world uses in speaking of the prospects of his agriculture; but it is not unlikely that three years may pass before the Province throws off the last signs of the greatest famine of the century." All this, as Mr. Bose observed in the Legislative Council, was said in 1898, but since then the country has been smitten with the full force of an even greater famine; and yet we are told that in the Bhandara district the new assessments just completed are to be brought into force next year and that proceedings with a view to a second new settlement are also in progress in Bilaspur and Raipur, although they were both newly assessed only about 10 years ago and they were very hard hit during the last famine. These are not facts which will induce one to believe with the Government of India that there is nothing wrong with the settlement in the Central Provinces; and they entirely negative the fine optimism which forms the warp and woof of the Government Resolution.

As regards the settlement which has been effected in the Central Provinces Mr. Dutt says that he has made careful inquiry and has obtained his facts from the best sources of information available to him, and the result is thus stated by him:—"My information is that the rents now fixed can with difficulty be paid even in years of good harvest, that they leave no fair margin for saving for bad years and that they can never be realised by Malguzars from year to year. Large tracts of the country which were previously under cultivation have gone out of cultivation owing to over-assessment; and instances have occurred in which Malguzars have applied to surrender their estates in order to be relieved of their liability to pay a Government revenue which they cannot pay and their applications have not been granted." These allegations have not been refuted by the Government of India except to the extent of stating that so far as the Nagpur district is concerned everything has been right and that no evil consequences have followed. No inquiry has been made into these allegations, and as for the want of

staying-power of the people, it has been most painfully demonstrated by the late and the present famine. The condition of the peasantry under the stress of the famine is a most striking refutation of the assumptions which the Government of India has made to do duty for arguments. Is it a fact that large tracts of country have been thrown out of cultivation owing to the heaviness of assessments? Is it true that Malguzars have applied to surrender their estates owing to their inability to pay the Government revenue and that their applications have not been granted? It is the duty of the Government of India to furnish an answer to these simple questions, for, if these allegations are true, they constitute a state of things which it is impossible to justify even though the effect of the settlement in the Nagpur district has been what the Government of India tells us it is.

Everybody knows that no settlement is undertaken without the idea of enhancing the assessment, and everybody knows also by what method this enhancement is effected in practice. Mr. Dutt calls special attention to the practice of classifying soils which is done in a very arbitrary manner. We cannot here go in detail into the method of classification adopted in the Central Provinces; but it is significant that the Government of India admits "that by no device can soils be so accurately compared and arranged in proportionate order of merit as invariably to lead to a correct arithmetical result or to obviate the necessity for the use of judgment and personal observation by the settlement officer or to free him from the obligation of placing his rental valuation in an intelligible form before the persons whom they affect and of giving a patient hearing to the objections which they urge." This we regard merely as a counsel of perfection so far as the settlement department is concerned; for the settlement officer must really be a very extraordinary man, almost a divine being, to be able to do all that is here insisted on. It is not likely that the high officials who constitute the Government of India have a right conception of the ways of settlement subordinates. Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjee, C. S. I., the President of the British Indian Association, in detailing the hardships of the people in the course of his annual address, told us of "the money which the people are compelled to spend in order to protect themselves from the oppressions of subordinate settlement officers who do not scruple to overstate the areas

of holdings, to wrongly classify the land and assess it unjustly." The system affords scope for such dishonesty and corruption, and no effort of the settlement officer can effectually grapple with the evil. It is rampant everywhere and is felt by the people. The Government of India further contends that in 1894 the occupied area in Nagpur was found to have increased at 12 per cent., and that prices of agricultural profits had more than doubled in the 30 years. But in the statement presented by Mr. Bose in the Supreme Legislative Council the area under crop had diminished by 26,119 acres; and in 13 Districts in the Central Provinces it had diminished altogether by 1,476,907 acres or nearly one million and half in 1898-99 as compared with 1893-94. This fact considerably detracts from the estimate made by the Government of India for the 30 years preceding 1893-94, and confirms Mr. Bose's assertion that large tracts of the country have gone out of cultivation owing to over-assessment.

The rise of prices is always a favourite plea of settlement officers in this country; but a careful investigation into the records of Civil Courts and into the transactions of people as evidenced by registered documents will show that this is very much exaggerated. In famine times perhaps it may be possible to say that prices have doubled; but in ordinary seasons, when the crops are normal or even plentiful, there is no justification whatever for assuming that prices have doubled. From the ordinary Civil Court records it can be ascertained what prices were fixed for commodities 30 years ago and what they are now. Besides, as pointed out by Mr. Bose, the rise in prices, when an agriculturist gets involved in debt and is forced to borrow his seed and his subsistence grain till harvest and his cost of cultivation at a high rate of interest or by agreeing to sell his expected crops in advance at a sacrifice, cannot benefit him much. What profit accrues to him from this cause is consumed by grain dealers whose organisation covers the whole country. The settlement officers, while they are particular about the rise in prices, do not make allowance for the corresponding rise in the price of necessities without which the ryot cannot live, the increased charges on account of the cost and keep of plough bullocks and the higher wages that have to be paid for such farm labour as they have to employ. It is no wonder therefore that, in spite of favourable prices, only a fourth of the tenants in the Central

Provinces were found to be prosperous and free from debt, while another fourth, were deeply involved in debt and the remaining half were in a constant state of indebtedness carrying on their agriculture with borrowed capital (*vide* the Central Provinces Famine Report, May 1898). It can be imagined what the condition of the people should be when another serious famine has come over them hardly two years after.

Thus whatever the theories and the assumptions of the Government of India may be, these stern facts point to a quite different conclusion; and the only satisfaction of the Government is that it believes to have gained a literary victory over Mr. Dutt.

Since writing the above we have seen the Hon'ble B. K. Bose's letter to the "*Times of India*" thoroughly controverting the conclusions sought to be established by the Governor-General in Council in regard to two important points. Mr. Bose shows conclusively that the half-assets rule, which the Government of India repudiates, is binding on it, by furnishing quotations from the records of Government which has repeatedly affirmed the fact that "the Settlement Code lays down 50 per cent. as the Government share." And as regards the curious method, referred to by the Government, of estimating the average net-assets, he establishes by the same means that the average is calculated on the basis of something actual and tangible rather than a fictitious or imaginary future average. The Famine Code itself contains the instruction that "the assessment should be with reference to a well-ascertained rental and not that the rents of fields should be left to be subsequently calculated, so as to furnish the means of meeting an assessment which had been conjecturally fixed by the settlement officer." These knock the bottom out of the sanguine assumptions made by the Government of India.

THE CULTIVATION OF THE VERNACULAR.

NEXT to thought the greatest gift of the Creator is language which is the means of expressing and communicating thought. The capacity for language resides in the soul of man as an essential of its constitution, in the same manner as the power of constructing the hive resides in the bee. A lad born in Italy, and brought up among Italian associations (Breschi), becomes by intercourse with Tamilians a distinguished Tamil poet, and the author of a poem (Thêmbavaṇi) which impartial critics rank with the best productions of Thâyoomanavar. Similarly, a Bengalee lad brought up among Hindu associations (Romesli Chunder Dutt) becomes by intercourse with Englishmen capable of producing a history and a poem in English (Ancient India, and Days of Ancient India), which are scarcely inferior in style and diction to similar productions of standard English authors. These two instances are enough to shew that the capacity for the acquisition of any and every language is inborn in man.

2. The origin of language is as follows:—

A body of traditional signs having been adopted in remote antiquity to express certain thoughts, these signs gradually change into different forms, and assume different meanings. Again the same forms acquire a plurality of meanings. By abbreviation, assimilation, combination and multiplication of meanings, dialects are formed; and by the co-operation of a third process, *viz.*, the introduction of foreign material, the different languages in the world have come into existence. Of these languages that one which grew up among our ancestors, which records their thoughts and feelings and experiences, which we have been accustomed to from the cradle, which gives the readiest expression to our conceptions, and which is a distinguishing mark of our national existence, this language is our vernacular, and the improvement of this language is the subject of this paper.

3. It may be asked, is language capable of improvement and development? Language is simply the tool in the hands of man for the expression of thought. Where a nation is learning more accurately to define and distinguish, where new thoughts arise

in the horizon of its mind, there will language be growing and advancing. The various shades of fresh thought, the embodiment of which becomes necessary with the march of enlightenment, are expressed either with the old words and their altered forms, or with borrowed phraseology. The intercourse of one nation with another gives occasion to borrowing and lending as in the case of individuals. This intercourse may be purely commercial as in the case of the Arabs, or literary, as in the case of the Aryan races from whom the Tamilians, (a non-Aryan race), imported a flood of Sanskrit words with their philosophy and social polity. So too when one nation conquers another, the latter becomes the pupil of the former, which assumes a despotic sway over the language as well as the possessions of the conquered, as in the case of the Romans whose language (Latin) dominated over the indigenous tongues of Western Europe and gave rise to what are called the Romance languages. To illustrate these processes of accession, we have only to refer to the English language. Of its enormous wealth of expression only one-fourth can be claimed by the native element, the Anglo-Saxon. The remaining three-fourths was acquired under the various circumstances above noted from Latin, Greek, Arabic, and other languages, *i.e.*, from as wide an area as is covered by English commerce and research. We need not go beyond English and Tamil to illustrate how a language may be amplified and developed in accordance with the widening of the range of idea of its speakers.

4. There is in fact no language so poor as not to be capable of greater improvement and higher perfection. The poverty of a language is really the poverty in ideas of its speakers. The extent of the capacity of a language depends mainly on the uses to which it is put by its speakers. Poor tools in skilful hands can do vastly better work than the best tools in unskilful hands, in the same manner as the Egyptians without steam or steel turned out works which, for colossal grandeur or exquisite finish, are the despair of modern Engineers and Artists. Differences of degree in the development of languages are due to differences in respect of education and intellectual advancement. Having, as already stated, the capacity for language by nature, man can improve it by culture.

5. Such culture is essential to our progress as a Nation. It is the duty of those who acquire fresh ideas by education in a foreign language to naturalize those ideas in their mother-tongue.

It will then be seen that the capacity of the vernacular becomes greater. In the latter half of the Seventeenth Century, the German language became poorer and poorer notwithstanding the existence of intellectual luminaries such as Kepler and Leibniz, because it was the fashion then, to produce learned works only in Latin. But in the next century a few distinguished productions in the vernacular drew attention to its innate wealth, which before that lay concealed because the language was not treated in a congenial manner; and since the revival there is no department of knowledge in which German is not as expressive as any other language.

6. If those who acquire knowledge by the study of English will speak and write only in English, the stagnation and ultimate decay of the vernacular are assured. If, on the other hand, they attempt to naturalize in the vernacular the fresh ideas that they acquire, that will be the surest means of educating the mass of their countrymen. English education is annually imparted to only one per cent. of the population of this state (Travancore), and out of this small fraction only one-half receive their instruction in Colleges and High Schools, *i.e.*, such instruction as will open their minds to the various departments of modern culture. The whole of the nation with the exception of this half per cent. depends for enlightenment on the vernacular alone. It is thus evident that our progress as a nation would be impossible unless the paths to knowledge are open to all through the medium of the vernacular.

7. Having made these general remarks to show that the vernacular is capable of development and that such development is an instrument of national progress, I will now proceed to point out some of the lines on which we must work for its improvement.

First and foremost of all, the earliest education of our children must be in the vernacular. The child should not leave the mother-tongue as soon as it leaves the mother's arms. Up to the age of eleven or twelve, our children must be familiarised in the national songs and traditions and in the leading facts of our national history, and these things should not be postponed for acquisition during the spare hours which they may command in the succeeding period of training in a foreign language.

Secondly, during the latter period when the energies of our young men are mainly devoted to the study of English, they

should make it a point to attend lectures and readings in the vernacular, and they should never allow English to supplant their mother-tongue in their mutual intercourse and at home.

Thirdly, after the completion of their English education, it is the duty of such of our Malayalee students as have a taste for literary pursuits to cultivate some acquaintance with Tamil and Sanskrit. The former is the mother of Malayalam which gave it life, and Sanskrit which gave the embellishments is now the acknowledged store-house nearest home from which Tamil and Malayalam scholars have to borrow considerably in giving shape to fresh ideas.

Fourthly, so equipped, they should devote a few hours a day to literary work, *i.e.*, to (a) translation, or (b) original composition, the object in both cases being to enrich the language by the embodiment of fresh thought.

8. With regard to (a) Translation, I take this opportunity to allude to the great service done to Malayalam literature by Kêrala Varma Valia Kôil Tampuran, in recognition of which the Malayalee community has subscribed for a University Memorial. Our earliest attention should be devoted to science primers of which only one has as yet made its appearance in Malayalam, *viz.*, The Chemistry Primer by Mr. Krishnan Pandalay, B.A., and B.L.

In this connection I may point out the desirability of adopting bodily modern technical terms of science, without any attempt at coining unintelligible monster compounds in Sanskrit which will only obscure the meaning and confound the student. If such terms as "Bacilli" and "Protozoa," may be adopted into English bodily from Latin and Greek, I fail to see why they may not be adopted into our vernacular too. Moreover, the language of science, like its subject matter, must be universal.

9. Along with translation, I may class adaptations, which, while re-producing the leading thoughts of the original, afford facilities for greater freedom of expression and grace of style.

10. Coming next to the field of original composition, our native scholars who have not studied English, would be rendering a very great service to their mother-tongue by collecting and editing our national songs and traditionary lore and by compiling a history of our national literature as well as our country.

11. Generally with respect to original composition I may

remark that an author should make it a point never to use a foreign word or a foreign idiom where national materials will do equally well. It is a remarkable fact that though the teachings of the Tamil Koorai, of Thiruvallûvar, are founded on Sanskrit philosophy and Sanskrit ethics, yet in all the 1330 distiches of which it is composed, the number of Sanskrit words used can be counted on one's fingers. So too in the works of the greatest English poet, the number of Latin words are very few, and both these masters are most forcible and effective when wielding the vernacular.

Secondly, with regard to original composition, as well as to translation, I may remark that the author must make it his sacred duty, in the matter of idiom and phraseology, strictly to conform to the laws of the language. As that man obtains best a command over nature, who knows its laws and submits to them, so that author will be most successful who can enrich the language without violating its essential laws as distinguished from non-essential rules. Thirdly, in non-essential matters, *i.e.*, in matters of mere form, such innovations may be allowed as will have an educative effect without being inconsistent with the genius of the language. The many-sidedness and sympathetic character of the English language are due to the large-mindedness and receptivity of Chaucer and his contemporaries.

One of the greatest stumbling blocks in the way of the development of the vernacular is the strict conservatism of native scholars, in matters where reason and convenience do not require too close an adherence to stereotyped forms and formulæ.

The Namool (the Tamil grammar) says "On whatsoever subjects, in whatsoever expressions, with whatsoever arrangements classical writers have written, so to write, is denoted propriety of style." This Procrustean rule most effectually checked innovations not only in the form of a work, but also in the choice of subjects, and even in the choice of words.

It is enough to say that it was conservatism such as this that long prevented natives from building good houses, and eating good nourishing food, and dressing in decent style. Now that we understand the folly of such restrictions, why should we still compose dramas in Malayalam with nothing but songs from beginning to end, interspersed with a few apologies for dialogues? If the drama is to be educative it must give ample room for facility of acting by representation of feeling and sentiment; and this

can be best done only by the dialogue form and not by our ordinary sing-song style. So again it was once thought a sin to write blank verse in the vernacular, and when a blooming literary genius of Bengal (Madu Sūdan Dutt) produced a work in blank verse, even the great and good Vidyasagar pronounced the attempt to be a failure. But Madu Sūdan Dutt persevered and produced a second work in blank verse, and the reading public came to understand that elegance and sublimity of style were by far to be preferred to the jingling sounds of like-endings, and blank verse has now obtained a permanent footing in Bengali, as in English since the date of Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Fourthly, I may in this connection notice another great defect in vernacular works, justly criticized by European scholars, *viz.*, the preference given to elegance of style over strength, to euphony over truthfulness, a lack of power and purpose, a substitution of sound for sense. Even the best books of our old authors in Tamil and Malayalam are not free from this weakness, and it will be cured by the infusion of the spirit of the vigorous modern literature of the West.

12. Worked on the lines above noted, by English-educated native scholars, the Bengali and Marathi languages have been considerably enriched of late, and so too Telugu has not only been enriched, but has acquired a remarkably new style, by the efforts of one single man, Mr. Veraslingom Pantulu.

We are proud to claim as an alumnus, and Professor of our college, Mr. Soondram Pillay, the author of *Manonmaniyam*—a Tamil drama in the modern style, and in the field of fiction, the *Marthanda Varma* of Mr. C. V. Raman Pillai stands second only to the *Indulékha* of Mr. Chandoo Menon. An amusing adaptation of Goldsmith's "*She Stoops to Conquer*," shows that the author, Mr. K. R. Krishna Pillai, is a writer of promise.

It is, however, not very creditable to our College, that though it has been sending forth so many graduates for the last thirty years, there are very few who have given the benefit of their English education to their indigenous literature. It is to be hoped that, when the next College-day comes off, the chairman will be able to announce the appearance of some new work or works of acknowledged merit in the vernacular.

13. It is a truly ominous fact that our graduates would write essays and deliver speeches rather in English than in the vernacular. This partiality to English is, no doubt, due to a wish

to obtain a position in life : but too few are working to obtain a position in the minds of the future generation—a position far higher than that of any statesman, lawgiver, or conqueror. The laws of Solon and the conquests of Alexander the Great have now only an antiquarian interest. But the philosophy of Plato and the poems of Homer are soul-stirring at all times, and in all ages.

14. But apart from the acquisition of such immortality, which may be aimed at by many, though within the reach only of a few, our mother-tongue ought to claim the first place, in our reverence, our gratitude, and our love. Increased nationality, a higher development of the mind along congenial lines, and a closer affinity with the real concerns of life, are consequences which have been witnessed as resulting to a nation from the development of its national literature.

It is the duty of our educated men to preserve the purity of that literature, and if possible, to attempt to enrich it by their contributions. So long as we remember this duty, and work accordingly, it is a matter of indifference whether we preserve our national costume or change it, whether we grow the hair all over the head or only in a particular part of it, whether we wear shoes or slippers, and whether we salute each other by *Salaams*, or by *Namaskârams*. But if we forget that duty, these changes of fashion are so many steps towards denationalization and decay. A nation that allows its language to go to ruin is parting with the best half of her independence and testifies to her willingness to cease to exist.

I will close this paper with a quotation from one of the brothers Schlegel, a name famous for the translation of the *Bhagavatgītā* and of the plays of Shakespeare into the national literature of Germany.

Frederick von Schlegel, says :—

"Every free and independent nation may claim the right to a native literature—that is an idiomatic development of language. Without this, the national genius will never be self-possessed, or enjoy an immunity from certain barbaric associations. It would be absurd to misconstrue this assertion into undue and partial predilection, ignoring the utility of acquiring foreign idioms. For the purposes of ordinary mental culture and for private reasons, an acquisition of the classical languages of antiquity, as also of several of the modern, will always be

found desirable and proper by some of these, external circumstances will regulate a fitting selection.....When employed in administering state-affairs, and in the social intercourse of the upper classes, a foreign idiom cannot fail to exercise a fatal influence on the language which it has undertaken to supplant. But where such a proceeding is once established, it becomes an inevitable, though reluctant, necessity on the part of individuals to conform to a usage. It is then a matter for the influential interference of the upper classes to interpose the weight of their authority between two extremes, *viz.*, to render to stern necessity what necessity exacts, and not to be unmindful of the sacred duty to their country. The guardianship of the language of a country is, as it were, confided to the care of the upper classes of society—let them not abuse that trust. It should be the earliest endeavour of every educated person to maintain inviolate the purity of his native language by precept and practice. Pains should be taken to become familiar with the history of its rise and progress, equally with the history of his country. This resolution cannot but be facilitated by the acquisition of foreign idioms, since pursuits of this nature are calculated to increase intelligence generally, and to strengthen the faculty of expression. The practical application of all acquired tongues should be severely restricted to occasions when they are really indispensable. Upon the higher classes it is especially incumbent to do all in their power towards promoting the healthy growth of their native language. They have a peculiar interest in the welfare of their country, and their responsibility is in this respect commensurately proportioned. A nation whose idiom is in process of decay, or is sensibly on the road to deterioration, will itself eventually succumb to barbaric rudeness. A nation that tamely looks on while it is being despoiled of its idioms, forfeits the respect due to independence—is degraded in the ranks of civilization.”

A. GOVINDA PILLAY:

THE SVETASVATARA UPANISHAD.

WE are glad to say that Professor Max Müller has cleared the ground before us, of many misconceptions and fallacies which were entertained about this Upanishad. He meets in his own way the arguments adduced to show that this is a modern Upanishad and that it is a sectarian Upanishad, an Upanishad of the Sankhya and of Bhakti school and so on, and his conclusions are that “No real argument has ever been brought forward to invalidate the tradition which represents it as belonging to the Taittiriya or Black Yajur Veda,” and he points out that, it “holds a very high rank among Upanishads” and that its real drift is the same as the Doctrine of the Vedanta Philosophy.

Professor Garbe and Macdonnell however, in their recent works,* speak of this as a *Sivite* compilation, and the latter scholar refers to the Upanishad itself ascribing the authorship to a sage called Svetasvatara, unlike other Upanishads. But this is not characteristic of this Upanishad alone. The fifteenth khanda of the last *Prapathaka* of Chandogya Upanishad also traces the line of teachers in a similar way and there is a similar statement in the Munduka Upanishad and others. When each Hymn of the Rig Veda has its own author, it cannot be any surprise that each particular Upanishad should have an individual author; and we don't suppose the Professor inclines to the orthodox view, that the Veda and the Upanishads had no human authors, and were revealed.

In regard to the other and deep-rooted fallacy about its being a sectarian Upanishad, we shall speak here at length.

By taking this objection they mean to imply also that it is modern. And curiously enough we read of scholars ascribing dates for the rise of these sects commencing from the 10th and 12th centuries. And Sir W. W. Hunter seriously contends that Sankara was the great Apostle of Saivism. But these writers do not

* Garbe's *Philosophy of Ancient India* (1897) and Macdonnell's *History of Sanskrit Literature* (1900).

see that the History of Hindu Religion is as ancient as the History of the Hindu Philosophy, and that the people must have had a popular religion, even, in the very days, these Upanishads were composed, and that the Puranas which embodied the essence of the Upanishad teachings existed in a popular form even in those ancient days, and the words Itihasa, Purana, occur even in the oldest Upanishads.* These Upanishads are quoted by name in the Puranas and particular passages are also commented on.

And it will be an interesting study as to what was the religion of the people in the days of the Upanishads and Mahabharata and Ramayana and of the Puranas and to compare the same with the existing phases of Hindu Religion. We may briefly indicate our own conclusions on the subject though we could not give our reasons in detail—to wit—that so far as any room for comparisons exist,—the traditions and beliefs and ceremonials and faith of the modern day Saivas (among whom may be included all Saktas and Gāṇāpatyas), who form now the bulk of the Hindu Race, were exactly the same as those of the people of the days of the oldest Upanishads and Mahabharata and Ramayana. According to the opinions of many old scholars like Lassen, Wilson and Muir and others, the worship of Siva represented the cult of the Higher castes, Brahmans and Kshatriyas, and a text of Manu mentions that Siva is the God of the Brahmans, and it is remarkable how the picture of Siva is exactly the same as that of any ancient Rishi (*vide* some of the Poona Ravi Varma's pictures). Dr. W. W. Hunter remarks that Sankara in espousing Saivism combined in the system the highest Philosophy of the ancients and the most popular form of Religion.

Regarding the conception of Siva and its growth from Vedic times, scholars love to tell us that Rudra was nowhere called Siva in the Rig Veda and that he merely represented the storm God, with his thunder, lightning and the rains, rushing down from the snow-capped hills; and that this Rudra slowly grew into Siva of the Hindu Triad, and scholars have not failed to remark about His composite and contradictory aspects.

There is considerable truth in this, and we can clearly trace that in His person is slowly built up the conception of the various Vedic deities, Indra and Agni, Varuna and Vayu, Surya and Soma, Vishnu and Brahma, and by the time the Vedas were

arranged into Rig, Yajur and Saman and Atharvan, Rudra's position as the God of gods, had become assured; and by the time of the earliest Upanishads, when the purely sacrificial Yagnas were being given up, the worship of Rudra-Siva supplanted the worship of the Vedic Deities, and instead of a blind worship of the elements, a marked distinction was drawn between the Supreme God who dwelt in these elements and gave them special power and glory, and this conception was stereotyped later on by Siva being the Aṣṭamurti, the god who had for his body, the five elements, earth, air, water, fire and akas, sun and moon and the soul, and Siva has temples dedicated to him, in which He is worshipped in these eight forms.

Rudra is derived by Sayana from the roots, Rut-drāvāyita, meaning 'he who drives away sorrow.' And consistent with this derivation, Rudra is called in the Rig Veda itself, as the 'bountiful' and the 'Healer' possessed of various remedies (the later Vaidyanāth) 'benign' and 'gracious.' And the term *Siva* clearly appears in the following text of the Rig Veda (X. 92-9) "Stoman va adya Rudraya s'ikvase kshiyad-virāya namaśa didishtana yebhīh *sivah* svavan evayāvabhir divah sishakti svayasah nikamābhi."*

Those who are conversant with the actual performing of yagnas will know how the place of the respective priests, Adhvarya, Hotri, and Udgatri and Brahman are fixed as well as the place of the various gods. And the chief place is assigned to Rudra and apart from other gods. This will clearly explain the force of the epithet of "Medhapatim" in Rig Veda, 1-43-4 "Ga-thapatim, *Medhapatim* Rudram Jalashabhesajam, tat samyoh sumnam imahe" (We seek from Rudra, the lord of songs, the lord of sacrifices who possesses healing remedies, his auspicious favour) as also "king of sacrifices" (Rig. 4-3.) And *Medhapati* is the same word as the more popular word *Pasupati*, Pasu meaning the animal offered in sacrifice, Yagna-Pasu, and symbolically representing the bound soul-jiva. As the Pati of all sacrifices, He is the fulfiller of sacrifices, 'Vajna sādham' (Rig. I. 114-4) and 'Rudram yagnanām sadhad ishtim apasam' (III. 2-5). As the god of gods, He is said to "derive His renown from Himself." 'Rudraya *sva-yasase*' His glory is said to be inherent, independent

* "With reverence present your Hymn to-day to the mighty Rudra, the ruler of heroes, [and to the Maruts] those rapid and ardent deities with whom the gracious (*Sivah*) and opulent (*Rudra*) who derives his renown from himself, protects us from the sky."

* Brihad. Ar. Up. 2-4-10 and 4-1-2 Maitr. 6-32 and 33; Chandog. VII. 1-2.

or self-dependent God, 'Svadhavane' (Rig. VII. 46-1). He is also called *Svapivāla*, which is variously explained as meaning 'readily understanding,' 'accessible,' 'gracious,' 'he by whom life is conquered,' 'he whose command cannot be transgressed,' 'thou by whom prayers (words) are readily received.' He is called the 'father of the worlds' *Bhavanasya Pitaram*, VI. 49-10, and the Rich story of His becoming the Father of the fatherless Maruts can be recalled in many a Puranic story, and local legend and common folklore.

He is '*antar ichchanti*'—beyond all thought (VIII., 61-3). His form as described in the Rig Veda is almost the same as the Image of later days. He is called the Kapardin, with 'spirally braided hair.' He is of 'Hiranya Rupam' 'golden formed' and brilliant like the sun, and 'shining like gold' "Yah sukra iva Sūryo hiranyam iva ro'chati" (I. 43-5).^{*} And in Rig Veda, X. 136-1 to 7, He is the 'Long haired being who sustains the fire, water and the two worlds; who is to the view the entire sky; and who is called this 'Light' He is *wind clad* (naked) and drinks *Visha* (water or poison) and a Muni is identified with Rudra in this aspect.

When we come to Yajur Veda, His supreme Majesty is fully developed, and He is expressly called Siva by name 'Siva nāmā'si (Vaj. S. 3-63) and the famous mantra, the *Panchakshara*, is said to be placed in the very heart of the three Vedas, (the name occurs in Tait. S. IV. 5, 1-41 '*namah sambhave cha mayobave cha namah Sankaraya cha mayaskaraya'cha* NAMA SIVAYA *cha Sivataraya cha*"). And the famous Satarudriyam which is praised in the Upanishads and in the Mahabharat forms also a central 'portion' of this central Veda. And this is a description of God as the all, the all in all, and transcending all, 'Visvadevo, 'Viswaswarūpo, Visvādiko'; and anybody can see that the famous passage in the Gītā in chapters 10 and 11 merely parodies this other passage and these two chapters are respectively called '*Vibhcti Vistara Yoga* and '*Visvarupa Sandarshana Yoga* which is exactly the character of the Satarudriya. The Yogi who has reached the highest state "Sees all in God and God in all." In the Satarudriya and in the whole Veda, Rudra is called *Siva, Sankara Sambhu, Isana, Isa, Bhagavan, Bhava, Sarva, Ugra, Soma, Pasupati, Nilagriva, Girisa, Mahadeva, and Maheshwara*.

^{*} Note how often the Supreme is called the Golden-coloured, and Sunlike in the Upanishads.

And the most famous 'mantra' 'Ekam Eva Rudronadvitaya taste' whose very existence in the Vedas and Upanishads scholars doubted at one time, occurs in the Yajur Samhita (Tait.) in 1 Canto, 8 Prasna, 6 Anuvaka, 1 Panchasat and this very mantra is repeated in our Upanishad, (III 2,) and if the Upanishads did not precede the Vedas, it will be seen how this mantra is the original of the other famous Upanishad mantra, "Ekamevad vityam Brahma." In fact, we doubt if the word 'Brahma' occurs even once in the Rig Veda as meaning God and in the Yajur as meaning the Supreme Being. And Prof. Max Müller is no doubt correct in drawing attention to the fact that the conception of a mere Impersonal Self may be posterior to the conception of God as Siva, Rudra and Agni. And the texts we have above quoted will for once prove the danger of surmises as to the date of an Upanishad for the sole reason that it uses the words Siva or Isa or Isana and Rudra.

In the days of the Veda and Upanishads, these names Rudra, Siva, Sambhu, Mahadeva, Isa, Isana, Hara and Vishnu only meant the same as Deva or Brahman or Atman or Paramatman, and they had no prejudice against the use of the former set of words as some sectarians of to-day would seem to have. In the Gītā itself, the words Ishvara, Isa, Maheswara and Mahadeva and Parameshwara are freely used, and Siva is used in the Uttara Gītā, though the modern day Vaishnava exhibits the greatest prejudice even towards these names.

One word about the different aspects of Siva. As we pointed out before, as the idea of Rudra, as all the gods or the Powers of Nature, was fully evolved, in Him was also centralized the various aspects of Nature as good and bad, awful and beneficent. Kalidasa playfully brings out this idea in the following lines:

"The Gods, like clouds, are fierce and gentle too
Now hurl the bolt, now drop sweet heavenly dew
In summer heat the streamlet dies away
Beneath the fury of the God of day,
Then in due season comes the pleasant rain
And all is fresh and fair and full again."

However awful the aspects of a fierce storm, with its thunder and lightning, may be, yet no one can appreciate its beneficence more than the dwellers in the Indian soil, the land of so many famines. However fierce the sun may be, yet his existence is

absolutely essential to the growth and maturity of all vegetation in the tropics. It will be noted that not only in the case of Rudra but in the case of other gods, their beneficent and malevolent powers are brought out in the Vedas. The Supreme Double Personality of Siva is thus explained in the Mahabharata by Lord Krishna himself. "Large armed Yadhishthira, understand from me, the greatness of the glorious, *multiform*, many named Rudra. They called Mahadeva, Agni, Sthanu, Maheswara, one-eyed, Triyambaka, the *'Universal' formed* and Siva. Brahmans versed in the *Veda* know two bodies of this God, one awful, one auspicious; and these two bodies have again many forms. The dire and awful body is fire, lightning, the sun: the auspicious and beautiful body is virtue, water and the moon. The half of his essence is fire and the other half is called the moon. The one which is his auspicious body practises chastity, while the other which is his most dreadful body, destroys the world. From his being Lord and great he is called Maheswara. Since he consumes, since he is fiery, fierce, glorious, an eater of flesh, blood and marrow—he is called Rudra. As he is the greatest of the gods, as his domain is wide and as he preserves the vast Universe,—he is called Mahadeva. From his smoky colour, he is called Dhurjati. Since he constantly prospers all men in all their acts, seeking their welfare (Siva), he is therefore called Siva.* And in this, we see Him as not only the destroyer but as the Reproducer and Preserver and as such the conception of Siva transcends the conception of Rudra as one of the Trinity.

And it can be shown that the picture of God as the fierce and the terrible is not altogether an unchristian idea.

The following parāṣ. we cull from a book called "The Woodlands in Europe" intended for Christian readers; and we could not produce better arguments for the truth of our conception of the Supreme Siva, the Destroyer and the Creator and the Preserver (*vide* p. 6, Sivagnanabotham, English Edition).

"And how about the dead leaves which season after season, strew the ground beneath the trees? Is their work done because, when their bright summer life is over, they lie softly down to rest under the wintry boughs? Is it only death, and nothing beyond? Nay; if it is death, it is death giving place to life. Let us call it rather change, progress, transformation. It must

* 'Siva' is derived from 'Vasi' which occurs in Katha-Up. see Lalita Sahasranama Commentary under "Siva."

be progress, when the 'last year's leaves make the soil for the next year's flowers, and in so doing serve a set purpose and fulfil a given mission. *It must be transformation, when one thing passes into another, and instead of being annihilated, begins life again in a new shape and form.*

"It is interesting to remember that the same snow which weighs down and breaks those fir branches is the nursing mother of the flowers. Softly it comes down upon the tiny seeds and the tender buds and covers them up lovingly, so that from all the stern rigour of the world without, they are safely sheltered. Thus they are getting forward, as it were, and life is already swelling within them; so that, when the sun shines and the snow melts they are ready to burst forth with a rapidity which seems almost miraculous.

"*It is not the only force gifted with both preserving and destroying power, according to the aspect in which we view it. The fire refines and purifies, but it also destroys; and the same water which rushes down in the cataract with such overwhelming power, falls in the gentlest of drops upon the thirsty flower cup and fills the hollow of the leaf with just the quantity of dew which it needs for its refreshment and sustenance. And in those higher things of which nature is but the type and shadow, the same grand truth holds good; and from our Bibles we learn that the consuming fire and the love that passeth knowledge are but different sides of the same God:—Just and yet merciful; that will by no means clear the guilty, yet showing mercy unto thousands.*"

Badarayana also touches upon this subject in I., iii., 40 and we quote below the Purvapaksha and Sidhanta views on this question from the commentary of Srikantha.

"Because of trembling (I, iii, 40). In the Katha—Vallis, in the section treating of the thumbsized Purusha, it is said as follows:

"Whatever there is, the whole world when gone forth (from the Brahman) trembles in the breath; (it is) a great terror, the thunderbolt uplifted; those who know it become immortal." (cit. 6, 2).

Here a doubt arises as to whether the cause of trembling is the Paramesvara or some other being.

(Purvapaksha):—Here the Sruti speaks of the trembling of the whole universe by fear caused by the entity denoted by the word "breath." It is not right to say that the Paramesvara,

who is so sweet natured as to afford refuge to the whole universe and who is supremely gracious, is the cause of the trembling of the whole universe. Therefore, as the word 'thunderbolt' occurs here, it is the thunderbolt that is the cause of trembling. Or it is the vital air which is the cause of the trembling, because the word 'breath' occurs here. Since the vital air causes the motion of the body, this whole world which is the body as it were, moves on account of the vital air. Then we can explain the passage "whatever there is, the whole world, when gone forth (from the Brahman) trembles in the breath." Then we can also explain the statement that "it is a great terror, the thunderbolt uplifted," inasmuch as like lightning, cloud and rain, the thunderbolt which is the source of great terror is produced by action of the air itself. It is also possible to attain immortality by a knowledge of the air as the following S'ruti says:

"Air is everything itself and the air is all things together; he who knows this conquers death. (Bri. Up. 5-3-2).

(Siddhanta);—As against the foregoing, we say that Paramesvara himself is the cause of the trembling. It is possible that, as the Ruler, Paramesvara is the cause of trembling of the whole universe; and by the fear of His command all of us abstain from prohibited actions and engage in the prescribed duties; and it is by the fear of His command that Vayu and others perform their respective duties, as may be learned from such passages as the following:—

"By fear of Him, Vayu (the wind) blows." (Tait. Up. 2-8).
Though gracious in appearance, Paramesvara becomes awful as the Ruler of all. Hence the S'ruti

Hence the King's face has to be awful! (Tait. Brâ. 3-8-23).
Wherefore as the Master, Isvara Himself is the cause of the trembling of the whole universe."

J. M. NALLASWAMI PILLAI.

(To be continued.)

THE LUCK OF NIZAM ALI.

"And whoever shall have wrought good of the weight of an ant shall behold the same"—ALKORAN, Chapter XCIX.

A disappointing figure was that of Nizam Ali, student of the St. Xavier's College at Bombay, as he paced the University Gardens. The noises of the great city were about his ears, but he seemed oblivious of all save the patch of the green path which met his bent eyes, as he trod it to and fro. A lean lanky boy badly shod, a nondescript Turkish fez on the top of long unkempt hair, worn in the Lucknow fashion, a long "ackhan" of some cheap material, descending to below his knees, buttoned up closely to the neck, tight pyjamas which showed his spare limbs, —the 'entourage' was not satisfactory. It was only on looking more closely at this ungainliness, that some redeeming features became evident. He was yet young, certainly under twenty. The eyes invited attention; fine Oriental eyes, they looked steady and unwavering. There was no shiftiness in them, and their expression was accentuated by the thick set eye-brows which told of some Northern blood in him. The skin clear, the face oval and clean cut. Occasionally the palms of his hands met, and his fingers interlaced each other; then his eyes would travel to a large and motley group of young men crowding at the small window, located a few feet above the ground, and embedded in the massive walls of the University buildings.

Some four thousand youths were waiting to hear the Matriculation results declared that evening. As many hearts were throbbing with hopes and fears. The account of seven years of application or idleness was to be settled within the hour. Nizam Ali pacing the path away from the mob, seemed scarcely to participate in this excitement; nevertheless the results were a matter of life and death to him; and as he raised his eyes and looked towards the West already crimsoned by the sun setting across the broad expanse of the sea, his hands involuntarily went up in an appeal which does not concern the reader, but which seemed to stir him deeply. Suddenly the clock tower bells struck

their five o'clock chimes, and as the deep sonorous beats rang out, a hush grew on the multitude. Just then the tiny window from which their fate was to be spoken, opened, showing the weary face of the Registrar of the University holding a big scroll of paper in his hand, with a look on him that chilled the crowd.

"The following numbers have passed, number one-five-fourteen,"—a gasp from somewhere. "Sixteen-nineteen"—and so on. The terrible gaps were like a rapier stabbing them, wielded by some pitiless invisible sprite. Boys who had passed moping their faces with relief, boys not successful appearing to collapse, trying to push their way in a dazed way out of the crowd, and that almost cynical face at the window going on with his rapier thrusts, blenching many hearts, kindling but a few. When number 3,482 was called—that was Nizam Ali's number—the young man who had moved up to hear, was going away, with a certain peace about him, when he stood rivetted to the spot, by hearing that even, almost callous, voice at the window. "This number gets the Sir Frank Souter scholarship, the Jairaj Peerbhai prize, the Cowasjee Jehangir Latin scholarship, and stands *first* on the list." A moment of suspense—a moment when he thought he would reel and fall—a tightening of the lips, then a shout, a cheer; and four thousand young throats sent up a rousing call for the unknown student who had done so well; for few knew poor Nizam Ali, the widow's son who lived in a garret in No. 4, Kamatipoora Lane on Rs. 50 a month; Government pension, for the services of her soldier-husband, who gave his life away in trying to save a wounded British Officer in Tochi Valley.

The boy slipped away unrecognised. The old fighting spirit was astir. So he had won! They had approved, the men who judge. "The poor mother! to-night at last I shall be able to tell her something which will cheer her, something which will atone for all her sacrifices for me."

He stepped out on the road and went along, scarcely aware of the direction he took; when from the distance the Western breeze brought him the notes of English music from the bandstand. It was some piece he had heard before and liked much, something lulling and comforting. Occasionally the notes would move in more rapid measure, quickening his blood. There was inspiration in them. They carried a hope, a message, and he drew near. By no means a very taking figure for such as saw

him in a casual manner, something awkward about his gait, his costume frayed, but scrupulously clean. Grave, almost stern, he moved up. It was but rarely that his eyes were raised and then the thin face revealed its great intelligence. He came up to the railings, which surrounded the stand, took the quietest corner and stood listening, when behind him a carriage suddenly pulled up, and the pair of high stepping horses were reined in so close to him, that he could almost hear the voices within. It was a closed brougham. The curtains were down. These must be Moslem ladies, he thought. The appointments of the carriage were in the most modern taste and indicated the occupants to be of a considerable station in life. From the stout Mussalman coachman in livery down to the silver about the harness, every detail was in exquisite harmony, and many an eye was turned with inquisitive interest in that direction. Nizam Ali thoughtlessly turned round to make sure that his surmise was correct, in which case it was his duty to retire, but as he moved round, the spring-curtain shot up and revealed to his almost charmed gaze, a startled countenance of such loveliness, that this poor dweller of the garret believed himself for the moment to be looking at some creature begotten of his dreams and not there in flesh and blood within a few feet of him; but, as suddenly as it had ascended, the curtain was pulled down, leaving, nothing before him but a square of dark blue silk; and at that moment came to him the ignominious reflection of his tattered garments, his patched shoes, his soiled cap, and almost shamefacedly he fled from the spot, and went his way homewards.

CHAPTER II.

On Khumballa-Hill, one of the most select residential quarters of Bombay, stands the mansion of Abd-ul-Aziz, an Arab pearl-merchant. His great pearl-fisheries at Bahrein had made him the leading man in his trade. A true Arab—he hailed from the plateaus of Nejran—his business had descended to him from his ancestors, and the name of Abd-ul-Aziz passed from the lips of men from New York to Peking. His wealth was fabulous. Keen as the edge of the djambias of his native land, few could boast of having got the better of him in a bargain. Men knew him to be a man of his word, one who never broke a promise, or forgot a kindness. He had voyaged round the globe more than he remembered, was familiar with many languages and was a great admirer of English Institutions.

This evening, he is sitting on a divan—in his private rooms—a spare figure enveloped in a soft white robe, with a plain skull-cap on his head, a slight beard, lending dignity to features somewhat masterly.

There is a tap at the door—"May I come in?" "Yes, come in, come in, "Kurrat ul-Ainee," * what wert thou doing in this gay costume? come near, sit down, now tell me, whom didst thou visit to-day. Let me hear thy voice, girl, for I am weary."

She nestled up close to him, a sweet girlish figure. "Mother, and I took a drive to-day. We went round to the bandstand. It was very nice. You never come with us now."

"Did you like the music?"

"Very much, and to my delight, I heard that piece to-day, the one my music-mistress despairs of ever teaching me. Oh! I hate these new-fangled notions. Why do you want me to learn English? Why wish me to play their music? Indeed, I long for the days when my old Ustadnee used to make me recite a Sura of the Holy book, and thought that enough education for a Moslem maid. And you, father, an Arab of the Arabs!"—Then in a lower key, somewhat bitterly—"but you know best, father, don't you; only-only-for whom is it? for me, or do you desire that the man of your choice shall marry an accomplished woman; but I am much afraid father that it may not be like that tale I read the other day, a learned wife mated to ignorance, one of your sleek fat clients, or better still to your young friend the Nawab of Tussore, with his royal income, though he be but a dullard who abuses a trust, and lives the most meaningless life I know."

He was looking at her all the time—the flash of those eyes, the loveliness of every part of her, the tender grace of the sweet face, the beauty of which had no equal in Bombay. He was almost tempted to let her go on.

This Arab loved his daughter—his only child—as old men sometimes will, when all passions are at rest, and the heart gives of its best to the object which alone links it to things mundane. She had been brought up under his immediate care, and her education had been ever his chief anxiety.

"We will see—we will see—trust thy father, girl—stick to thy reading—stick to thy music. The old days are slipping by, the days of the oriental Harem; Men want companions now, and not

* Light of my eyes.

play-things, and rather than give thee to Tussore—call him not my friend, girl—I should wish thee die an old maid."

At this, she raised her eyes and looked at him lovingly, much pleased and, curiously enough, came at this moment to her mind, an incident at the Bandstand.

"We had a miraculous escape to-day, father," a certain note of sarcasm in her voice; "Just as we drove up to the Bandstand, I happened to touch the spring and the curtain flew up; and before us stood a young Mussalman poorly costumed, staring at us as if all the wit had left his poor head. He seemed to have sprung out of the ground just to show his pretty face—"Well"—and she blushed apparently ashamed of her caustic manner—"I don't want to be witty at his expense, but we saw him gazing as if stricken and then, suddenly as if a scorpion had bitten him, he turned round and ran away. Now tell me, father, you who see us every day, is there anything really so horrible about us? am I so terrible to look at, that men should flee at the sight of me?" And she drew herself up and for a moment—a spectacle of proud, insulted womanhood—confronted him.

He knew her of old, was master of the moods that possessed her; so he affected to take her seriously. "This is very serious, must be looked into—"he said with well affected concern which drew a ripple of laughter from her, the music of which was the joy of his days.

"Now tell me, was the lad crazy or why did he run?" She pretended carelessness, but the boy's strange looks and manner had appealed to her—"What did the mother say?" "Well she said the poor boy looks ill, but he looks *najeeb**, while all the time I thought him *ajeck*†. Fancy calling him *najeeb* on such slight acquaintance. Their mother said he must have a fond mother, because although poorly clad, his clothes had received the tender care of a woman.

"She must be right if she said so, dear, for she seldom makes a mistake in such matters."

"Well, father, it was good of him to have gone away."

"And what if he had stayed?"

"Well, it was a rare specimen wasn't it father? Most of his tribe would have lingered with that healthy curiosity they possess to look at the forbidden."

"That shows a good turn of mind, doesn't it?"

* Well brought up. † Strange, eccentric.

"Perhaps it does, but one can't say, he might be crazy."

"Will let the poor fellow alone. Have you heard of something that has made me very proud to-day?"

"What? dear father."

"The Matric. results were declared this evening, in which as you know nearly four thousand boys attended, and a young unknown Moslem boy heads the list and carries off the most coveted scholarships."

"Impossible."

"....." "So I said when I heard it, but here is the English paper."

She picked it up, and her eyes wandered to the long column, where the names of the successful candidates were printed, and sure enough the preliminary paragraph bore out her father's statement that one Nizam Ali had carried off the honours of the examination.

She who took a great interest in all matters affecting the progress of her race, she let her eyes linger over the name of the young student.

"Nizam Ali," she repeated slowly, and then her eyes travelled to meet those of her father, "indeed, I too feel proud of Nizam Ali's, father."

CHAPTER III.

And not a drop that from our cups we throw
For earth to drink of, but may steal below
To quench the fire of anguish in some eye
There,—hidden—far beneath and long ago.

—Omar Khayam.

Seldom had the Jesuit Father Meyer, the Principal of the St. Xavier's College, been so astonished. He was reading a card just presented to him. It bore the legend Abd-ul-Aziz "not the pearl king surely" he thought, "what could he want here?"

He received him in the College reception-room, for this Father had his practical side. A cheque for prizes always followed such visits.

"Father Meyer, I took the liberty of calling to make some inquiries. I dare say you have heard of me." And Father Meyer felt instinctively as he looked at that spare tall figure, clad in a Cashmere robe, that this could be no other but the man he had imagined.

"I am honoured, Sir. I am honoured—what is the information that I can give you."

"I understand that Nizam Ali, the young student who has passed his Matriculation so brilliantly, belongs to your College." Father Meyer's face was all smiles.

"So he does. Sir, one of those retiring dispositions, which prevent us from getting an accurate idea of the boys' powers. His result was a surprise to most of us, though not to his own master. May I ask if you are interested in him?"

"My interest is only that of a co-religionist wishing well to such as bring lustre to the name of Moslem."

The old father thought inwardly that the man before him must be something more than a trader of pearls.

"Would you like to see Father Walsh, his class master?"

Father Meyer rang the bell, and in response to his message, a few moments brought Nizam Ali's master to them.

Father Walsh was one of those rare teachers who had the gift of bringing out the best qualities in the boys in their charge. He touched some chords in their characters which lesser men could never have reached or discovered. A boy under him never felt the humiliation of an exposure before the class. But there were private talks in his room where this man spoke out his mind. The memory of his words lay like a lash on the lad's soul for ever after and bettered him. It was by such a man that Nizam Ali's qualities had been discovered and developed. His teacher had from the first detected the latent powers of the boy, his great enthusiasm, his ambition. The rich soil was there and the willing ploughman.

So that Abd-ul-Aziz soon grew convinced that the boy deserved support; that if he could be sent to Oxford and ultimately assisted to qualify for the bar, for which he showed a special aptitude, he would distinguish himself. Father Walsh smilingly concluded, "And you, sir, will have the satisfaction of feeling that you have helped to give to your community a life of great promise. Did I tell you the boy is very poor and very proud? He comes of an old stock. A Rohilla." Father Walsh was an Irishman, who came from a poor but proud stock himself.

"We shall see what can be done," said Abd-ul-Aziz.

Elsewhere, mother and son were talking in their garret; a quite tired-looking woman was addressing her son. "Thou must go, son. 'Tis a polite letter." "But mother, what is the

use of it? Look at these, and I will not let thee make me expensive garments out of that slender purse of thine. Shall I ask Father Walsh?" And his master knowing the inner history of the matter, saw no objection to his making a call.

So it came about, that we find Nizam Ali making his way, in a halting nervous fashion, through the long winding sweep of carriage-road which lead to Abd-ul-Aziz's mansion. Nothing that the lad saw, lessened his disquiet. The spacious gardens surrounding him, the retinue of servants moving about, the extensive house which in the distance revealed itself through the great trees, were things new to him, and troubled him. A young servant marching past asked him what his business was, somewhat impudently, which sent the blood rushing to his face. As he came in view of the house he stopped, looking round anxiously. Not for long, for the master of the house just then accosted him, in that gentle even voice of his.

"Is that you Nizam Ali, come near, come near, give me your hand. Barak *-Alla; Masha-Alla," he called his secretary near him. "See you, this is the boy, the lad of whom I spoke. We want some such boys, don't we? I like him, I like his looks.

"Then smiling he turned again to the boy—come with me, we shall walk in the garden—and you Haneef, see that the tea is ready for us near the roses, we shall be coming there."

What happened in the interview need not be repeated, but when Abd-ul-Aziz led him to the Kiosk amongst the roses, any one could see that the lad was much affected. Tea was served with that regard for detail which took the Arabs and Persians a thousand years in perfecting; then Nizam Ali rose to take his leave.

"What, going so soon, lad? so soon—but I suppose thou hast thy studies to look after; I will not detain thee. Well—think over what I have said, consult thy mother, thy school master, take time, there is no hurry lad, thou wilt forgive me that on such slight acquaintance, I am so free." But—"with a new found tenderness in his voice,"—"Come here whenever thou art tired, consider this thy house. Take me unto thy confidence, lad."

"Good bye Sir, and thank you" was all that Nizam Ali said. His heart was too deeply stirred for words. He turned away only to find, that he had to pass the whole front of the house to get the carriage drive which lead out, and it required

* Praise be to God.

all his resolution to walk past, without showing his perturbation of spirit; just as he gained the drive, he could not help brushing away the tears that would not stay, and just then, as bad luck would have it, a carriage swept past him towards the house—he looked at it and started, for it came on him, that he had seen it before—was it the same which has stopped behind him at the bandstand?

IV.

Abd-ul-Aziz was reading "The Suraiya," a Persian paper published at Cairo, when she came into his reading room. That same hour, Nizam Ali had left him. She kissed her father's hand, the customary morning salutation, and sat down in a low cane chair always ready for her by his side. A little pale and nervous she looked, and he noticing inquired—"Why what's the matter; why are we restless this morning."

"Would you believe it, I saw him again just now, and you will be surprised, in our *oaze* garden, and strangest of all, I think I saw tears in his eyes." He smiled,—"*Ahem!* Who is this mysterious *Him*? Some shade of my ancestors, or was it Jelal whom I had to punish for a neglect of duty to-day."

"No, no, no, the poor youth that we saw at the bandstand the other evening."

A sudden movement about Abd-ul-Aziz.

"What do you say?" he asked eagerly. "Was it the same boy that you met."

"It could not be any other."

"An old Fez, long hair, a lean figure, dressed in a dark green *Achkan*."

"The same, father—that very man."

"Praise be to God"—He sank back in his chair.

"Extraordinary, isn't it girl?" But the next moment he recovered himself and looked smiling into her questioning face.

"Do you know aught of him father? Was he here to beg?"

"Surely daughter" rallying her "Do you object to his taking a stroll through the gardens?—perhaps he loves the shade of trees, the scents of flowers—who knows? Perhaps his craziness is limited to the sin of looking at Purda-women, for half a second, when the carriage curtains fly up, perhaps in other departments of life, he is not crazy."

There was a twinkle in his grey eye, which she knew meant

mischievous. He was making fun of her, and womanlike she refused to join in. Rather—she preferred seriousness. A look of reproach crept to her face, when the more she tried to learn, the less communicative did he become.

"Evidently, girl, the lad is crazy—did you say he looked so, now I am sure you read him well. What am I to know of his movements daughter. Dost think, I am in charge of all the lunatics of this town? The boy was wandering, girl. He saw the green trees, possibly, yon avenue of gold-mohor with their wealth of scarlet petals drew him—he strolled in—that's all."

She left him in a pet, determined to know more about it; meanwhile the master's bell rang in the servant's quarters.

"I wish it to be known" said the master addressing his steward who stood bowing before him, "that the visit of the young gentleman who called this morning, should be considered private—If it comes to be known in the ladies' quarters, you will suffer.—See to it—Leave me." The visit remained a sealed book.

She was standing at the window in her own room, gazing in abstraction at the expanse of lawn and shrubbery which stretched before her—yonder was the gold-mohor-avenue lush with its rich hued flowers; the fallen petals had transformed the ground below to a crimson-carpet worthy of a king to step upon. A mali* was sweeping them up—the petals—she thought he must be mad to mar so such beauty. Then by a natural process her thoughts reverted to that other crazy type about whom her father knew something more than he wished to tell. "But why those tears in his eyes—poor chap"—she was asking herself. "Did he seek an interview with father, and was denied; but he looked too proud to ask for favours, and father could not but have seen that he was much above the station which his appearance indicated."

Nizam Ali was much perplexed—the colourless horizon of his life had suddenly taken the hues of sunrise—when he narrated the strange story, his mother first stared him in the face unbelievably, and then, pulled the boy to her and passed her hand tenderly over his hair—With a certain pride, she turned him towards her and kissed him.

"Tis Providence! 'Tis the wish of the Holy Pantj-e-tun.

* Gardener.

At thy birth a passing Jogi told me, thy father's star had set, and thine arisen! The month after, he met his death, the letter which conveyed to him the news of thy birth, was found in his breast-pocket unopened. The ghazi-rush in which he fell gave him no time to read of the birth of the first-born. It was our *naseeb*—*Kismet*. It was well.—He was a brave man and he met the death he loved. People said he cared more for his sword than me. The boy's hand sought hers.—

"Haice! Son, 'tis hard, but it must be—

"Thou must accept the kind offer and go to *Vilayet*. When thy ship sails, I shall go to my Pir's tomb at Ajmere, and at his shrine will seek comfort. When thou see'st Jenab Abd-ul-Aziz convey to him the grateful thanks of a poor widow, who can do nothing towards requital of her great indebtedness.—She can only remember him in her prayers."

So it came to pass that Nizam Ali was to go to *Vilayet*. He stipulated with his benefactor that the outlay on him should be treated as a loan, to be repaid when possible; if ever such a time came. Abd-ul-Aziz consented.

"Agreed," he said, "but in turn thou must promise that except thy mother and thy master, none should know of this." Nizam Ali remonstrated, but the old man was adamant.

Later on in the evening Abd-ul-Aziz met his daughter. "News for thee my comfort." He took the dainty little figure clad in costly raiment, a graceful white silk skirt, trimmed with a heavy goldwork border, a soft creamy gauze *orhnce* (Veil) descending from her head, and wrapped up in graceful folds about her person, a loop of pearls round her waist holding the *Kurta* gently, as in a clasp, a costume, as picturesque and lovely as any in the world, a blend of the Arab, the Persian and the Indian manner, which would have looked becoming on any figure, but on—Naseema—! One forgot one's cares—and longed to look at her for ever.

"News for thee daughter—Nizam Ali of whom I spoke the other night is to leave by this mail for England, to qualify for the Bar."

"Indeed, I am so pleased. But I thought you said he was poor."

"Did I? Oh well—a boy like that was sure to find somebody to help him on."

"I should say was sure not to find somebody to be kind to him—Do you know who has helped him?"

"I! surely daughter, I must protest—Am I a depository for all the charitable transactions going on here?"

"Of a great many you are—Of a great many *more*, about which we suspect *you* to be the prop and pillar, though you have always denied. I know father what is behind that rather stern exterior of yours, the kindest and the gentlest heart which ever beat in a man."

"Fie, Fie, girl, stop this flattery. By the bye, your uncles are coming on Thursday to dinner—thou must receive them and see to their entertainment; for I will be rather late."

"With pleasure, father."

And so, on that eventful Thursday, she arrayed herself in a manner befitting the daughter of Abd-ul-Aziz and played her part of hostess. Her mother was ill—Just as the dinner bell rang she heard her father's carriage wheels, and ran out to the porch to meet him. He stepped out, but instead of *salaam*ing as usual, asked her to come near and to her dismay begged leave to introduce her to an acquaintance—A young man alighted from the carriage and as their eyes met she recognized the face. It was of the boy who had brushed his tears away in her father's grounds.

"Naseema, Mr. Nizam Ali."

Her heart stood still for a moment, and she flushed crimson as she slightly acknowledged the salutation of him whose trouble was perhaps greater than hers.

Were it not that her father had held her hand, she would have fled—Abd-ul-Aziz was in his bantering mood—"Acquaintances I presume" he said with rare well subdued humour—"They say, Nizam Ali, that first impressions are everything. You will grieve to learn that they were not flattering in your case. My daughter discovered in you the incipient traces of insanity!"

She was pulling at his hand—almost feverishly anxious that he should not go on in that strain—and release her.

Abd-ul-Aziz behind this light mood concealed not a little anxiety. It was a bold move, this breaking through the iron bonds of tradition. *He*, a Moslem, to introduce his daughter to a stranger! It would rouse the fiercest fires of orthodoxy. He had pondered on it, and made up his mind. He relied on his brothers also, men of liberal minds, who could be trusted to back him up

"I don't mean to say," continued Abd-ul-Aziz as if weighing the charge judicially, "that it was a case of complete mental derangement—the word she used was *crazy*—so that you stand convicted by one, whose verdict in this house at least is final."

"I did *not*, I did not say he was crazy—I said he looked so, all the same, let me go father, oh pray release me."

Meanwhile, within Nizam Ali, an old inheritance had quickened into life. The old spirit was astir—the spirit which had made his forebears the trusted courtiers of Akbar and Jehangier—the men who intervened between the king and his heir-apparent, who pacified the queen when a new scandal was in the air, men of courtly ways and graceful carriage, to whom life was not worth a candle if it was not carried on the palm of their soft hands, to whom death was sweet if in the king's cause, and if their lady's eyes would fill at the hearing of it.

So that, even Abd-ul-Aziz stood dumb, when in an even but incisive voice, the lad opened his lips, more as if, speaking to himself than addressing them.

"What wonder, lady, that you found me with all the appearance of an unsound mind. It may occur to some that the sight of one like you, unexpected, and sudden, would have its effect upon one, whose only associates had been the silent company of books. Such men should be mercifully dealt with, madam."

The deliberateness, the self-possession of his manner, put her at her ease, and imperiously demanded that she should look to herself.

While the introductions were taking place she had time to steal a glance—there was a tumult about her heart. That her crazy hero of the bandstand should be Nizam Ali—whose name was in every young man's mouth, he who now stood so quiet and at ease before her! but how did it come about? how had her father come to know him, and why—oh mystery of mysteries—had he brought him here and introduce *her*, a Moslem woman in Purda, to him? Then something flitted through her mind, and she blushed to the roots of her hair. She looked up. He stood in the candle light, a young slim figure, clad becomingly, looking oh! how different from what she remembered—Delicate features, bright with intelligence, a charm about the eyes, that would make the winning of hearts such easy work if he tried.

When the time came to say Good Bye, then only did she realize that he was to leave in a day or two for far off England—one of

his uncles was addressing him, "Well—win your spurs and come back soon—your place is empty here and *insha'lla* much good will come of it—may you prosper ;"

And he stood before her—a low salutation—My mother sent her respectful salutations and prayers to you and the lady your mother—Goodbye—Sleep and Nizam Ali were at war that night.

V.

Some years have passed away. We shift the scene to a morning in January when Bombay wears perhaps its pleasantest aspect.

The Sessions of the High Court are on. The Judge is in his seat. Mr. Nizam Ali, a young Barrister, is conducting the defence in a case of murder. The trial had excited extraordinary interest, as the accused man belonged to a high station—It was a remarkable defence culminating in a verdict of "not guilty" for the accused, who was acquitted.

But the greatest sensation was yet to come. The next morning Justice W— on taking his seat on the bench, addressed the young advocate as follows :—

"Mr. Nizam Ali,* I am glad to see you here and also the reporter of the—as I wish to make some observations, upon the report of the case, which was concluded yesterday. The paper represents you to have made a "rigmarole and a nonsensical speech," in defence of your client. As these remarks are not only unfair but likely to do harm to a young Barrister, I deem it my duty to observe that, in my opinion, there is not the slightest foundation for those remarks.

I consider the case was most ably conducted by you, and that the acquittal of the prisoner was mainly due to the ability and skill with which you addressed the Jury."

It is not often that a Puisne Judge of the High Court goes so much out of his way ; no wonder, that Nizam Ali found his right place very soon ; all the honors and emoluments of his profession were soon within his reach.

At this time his greatest happiness was to get an excuse to call at Abd-ul-Aziz's. On such occasions, a young woman whose acquaintance we have already made, was the first to hear his carriage wheels, though except by a slightly lightened color, she would not betray the knowledge.

Once he came, and instead of joining the family circle

* A fact.

closeted himself with her father. Some excitement in his manner as he stood facing his old supporter.

"Yes Sir ! do not pretend to deny it—In our hour of trial you stretched out your hand to save my poor mother, by befriending her son. It was more than generous. What did you know of us—what, if—as is so often the case you had made a mistake ?"

Abd-ul-Aziz had taken his chair, His eyes bent low, his finger tapping the table as if in protest at so much "Ado about Nothing."

"But, thank God, that in my case you had no cause to regret your impulses. I came to you Sir, to-day, to repay the material part of your kindness,"—He placed a cheque on the table—"though how infinitely small that is to the sum total of it, none knows better than your servant."

A moment of silence—Abd-ul-Aziz essayed to speak, but let a moment pass. Then with a certain catch in his voice—

"I will take it lad, though I need it not, for that was our contract. I did for thee what any man of means would have done, and I pray thou may be spared, for the good work which thou can do in the regeneration of our poor race.

And he would have risen, but Nizam Ali's hand was on his shoulder, and Nizam Ali's eyes looked at him in a manner that made him pause.

"But Sir, before you rise, one more petition remains to be submitted. "I had not dared"—a strange agitation in his manner—"to speak earlier, but now that I feel a free man, and somewhat in your favour—as I take it—dare I hope, dare I ask for your daughter's hand in marriage" ? His hand still lingered in most loving manner on the old man's shoulder—for they were very intimate now—"say not that it is impudence, say rather, that it was you who put these mad thoughts into my head ; in such complete envelopment of kindness have you kept me, that I grow bold, Sir, day by day. I know not, if she will take me.—I know that the highest in the land have sought her in vain. She may not deign to look with favour on a struggling Barrister, but—but—if it be so, if she will not have me then I shall feel that indeed the day was accursed, when first I came within your notice."

"Hush boy—such words are unjust to thyself. "Why ! his level eyes were fixed with shrewd humour on the young man—is it Nizam Ali the noted cross-examiner, or some timid conscious criminal who stands before me ! Thou should'st know

better—boy, we love thee, are proud to feel that thou carest for her and will take her as thy wife.

"The yearning of my old age it was to see this come to pass. From that very morning when thou first called, I liked thee, and with better acquaintance, the blessed idea grew in my mind. Come to me"—

Then he embraced him—"Thou need not have any fears, Nizam Ali—she will take thee, if I have read aright the heart of my daughter."

And she took him, with a great thankfulness—and when these two met later on, the lovelight in her eyes made Nizam Ali feel the truth that was in the passing Jogi—His star *was* indeed auspicious; and never perhaps before, did the heart of a woman feel so truly proud and grateful to Providence, as did the heart of Nizam Ali's mother, when she took him gently by the hand, and lifted before his eyes the clinging veil which drooped over the face of his blushing bride.

It was from Nizam Ali, that Naseema came to know that the man who had befriended her husband was her father; and the scene when she went up to the old man, and while tenderly rebuking him for his secrecy burst into tears,—tears we should all like to shed—saying that there were fathers and fathers, but none like hers on the face of the earth—all this—to Abd-ul-Aziz, was like as manna to the starving Israelites.

Daughter, thou art spoiling me—and drew her to himself and kissed her tenderly. Then after a moment of silence he spoke.

"Indeed, Indeed, children"—and whoever hath wrought good of the weight of an ant, shall behold the same, "and I behold it to-day."

ALI.

A VEXATA QUÆSTIO IN TRAVANCORE.

IF there is one remark, applicable to Travancore, invariably made by people who have seen the country and know something of its institutions it is, that it is "intensely conservative." And not without good cause. It *is* a conservative country! conservative in its customs; in its local laws; in its religion; and in its social aspects. And yet curiously enough it is in this conservative land that Christianity, with its caste-disintegrating, and civilizing influences, has taken the very strongest hold on the minds of a comparatively large section of its population. Even under the fostering sway of a confessedly Christian Government—taking the Madras Presidency, for preference, as affording conditions similar, in many respects, to Travancore—the progress of Christian conversion in British India bears no comparison with that in the Land of Charity; for, whereas, the proportion which Christian converts bear to the total population in the Madras Presidency is 2.57 per cent. it is 20.60 per cent. in Travancore. From this it follows that the Hindu Government of conservative Travancore must be acknowledged to be very liberal in respect to the degree of liberty of thought and action the subjects of the State enjoy; and it must consequently be absolved from the charge of "religious intolerance" brought against it, in connection with a Travancore High Court decision which declared that "a convert from Hinduism to Christianity loses *ipso facto* all rights to the property of the family to which he was entitled before his conversion."

This dictum of the Travancore High Court was a full bench decision—a bench composed of Mr. Krishnaswamy Rao, Chief Justice, and Justices W. E. Ormsby, Narayana Pillai, Kunhiraman Nair, and Aryanayagam Pillai,—and, it is scarcely necessary to say, caused quite a sensation in the Christian camp. St. Paul tells us that, "where there is no law, there is no sin," and when the Travancore Government in its law courts had promulgated no specific law regarding the inheritance of converts from Hinduism to Christianity, there was no recognised procedure; and, obviously, there were all kinds of possibilities. The dictum of the High Court changed all that; and distinctly

laid a disability on the converts. It must not be understood, however, that it promulgated a *new* law—as the Venerable Archdeacon Caley, who, as the mouthpiece of the Church Mission Society and the Travancore and Cochin Mission Conference, declared in his representation to the Government of Fort St. George. It was *not* new. The High Court simply interpreted, and gave expression to, the Hind Law of Inheritance, to which there had been no occasion to appeal in the absence of any previous necessity to do so. When the progress of Christian conversion impinged on the question of the Hindu right of inheritance—under a changed environment—the Travancore High Court, after a due consideration of the circumstances, did nothing more than give expression, in so many words, to an existent and ancient law of the land—an unrepealed Hindu Law—which as the outcome of spiritual interests and social obligations was, and continued to be, sacred to every Hindu and to every Hindu Government.

I have said that the dictum of the High Court distinctly laid a disability on the Christian convert. It is, in the sense, that, whereas, in the ignorance of, and absence of such a law in the modern statute book of Travancore the convert was not absolutely debarred previously from sharing the family property, his disability to inherit it was, for the first time, clearly made manifest. This disability is considered to be a very great grievance by the Protestant European Missionaries and their converts; for it must be remembered that neither the Syrian Christian community, who, from the dawn of the Christian era has been resident in Travancore, nor the Roman Catholic Christian community who outnumber by far its Protestant brethren, have agitated for a remedy in this connection. The main question to be decided was, whether it is more desirable to introduce a legislative measure in Travancore similar to the British Indian Act XXI of 1850, or, whether the *lex loci* of Travancore, as formulated by the Judges of the High Court, should continue unrepealed? The British Indian Act is embodied in the following section:—“So much of any law or usage now in force within the territories subject to the Government of the East India Company as inflicts, on any person, forfeiture of rights of property, or may be held, in any way, to impair or affect any right of inheritance by reason of his, or her, renouncing, or having been excluded from, the communion of any religion, or being deprived of caste, shall cease to be enforced as law, in the Courts of the East India

Company, and in the Courts established by Royal Charter within the said territories.” After exhaustive consultation and enquiry, the Madras Government formed the conclusion that the introduction of some law, analogous to Act XXI of 1850, appeared to be necessary in the interests of the Christian convert, and indicated, to the Travancore Government, the line of legislation it was desirable to adopt in the following G. O.:—“The same protection should be secured to Christian converts in the Travancore and Cochin States as is afforded to that class in British India and the Resident will be requested to advise the Durbars of these States accordingly, and to propose to them, the introduction of a regulation securing to a Nair Convert to Christianity his right to maintenance, from his Tarwad property, whilst declaring him, at the same time, ineligible, by reason of his change of faith, to become the Karnavan of the Tarwad, or the Trustee of a Hindu institution.” That is, the Madras Government shirked the responsibility of advising the introduction of the British Indian Act XXI as it stood, but suggested its introduction *mutatis mutandis*, briefly indicating the changes required.

From a close and careful study of the many opinions expressed for, and against, the need for legislation in Travancore, to secure to a convert to Christianity the right of inheritance, the preponderance and weight of opinion, it seems to me, is enormously against the introduction of any such measure. The *Madras Mail*, in commenting upon a judgment of the High Court of Mysore, and Mr. Krishna Murthi's question as to the intention of the Legislature with regards to the Acts of 1850 and 1866 says:—“Surely there was no deliberate intention that when any Hindu subject of His Highness, in the exercise of his rights and liberty of conscience, embraced Christianity he should be deprived of all his Civil and Natural rights, even of the custody and guardianship of his own children. Such inference would be a libel on any Government worthy of the name.” I may be permitted to remark that no question of right, or liberty of conscience, is involved. On the other hand, it is indubitably wrong that a convert to Christianity should lose his inheritance. That is not the real question at issue. What may be right is not always expedient, and in legislation particularly, expediency is of the first importance. The question for decision in Travancore was, whether legislation to *enforce* the right of a convert to inheritance is

necessary; and I think that all who have given the subject the consideration it deserves will agree with me in thinking that the time has not arrived to give effect to such legislation; and that, when the time is ripe for it, legislation will have become superfluous. Mr. Shaugra Soobyer who, as Dewan of Travancore, placed the views of His Highness the Maharaja's Government before His Excellency the Governor in Council represented that:—
 "If a measure like Act XXI of 1850 were to be introduced now for the first time, it might be reasonably doubted whether it would pass into law under the altered circumstances. It is not like the law abolishing Süttee or Slavery, or any measure of the kind demanded by humanising principles. It goes deeper, impinging on the vital springs of the social and religious system of the Hindu community, which has stood its ground for untold ages and which represents the most sacred and cherished traditions bound up with property rights. The proposal under discussion appears to be taken as involving the question of religious toleration. There seems to be little necessary connection between the two subjects. The rights of property are merely incidental. The bulk of converts are dependent on no such rights. Converts from property-owning families, if actuated by sincere conviction, would not be deterred by any difficulties in this direction. In other cases, the law would only encourage people to play fast and loose with religion and have a demoralising influence. Be this as it may, the Hindu religion knows no intolerance. It stands singular in this respect. It seeks no votaries. It is not aggressive. It allows no admission. There is no Hindu unless he is born as such. It permits apostasy but rigidly disowns apostates. According to the principles of Hindu law and religion, every member of a Hindu family has inherent rights, but these rights are inseparable from the obligations which they impose. The obligations are interwoven with spiritual interests. When a Hindu renders himself incapable of discharging his obligations, he forfeits his rights. This is the simple principle that operates. The convert would have his rights without the connected obligations. When the one is no longer possible, the other ceases. So, virtually, the claim is for forfeited rights and the aid of law is invoked to secure the lost position in regard to the privilege minus the counterpart. The head of a Hindu family might argue thus:—'I individually have no power to disinherit any member. He has recog-

nised rights to the property by virtue of his birth and these rights are secure to him so long as he is, under the system. In the case of persons of other nationalities and creeds, they have absolute testamentary power which they can use against offending juniors or successors. I do not desire that power, nor can I have it according to the tenets of my religion. But the system under which I live has a safeguarding principle which is its peculiarity. When one renounces the system and offends it, it outcasts him and cancels his rights. You would now take away this safeguard—this power in the system—while you would leave me individually just where I was before, without the testamentary power which you hold. I am thus placed at a positive disadvantage.' This is by no means an imaginary evil. Strictly speaking, it is not the convert that has grievance, but his advocates who put the idea into him on the wrong analogy of their own system. The convert brought up under Hinduism instinctively knows his true position and breaks through the ties, fully prepared for the consequences. It is a community of reciprocal rights and obligations that is formed, and individualism is sunk in the general interests which all the members are bound to maintain and promote. The family stock handed down from generation to generation is intended to be preserved against those who secede from the union. When a Hindu, by partition or other cause, becomes absolute owner of a property, there is nothing to stand in the way of his enjoying it, with his change of faith. But the case is different where the member of a joint family becomes a convert. The conversion itself is regarded as a social disgrace. It is felt far more keenly than a death calamity. The convert would naturally avoid the presence of his Hindu relatives, who in their turn would tolerate no contact, much less any dealings with him. These sentiments are strong in the case of respectable and well-to-do families. To call in the machinery of law for the purpose of setting up the convert to fight against his home-ties and enforce his intrusion in one shape or other, so odious to Hindu feelings, would be viewed as adding insult to injury."

Mr. Shaugra Soobyer is unanswerable. The Missionaries lay great stress on the point that as the Christian convert is willing to live with his unconverted brethren it is the duty of the latter to, either live with him or yield him maintenance. This idea of living together is obviously impracticable. Let

us take for example the case of an Englishman whose property is entailed. Under English law the eldest son would inherit. But supposing the eldest son embraces Islamism and fills his ancestral halls with a multiplicity of wives and a heterogeneous family, is it to be imagined that the younger sons and other members of the family dependent on him would care to live with such an unnatural relative? They would rather starve! And yet Missionaries think it quite natural and proper, and feasible, that a convert—an outcaste from every possible point of view—should live with his unconverted relatives in the Tarwad house! There is, it is true, a difference between a Right and a state of helplessness dependence, but I only cite the case to illustrate how impossible it is that such joint occupation should be. “Why,” asks the Missionary, “if the Hindu relatives cruelly thrust out a convert”—a convert willing to live with his unconverted relatives—“does the law not force them to provide the convert with a house at the cost of the Tarwad?” Their Lordships of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in Case I. M. H. C. R. 372 answered this satisfactorily in the following words:—A convert by reason of his change of faith “becomes at once severed from his family and regarded by them as an outcaste. The tie which bound the family together is, so far as he is concerned, not only loosened but dissolved.” The obligations consequent upon, and connected with, the tie are also, as held by their Lordships, “dissolved with it.” Mr. Anantan Nair, B.A., B.L., the District Munsiff of Kutnad, is of the opinion that “the convert becomes, from the moment of his conversion, incapable of living in the Tarwad house in joint commensality with the rest of his family, and he is debarred from taking part in the social, religious, and ceremonial concerns of a Tarwad.” “According to Malabar law residence in the Tarwad house in joint commensality with the other members is the inexorable condition of an Anandaravan’s right to maintenance from the Tarwad; and this condition the convert is unable to discharge.” The corollary is that he cannot claim maintenance. The trespass against established law and custom is clearly on the part of the convert, and it really does not seem equitable, though theoretically it may be right, that an express law should be created to repeal an ancient one which the majority of people in Travancore subscribe to, and which is indissolubly bound up with their religious and social life.

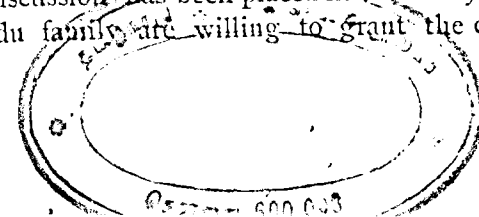
Act XXI of 1850 is far from comprehensive, and Mr. Justice Wilkinson, as District Judge of Malabar, in a claim for maintenance made by a Nambudri who, after having been turned out of caste for adultery, embraced Islamism, in his judgment observes:—“In my opinion Act XXI of 1850 is not applicable. That Act (in the words of Glower J.) is meant for the relief of those who from conscientious motives have found it necessary to abandon the faith of their ancestors. I cannot imagine that the law should still be entitled to maintain in the Courts all the rights which he or she possessed when in communion with the caste. *Still less do I think, that it was intended that an outcaste Brahman who renounced the religion of his ancestors and became a Mahomedan should still be entitled to claim, as a Member of the Illom in which he was born, all the rights and privileges which belonged to him as a Brahman.* What Act XXI of 1850 does mean is not very clear; but I am of opinion that it has no application in the present case and that the Plaintiff, an outcaste and a Mahomedan, has no right, title or interest in the Puzhempureth Illom. I must reverse the decree of the Lower Court and dismiss the plaintiff’s suit with costs throughout.” The italics in the above are mine.

Again, Act XXI of 1850 is wholly, in the opinion of many competent Judges, inoperative when the change of faith and loss of caste involves forfeiture of legal rights, or incapacity to enforce or exercise them. A Member of a Hindu family becomes disqualified to perform funeral and other rites by his conversion; and thus he voluntarily, and with prescience of the consequences, renders himself unfit to fulfil obligations which are part and parcel of the Hindu family system, and he should therefore be the last person to cry out for protection under a new law, more especially, as he, by his conduct, has transgressed a prior law which is held sacred by his people. In my opinion the true Christian having by his own act severed his connection with his “heathen” relatives should disdain to accept the smallest modicum of help from them. It should be a case of forsaking the whole world to save his own soul. Mr. Mayne, who is an admitted authority, speaking of Hindu law observes:—“The Brahmanical theory of wealth is that it is conferred for the sake of defraying the expense of sacrifices.....Consequently one who is unable, or unwilling to perform the necessary sacrifices is incapable of inheriting.” Again:—“Naturally degradation

from caste, the highest penalty for sin, was itself accompanied with forfeiture of inheritance." Under the Hindu law an outcaste is deprived of all Civil and Social rights, and on this Sir Thomas Strange remarks :—"a man under these circumstances might as well be dead which in the Hindu law he is considered to be." "Act XXI of 1850 must be construed as simply removing, a disqualification, arising from change of religious beliefs, not involving the commission of any offences which create a disability under the Hindu law, independent of degradation from caste. To hold otherwise would lead to the absurdity that apostasy would be a means, far more potent than all expiatory penances, of purging all crimes denounced by Hindu sages as crimes in the highest degree," says Mr. Kannan Nambiar, District Munsiff. There is very much more which could be cited in support of the decision of the High Court of Travancore, and it is creditable to, and praiseworthy on the part of, the Government of India that it has finally decided to let well alone, and that it has turned a deaf ear to the complaint of the Travancore Missionaries. As far as the Province of Travancore is concerned, it is a question of the greatest good of the greatest number. As yet, the Hindus in Travancore vastly outnumber the converts who are immediately concerned in seeking a forfeited inheritance; and until the position is reversed, the necessity for legislation is not apparent. Even if it were not so, the necessity for legislation should be approached with the greatest concern and the utmost caution. Her Majesty's Proclamation of 1858 reads thus : "And We will that, generally, in framing and administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages and customs of India." Act XXI, it is significant to remember, was made law seven years previous to the great Indian Mutiny, and eight years prior to the Queen's Proclamation. That the passing of Act XXI was very strongly opposed, even half a century ago when the strength of public opinion was nothing like what it is now, is a fact which is indisputable; and, with this in mind, the Travancore Durbar is to be warmly commended for its temerity in so ably, respectfully and convincingly representing its inability to follow in the footsteps of Lord Dalhousie's Government. Mr. Grigg, the late lamented Resident in Travancore and Cochin, a man of consistent Christian mind and character, in writing to the Madras Government stated :—"I am extremely doubtful whether the State (Travancore) would be justified in introducing a law in-

volving a fundamental change in the (Marumakkathayam) system in the present state of social progress among the Marumakkathayam people to remedy the disabilities of a stray convert to Christianity or Mahomedanism." I may here quote a paragraph from a Judgment of the Judicial Committee which seems applicable to the subject. Their Lordship say :—"In India, however, all or almost all the great religious communities of the world exist side by side. Under the impartial rule of the British Government, Brahmin, Buddhist, Christian, Mahomedan, Parsi, Sikh, are one nation, enjoying equal political rights, and having perfect equality before the tribunals; they co-exist as separate and very distinct communities, having distinct laws affecting every relation of life. The law of husband and wife, parent and child, the descent, devolution and disposition of property are all different, depending in each case on the body to which the individual is deemed to belong; and the difference of religion pervades and governs all domestic usages and social relations." (I.L.R. 16 Bombay, page 332.) One more quotation and I have done! Sir Fitz-James Stephen says :—"No law should be made till it is distinctly perceived and felt to be necessary. No one can admit more fully or feel more strongly than I do, the evils and dangers of mere speculative legislation.....No one can feel more strongly than I do the madness of the smallest unnecessary interference with the social habits and religious opinions of the country. I would not touch one of them except in cases of extreme necessity."

Apart from the legal aspect of the question, the Christian communities would be the richer for converts who, for the privilege of following Christ, surrender wealth and property and assume the Cross of poverty for conscience' sake. The young man who wished to become a disciple of Christ was told to "sell all that he had and give it to the poor"—and then follow Him. But he, like many of the would-be converts of Travancore apparently, "went away sorrowing"—for he had great possessions. The introduction of a law like Act XXI would inevitably result in strong opposition, a vast amount of ill feeling, ruinous litigation, and in the upheaval of the Hindu social strata without benefitting the spread of Christianity one whit. The greater the difficulties that Christianity meets with, the better for its stability in the long run. Missionaries should rejoice that a stumbling block of the kind under discussion has been placed in their way! If the members of a Hindu family are willing to grant the convert



maintenance, or inheritance, the *lex loci* of the land does not prevent such a concession. It simply upholds the inalienable right of the Tarwad to resist the illegal claims of a convert and outcaste. If the members of a Christian community really welcome a convert, they should combine to provide for him if necessary. It is well known that the early Christians held all things in common, and if a member of a Christian community in those days kept back anything from his brethren he was condemned utterly. Witness the case of Ananias and Sapphira who paid the penalty of death for perpetrating an acted and uttered lie. The Christian sentiment of these days most certainly would not inflict so heavy a punishment for so trifling a crime. To call the beliefs of Hindus superstition and bigotry, their law and traditions nonsense, and their ceremonies and customs obnoxious and indecent is not Christian in the first place, is decidedly ungentlemanly in the second, and is altogether indicative of a narrow mind and superficial culture. There are many people who cannot realise an idea till it takes the form of a homely illustration, and I hope I may be pardoned for putting the case in a very simple way. Let us suppose that the Reverend Mr. A., a staunch Church of England Clergyman who honestly believes Roman Catholics and Mahomedans are altogether outside the pale of Salvation. Let us suppose that he is wealthy, having inherited the wealth from his progenitors; that he has three sons to whom he had willed his wealth, on the condition that they remain true to the Faith of their Fathers. Let us then suppose that the first son turned a Roman Catholic and married a Native girl; that son no. 2 became a Mahomedan and Polygamist; and that, thereupon, the Reverend gentleman disinherited his sons nos. 1 and 2, and left the whole of his property to son no. 3. We should, probably, pity and sympathise with—some of us at least would—the converted Catholic and converted Mahomedan, more especially if we knew that they had changed their faith through conviction; but no one out of a madhouse, I imagine, could dispute the right of the Clergyman to alter his will; and it would be ridiculous to hold that the State would be justified in interfering and in compelling the Reverend gentleman to maintain his sons, or to leave them his wealth. If the case is so clear regarding the individual, the contention is still clearer in the case of a people—a people whose habits, customs and religion have become established and sanctified by time, tradition, and law; and whose

property-rights are interwoven with and inseparable from spiritual interests, and ceremonial obligations. Lord Salisbury lately warned Christian Missionaries against unwise speech and impolitic action when dealing with races of alien religions, and it is much to be desired that the advice will not fall on deaf ears. The people of India, and especially of Travancore, are extremely tolerant of all religions, but their patient attitude of apparent unconcern should not be taken to mean their readiness to acquiesce in changes which, if brought about, would shake Native society to its foundations, and which are likely to undermine the strong confidence which the people have, not without reason, learned to place in the religious neutrality of the British Government. That neutrality once again doubted, or misunderstood, is likely to end in the disturbance of the peace, if not, the disruption of the Queen's Indian Empire.

In conclusion, I wish to say that I claim very little originality to the views herein advanced. My humble task has been to place before the general public, which seldom has access to official papers, and more seldom still, the patience to wade through them, in a readable form, the pros and cons of a much debated, and much misunderstood, question. I have not set forth the views of the advocates of the Christian convert's case, because from an abstract point of view it is unjust that a change of faith should involve a loss of inheritance. That being conceded, the question of expedience alone demanded enquiry, and from all that is gone before, I hope I have succeeded in convincing my readers that the Government of India has acted wisely in giving a deaf ear to the clamour raised by the Missionaries of Travancore. Personally, I confess to a feeling of disappointment that Christian converts should be so insistent on endeavouring to obtain that which they have voluntarily abandoned. If the *lex loci* of Travancore will tend to shut out, from the Christian fold, converts who, under other circumstances, would become Christians, then indeed the Missionary societies in the land have reason to be thankful. But a vast majority of those Christian gentlemen, I fear, will not agree with me.

A. P. SMITH.

AGRICULTURE IN MALABAR.

THE trite saying "that India is a purely agricultural country" applies with greater force to Malabar. Few natives of the district except some Mahomedans and Tamil Brahmins who are settlers from the East coast are engaged in trade. Even among the Mappilas, only a small proportion of them living on the coast is engaged in commercial pursuits. The bulk of the people depend upon agriculture alone for their livelihood. The aristocracy of the land, the Rajahs and Namiboodri Brahmins, who are the leisured classes in Malabar though they do not cultivate their lands themselves entirely live upon the produce of the land. The people do not know any other business. They are so strongly attached to their ancestral homes and the land of their birth that the idea of emigration never enters into their heads. The peculiar customs and manners, the peculiar system of inheritance, the too numerous caste system, and several other things of a like nature also render emigration difficult. The result then is that the ever increasing population of the district has to live upon the limited food supply which the land yields.

Let us now see what stimulus has been given by the state to this all important branch of industry.

Ever since the Government of the country passed from the Company to the Queen Empress the legislative machinery has been very active. Not a year passes without adding an enactment or two or even more to the statute book and no enactment fails to bring a new source of income to the state. Fiscal laws we have plenty. We have the Stamp law, the Court Fees Act, the Registration Act, the Revenue Recovery Act, the Sea Customs Act, the Salt and Abkary Act, the Forest Act, the Local Board's Act, the Municipal Act, the Petroleum Act, the Tariff Act, the Income-tax Act and a host of other Acts passed in rapid succession, and not one of them fails to add substantially to the public coffers. There are some additional burdens to Malabar, for instance the road cess is double of what it is in other districts. In none of these Acts passed ungrudgingly by the legislature do we find any provision that gives the slightest help or encouragement to the real producers of wealth. The only act intended for the

good of the tillers of the soil viz., "the Land Improvement Loans Act" is hedged round with so many complicated and unintelligible "*standing orders*" that no one would venture to apply for any help under that Act. To effect a necessary improvement on the land one would rather borrow money at 12 per cent. or even 24 per cent. interest from a money-lender than approach the revenue authorities for a loan at 5 or even 3 per cent. The reason is plain. From a money-lender the borrower can get money whenever he wants, and he has not to propitiate many persons. If an application is made to the Government for a loan under the Act, then the applicant's difficulties just begin. He has to subject himself to examinations and inspections and scrutinies at the hands of village officials, Revenue Inspectors, Tahsildar, and a lot of other officials whom it is not easy, but sometimes even costly, to satisfy. Add to this the difficulty and inconvenience of dancing attendance upon these officers moving from camp to camp. The result is, no one ever cares to profit by the benevolent provisions of that Act.

I do not forget the Malabar Compensation for Tenants' Improvements Act, 1899. This act, I gratefully acknowledge, does give some encouragement to the agricultural classes, but the mode of working it is very unsatisfactory. The valuation of the improvements effected by the tenants entirely depends upon the irresponsible Commissioners sent out by the Courts. The Commissioners are mostly hangers-on of the Judges and have little or no experience of the business they are called upon to do. Their honesty is also questionable. Who are the Judges to check their valuation? The policy of the Government and of the High Court, by which Judges are transferred from place to place without any principle and without any regard to the qualifications of the individuals concerned, has rendered them incompetent to undertake the duties they have to perform. It would seem that the authorities take care to transfer the Judges to places, the vernacular language and the customs and manners of which they are quite innocent of.

"The Forest Law" has done what it can to injure the prospects of the cultivators living in the vicinity of the Ghauts. It has deprived them of the valuable leaf manure which is so indispensable for improving the soil. It has deprived them of the timber with which they used to make their tools of husbandry. It has deprived them of the pasture for their cattle. Things

they used to get as a free gift of nature they have now to purchase at great cost.

What the forest law has done to the up-country people, the salt law has done with greater success to the people of the coast. Coconut is the staple produce of the West coast. It is well-known that salt is the best manure for coconut trees, and Providence has created a large supply of it on this coast, which can be manufactured in large quantities in a very short time at a nominal cost of time and money. The salt so extensively manufactured was freely used for human consumption also. This manufacture our Government, solely for fiscal purposes, has put a stop to. A large number of honest and hard-working people, who are thrown out of employ by the enactment of the Salt law, now presses upon the land, and those who cannot find work as cultivators have turned beggars or robbers.

"*Abkary Law*" has also deprived several thousands of persons of their means of sustenance, and they also share the same fate.

A large number of artisans who find their avocation unprofitable on account of the competition with machinery are also thrown upon the lands.

I may here quote with advantage the observation of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ranade :

"Every class of artisans; the spinners, weavers and dyers, the oilsmen, the paper makers, the silk and sugar and metal workers, &c., who are unable to bear up against western competition, resort to the land, leave the towns and go into the country and are lost in the masses of helpless people who were unable to bear up against scarcity and famine."

To no part of India is this remark more applicable than to Malabar,

Thus it will be seen that the ever increasing population of Malabar entirely depend upon land and land alone for their livelihood, and it is painful to consider that the State renders no help to the cultivators in their struggle for existence.

Add to all this, the strained relationship between the landlords and tenants which is rendered more strained by the ill-advised and irresolute policy of the Government. The Government at one time appreciated the gravity of the situation and proposed to remedy the evil by legislation. A special commission, now remembered as "Logan's Commission" was appointed to enquire into the matter, and suggest to the Government on what lines the

Legislature should proceed. The Commission collected a large mass of evidence and made an elaborate report. The members who constituted the commission differed very widely and submitted dissentient minutes. The Government of the day was not able to find out what ought to be done under the circumstances, and the result was that the whole thing was dropped. But the Commission has not failed to leave its effect behind; much bad blood has been created between the landlords and tenants; false hopes were raised in the minds of the tenants, and the minds of the landlords were filled with alarm.

In all contracts entered into between landlord and tenants subsequent to the appointment of the "*Special Commission*"—all possible contingencies were provided for and clauses highly injurious to the tenants introduced. Several petitions were presented to the Commission by the tenants against the landlords in the hope of getting immediate relief. The Commission, and for the matter of that, the Government were unable to grant any relief, and the landlords against whom the complaints were made never forgave the tenants who made the complaints.

Some years rolled on, and the Government again thought it expedient to create a Tenancy Law for Malabar defining clearly the relation between landlords and tenants, and Mr. Ross was appointed a special Commissioner. That estimable gentleman collected a large quantity of useful information and submitted to the Government a draft bill which has not yet seen the light of day. Fortunately for the people, Mr. Ross did not receive petitions, and the unpleasantness consequent upon it was avoided. Nevertheless the public mind was agitated. The tenants hoped for much, and the landlords feared much, and the evil consequence is left behind and it shall perhaps never die out.

I beg to ask, why should the Government show such marked weakness? If it cannot legislate in the direction it considers proper, why should it create alarm in the one and false hopes in the other. Such a step has a very demoralising influence which will create, and has created unforeseen and untold difficulties.

I have mentioned these facts simply to show that the Government has done more harm than good to the cultivators by the half-hearted and faltering steps hitherto taken.

Judge-made law has also contributed its share to the misfortunes of the cultivating classes. Courts have given, perhaps unwittingly, sufficient encouragement to frequent evictions. Mal-

charth," wrongly termed second mortgage, was almost unknown until recently. The distinction between an ordinary mortgage, which is only a security for the money advanced by the mortgagee and which could be redeemed by the mortgagor at any time, and the Kanom which was in fact a tenure in land with vested rights was well-known and carefully recognised by courts. In the case of ordinary mortgage the interest, &c., was left to be decided by competition. In the case of Kanom the relation between landlord and tenant was regulated by custom. Now by an indiscriminate application of the rules and laws of ordinary mortgage, in utter defiance of the time-honored customs, the tenant's right has lost its market value, since the tenure has become very precarious. The fear of eviction always unsettles his mind and paralyses his energy. He has accordingly no inducement to improve the soil and to make the mother earth yield more and more.

Now our benign Government, as if to atone for all the existing evils, is going to give the cultivator and landholder the benefit of a "*revenue settlement*."

Let not the reader suppose it is a permanent settlement that is proposed to be given, but only an enhancement of revenue with a promise that a periodical revision will take place—which will never fail to bring more money to the public purse.

The survey, the precursor of a revised revenue settlement, commenced some years ago, and landholders had from time to time to spend large sums of money for survey expenses and for purchasing demarcation stones prepared by the favoured contractor of the Survey officer. There was survey and resurvey and corrections of mistakes already made by survey officials, and all this at the expense of the ryots.

Owing to frequent evictions resorted to by the landlords, all the subordinate tenures have already lost their market value. A Kanom holding does not now fetch a fourth of the value which it fetched some years ago. The market value of the proprietary or Jenmam right is also fast falling owing to the apprehension that the state is going to increase the land tax.

Thus the credit of the landholder is gone, and he cannot even get a loan on the security of his holding.

The immediate effect of this proposed settlement is that the small capital which finds circulation among the agricultural classes is already being withdrawn, and after the completion of the settlement no intelligent and educated capitalist will invest a

single pie in land and in agricultural pursuits, but will divert it to more profitable and less precarious channels. The land will be in the hands of day labourers who have neither capital nor energy nor skill to carry on agricultural operations with any degree of efficiency. There will be no inducement to improve the land which will thereby become less and less fertile.

One important canon of land tax is that the tax on land ought to fall on the owner of the land and not on the cultivator. This rule is reversed in Malabar. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred it is the tenant that pays the land revenue. Even in cases where the assessment stands in the name of the landlord, the latter takes care by special contract with the tenant to make him pay the tax. The Government has not yet been able, although repeated attempts have been made, to regulate the relation between landlords and tenants by clearly defining their legal rights and duties.

Another important rule that is maintained more in the breach than in the observance is that the improvement effected by the ryot at his expense is not to be taxed. In Malabar not a pie is spent by the State for improving the land, yet as soon as any tract of waste land is reclaimed and rendered cultivable at considerable expense by any individual, the revenue authorities at once find it out and heavy assessment is imposed upon it.

In the above pages I have briefly given a true description of the existing state of affairs, and I have not at all overdrawn the picture.

"The *Agricultural Department*" and "*model farms*" and such other names are useless from the cultivator's point of view, and they do not render him any practical help in his daily struggle.

"*Fixity of Land tenure*," "*Permanent Settlement of Land Revenue*," "*Agricultural Bank*," &c., do tempt the cultivator like a mirage tempts a traveller in an African desert. It is very doubtful if the cultivator in the near future will be able to derive any practical benefit from such things. I fear he will simply have to rest satisfied with reading elaborate reports and minutes couched in pedantic language.

It is, perhaps useless to suggest any scheme for rendering practical help to the cultivators which will necessitate an expenditure of Government money. The usual reply of "want of funds" is the only one that can be expected.

Let me venture to suggest a very modest scheme for render-

ing some small degree of help to the cultivator which can be worked with little or no expense to the estate.

My suggestions are:—

1. To supply to the cultivator at cost price the improved implements of agriculture approved by experts as suited to this country.

2. To supply to them at cost price small machines suited to their means and adapted to their requirements for raising water from wells, tanks and rivers to irrigate their fields.

3. To appoint a few hands—two or three for the whole district will suffice—to teach the cultivators how to use them and how to make the necessary repairs when the machines get out of order.

It is the fashion for official report writers, platform speakers, &c., to denounce the people as ignorant, indolent, apathetic and non-progressive.

They never take into consideration the state of the existing society, the material condition of the people and the want of opportunities for them to find out and study any method other than the one they have been used to from generation to generation.

I am aware that several persons in Malabar want to purchase some water-lifting machine to irrigate their fields. It is a pitiable sight to see excellent crops withering away on the banks of rivers through which large volume of water finds its way to the sea. The owners of the fields have no idea as to what machine they ought to purchase and where they can obtain it. Even if they secure one they do not know how to fit up and use it and much less to repair it if it gets out of order.

May not the Government render some help to the cultivator in this direction at least without spending any money from public treasury, but charging the whole expense on him? If a petition or memorial goes to the authorities, the usual reply, "declined to interfere" might be given.

I make this representation through the pages of this Review so that the Government of its accord might be pleased to do something on the lines indicated above.

CALICUT, }
October 1900.

P. A. KRISHNA MENON.

MADRAS UNDER SIR ARTHUR HAVELOCK.

BEFORE the close of the current year Madras will bid farewell to Sir Arthur Havelock before he will have completed his full term of five years. He succeeded Lord Wenlock on the 18th of March 1896, and is resolved to retire from office towards the close of December instead of in the second half of March next is understood to have been made to suit personal convenience as well as public necessity. In Sir Arthur Havelock's case his movement to the Hills immediately after his arrival in the country was not of much consequence inasmuch as he had not been new to eastern countries or even to Madras. His successor comes fresh from home and has to know for the first time everything about the country which he is coming to govern and about the officials and the people with whom he will have to deal. In his case, therefore, it is not desirable that his first Indian experience should be gained on the heights of the Nilgiris instead of on the plains; and the interval between his arrival in this country and the departure of the Government to the Hills can be advantageously spent in gaining his first impressions of Indian administration of Indian life and of Indian idiosyncracies of character and sentiment. The advent of a new Governor is always regarded with the opposite feelings of hope and fear; while the retirement of the old one is comparatively a matter of little concern to the people at large. A retiring Governor, if he has been absolutely good, is bidden farewell with genuine regret and with enthusiastic demonstrations of gratitude; but if he has been absolutely bad, is dismissed with a sigh of relief. Sir Arthur Havelock has gone near neither extremes. He has not attained the ideal excellence which the best Governor could aspire to; nor has he fallen back to the opposite extreme which is the portion of the most perverse and misdirected agents of British Power. His administration has possessed attributes which we are bound to gratefully acknowledge; while at the same time it has shown a great falling off in several respects from the ideal which a steadily watchful public ever keeps before its mind. Of great or marked achievements

there has been none during Sir Arthur Havelock's administration; of serious faults and failings there have been a few.

Sir Arthur came to Madras at a time when public opinion had expressed itself in singular unanimity that the head of the Government had failed to make his own will the predominant factor in the councils of Government and that the misdirected obstinacy of his civilian colleagues had compelled him to acquiesce in measures or proceedings which were highly unpopular with certain sections of the people or unacceptable to the general public. Lord Wenlock was personally a man of excellent traits of character and temperament. He was amiable, kind and obliging; but he lacked practical knowledge of administrative work and was very likely deficient in self-reliance, a quality which is acquired only by a confidence in one's own ability and judgment. Such a man could not have been well expected to dominate over his veteran colleagues who had spent years of their life in India and had everything connected with the administration on their finger's ends. But when he had to make a choice between his colleagues in any matter of importance, he had the good sense and discrimination to enlist the weight of his authority on the side of sympathy and justice to the people of the country. In spite of his general good nature and his good intentions, he was therefore led into mistakes which contributed more or less to the unpopularity of his administration; and when Sir Arthur Havelock arrived in Madras with an established reputation as a successful ruler of Ceylon, hopes were raised that the head of the Government would be something more than a figurehead, a potent force in the administration and an effective antidote to the perverse obstinacy of his Council; and with his long experience and acquaintance with administrative details, he could have had no difficulty in seeing things for himself. It must be acknowledged that so far as circumstances could permit, Sir Arthur Havelock has shown himself the head of the Government rather than a willing instrument of his colleagues. He has held the reins in his own hands and has shown a laudable desire to see into things himself. Indeed under the present constitution of the Madras Government, with the Commander-in-Chief out of it, with the civilian members in the majority, and the Governor without the casting vote, it is not always possible for the latter to assert himself with authority and effect; and where his civilian colleagues stand

firm and together, he is more or less powerless to carry out his own policy or wishes. This, to a certain extent, has diminished the value of higher statesmanship in the Governor and must compel him at times to acquiesce in arrangements which are not acceptable to him personally. In judging of the career of a Governor, therefore, we have to make sufficient allowance for the difficulties which confront him in this respect. He is not his own master in many things and has consequently to bear the odium for the joint mistakes or blunders of his colleagues in whom the sense of responsibility to the public is not particularly strong owing partly to their inadequate appreciation of the value of public opinion and their inherent disinclination to defer to it, and partly to their consciousness of the difficulty of fixing the personal responsibility for particular acts and measures. Sir Arthur Havelock has had his share of the difficulties of this description, more especially during the earlier period of his rule; but it is our belief that, when he yielded, he did so with reluctance. Expediency often suggests conciliation even when it involves a sacrifice of personal independence. When prompted by the fear of facing a conflict, expediency becomes another name for timidity and want of decision; but when suggested by prudential considerations which have no element of personal selfishness in them, it becomes statesmanship. We believe that Sir Arthur Havelock was not influenced by the former kind of expediency, and was too shrewd to lose sight of the latter.

The degree of reliance which a Governor is prepared to place in his Councillors or advisers is in proportion to the amount of confidence which their ability, sagacity and prudence inspire in his mind. The situation when Sir Arthur Havelock took charge of the administration in Madras was such that His Excellency was disposed to look at every question with an independent mind and with a conviction that his watchful attention and scrutiny were necessary to avoid errors and to command public confidence. A man placed among advisers who are accustomed to have their own way and whose judgment he has reason to distrust is bound to approach questions with a critical mind and with a natural desire to hear the other side and to give due weight to it; but when he is surrounded by advisers in whose loyalty and judgment he has the most absolute confidence and whom he believes to be incapable of doing anything calculated

to detract from his reputation or popularity, the importance of hearing the other side does not appeal to him with the same force as it does under the opposite circumstances. We suspect that Sir Arthur Havelock has had to carry on his rule under both these conditions; and the measure of success has depended, to a certain degree, upon the predominance of one or the other conditions. It cannot however be said that he has at any time been altogether indifferent to the trend of public opinion. He has always tried to hear both sides of every question and has on occasions sought to take the public into his confidence; and if nevertheless mistakes have been made, they are due, we think, to his latter day over-confidence in official views. Comparing the first half of His Excellency's administration with the latter half of it, we cannot but wish that he had continued as he had begun.

Looking over the whole period of his administration, it is impossible to find anything which will remain as an abiding landmark in the history of Madras during his five years' term of office. He has attempted nothing great and has achieved nothing remarkable, nothing in fact for which a whole people will long remember him with enthusiasm. The fault for this cannot be wholly laid to his account, for great measures of administrative reform cannot be attempted without an adequate provision of funds, and of this necessary resource the Madras Government has not had during his term a superfluity. And no Governor is likely to be more fortunate in this respect unless the Government of India agree to a more equitable readjustment of their existing financial relations with the local Government. At the same time it is possible to conceive several things which His Excellency could have done, independently of financial considerations, for the good of the people. He could have, for example, insisted on a juster and more generous policy in regard to the Land-revenue Settlement of this Presidency. He could have done something for the development of Lord Ripon's scheme of local Self-Government. He could have been more generous in regard to the representation of the popular element in the Legislative Council. He could have been more conciliatory and more considerate in regard to certain measures of legislation upon which the people concerned have felt strongly and which they regard as involving serious detriment to their interests. He could have done something for the better recognition of Native talent in the public service of the country even in accordance with the recommenda-

tions of the public service commission as accepted by the Indian and the Home Governments. He could have also avoided some of the mistakes made latterly both in the matter of important appointments and in regard to the liberty of the subject.

It must be acknowledged that Sir Arthur Havelock has felt a very genuine sympathy with the ryots and has in his public utterances given expression to that sympathy, but he has apparently been unable to translate his sympathy into practical action owing to the established policy of the Government of India in the matter of land assessment. He has however done his best to hear individual grievances and to rectify them so far as possible. Any man with a just grievance was sure of getting a hearing from Sir Arthur Havelock; and in all matters he has used his independent judgment in arriving at a conclusion. Rack-rented ryots, injured people seeking justice, public servants who were harshly and unjustly treated, have all according to the merits of their case more or less successfully appealed to His Excellency, and in many instances men who had lost their promotions, who had been suspended or degraded, have had justice done to them by a proper representation of their case to him. Departmental jobbery received no conscious encouragement from His Excellency, and timely ventilation in the public press of contemplated acts of injustice and wrong rarely failed to produce the desired effect.

The first and perhaps the only act of any political significance which can be credited to His Excellency's regime was the appointment of the Honorable Mr. Bhashyam Aiyangar as the Advocate-General of Madras. This was an important step, a rare recognition of superior Native talent and capacity, a wise and politic application of the fundamental principle of the Parliamentary Enactment of 1833, and of the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 to the actualities of Indian administration. To appoint a native of India as the highest Law Officer of the Crown was itself a first step; to appoint a Vakil of the High Court was perfectly a new idea. To make this entirely new move required courage, and it is singular that in this matter His Excellency had the full support of both his civilian colleagues. Indeed, it is true that there was no man on any side of the legal profession who surpassed or even equalled Sir V. Bhashyam Aiyangar in ability and attainments, and among Barristers in particular there was a singular lack of eligible candidates, acceptable to

the Government. In these circumstances the choice of the Government lay between importing a Barrister from elsewhere, and availing itself of the services of the towering forensic genius in the whole bar. But this fact, in our opinion, does not detract from the credit due to His Excellency for broad-mindedness and right political perception. Sir Bashyam Aiyangar had not only rendered conspicuous service to the Government, but had made himself invaluable to it in matters of law and legislation. If this triumph of the Queen's Proclamation had been allowed to prevail, its political effect would have been great throughout India; but there were under-currents at work and racial prejudice animated by self-interest which prevailed with the India Office and prevented the permanent appointment of the distinguished Vakil. It must however be said that Sir Arthur Havelock's Government did everything it could to secure the confirmation of his appointment and its ill-success in the matter, brought about by circumstances over which it had no control, ought not to deprive the Governor of the credit justly due to him.

It is to be regretted however that the wonderful effect produced by the above step was marred by two other acts of His Excellency's Government, both grave enough for serious criticism—the one more than the other. We refer to the supersession of Mr. M. O. Parthasarathy Aiyangar, M.A., M.L., in regard to the appointment of the Chief Judgeship of the Madras Small Cause Court and the temporary effacement of the native element from the High Court Bench during the absence of Sir S. Subramania Iyer, K.C.I.E., on leave for six months. We cannot overlook the first, because looked at in any way it presents no justification unless we are to accept the difference of race as a determining factor; and we cannot overlook the second because it was a grave departure from the declared policy of the Government, ratified, so far as this Presidency is concerned, by the consistent practice of nearly a quarter of a century. In regard to both these matters we are compelled to say that Sir Arthur Havelock took leave of his political perception, infringed a principle, and did a grave wrong to an individual in the one case and to the community in the other. To Mr. Parthasarathy Aiyangar personally it was an injustice that he should have been superseded by another whose position at the bar was decidedly inferior to his and who had even acted as a Small Cause Court Judge while he

was acting as Chief Judge of the same Court. And the way in which it was brought about, namely, by amending the Small Cause Courts' Act so as to appoint an outsider over Mr. Parthasarathy, imparted to it the character of a personal jobbery or racial partiality which could not fail to strike interested or impartial observers. Indeed, even if Mr. Parthasarathy Aiyangar had been appointed to the temporary vacancy, European influence would have been still directed in favour of a European being the permanent incumbent of the office, but Sir Arthur Havelock at any rate would have avoided the unpopularity since he has had no occasion to make a permanent appointment in his time.

The High Court appointment was, from every point of view, a much more serious matter inasmuch as it involved the taking away—albeit temporarily—of what had been conceded as a matter of right and what has been always regarded as essential for the satisfactory administration of justice. The public had not even the remotest suspicion that a practice so long and so consistently followed would be departed from; and the surprise was therefore all the greater when it was known that the High Court was to remain without a native judge, not for a week or two, but for six months. We do not hesitate to call this a grave mistake on the part of Sir Arthur Havelock's Government, a mistake for which there could be no justification and there was no explanation. That the step was taken without justifiable grounds was made evident when His Excellency in the exercise of his power declined to admit or answer the interpellations submitted to him by an Hon'ble Member of the Legislative Council; and the Secretary of State, on the motion of the Mahajana Sabha, had even to tell the Madras Government that no rule made by him contemplated that a temporary appointment for such a period as six months could not be filled up by the appointment of a practising Vakil. It was a bad precedent that the Local Government sought to establish; and the public will always associate it with Sir Arthur Havelock's administration.

Credit is due to Sir Arthur Havelock for his order in regard to the Local Fund Engineers who claimed to be free from the control of District Boards. His Excellency very rightly decided that to constitute Local Fund Engineers into a separate Department and to free them from the control of Local Fund authorities would go against the grain of Local Self-Government. He

further ordered that old men and pensioners should not be appointed Local Fund Engineers, but that so far as possible men trained in the Local Engineering College should be selected. This was a very wholesome injunction inasmuch as great jobbery had been perpetrated in the Local Fund Department to the exclusion of locally trained men; and we hope it has been consistently observed in practice.

In the more important matters of Famine and Plague, His Excellency was watchful and circumspect. When Famine had declared itself in the Ceded Districts and when relief measures had been set on foot, things did not go on as satisfactorily and smoothly as could have been expected. Government in its ignorance of the extent of suffering and love of economy was pulling in one direction, and the Famine Commissioner with a full knowledge of the situation and sympathy for the suffering was pulling in the other. The tug-of-war went on for sometime, and it was not till His Excellency visited the affected districts and saw things for himself that harmonious co-operation and working was established. His Excellency's visit was followed by a relaxation of the unsympathetic rigidity at the headquarters; money was more liberally spent; relief measures were more effectively carried out; and what might have been a scandal and a calamity was averted. This result would have been impossible but for Sir Arthur Havelock's personal attention and sympathy, and we believe that His Excellency himself will admit that he was helped in this matter by timely representations in the public press.

Fortunately for this Presidency plague did not obtain a footing anywhere within its limits: but the Government had been sufficiently forewarned and, be it also said to its credit, was sufficiently forearmed. We think it is fairly possible to say that if the disease had spread over Madras His Excellency would not have been found unequal to the situation, but that, he would have grappled with it with foresight and wisdom and without committing himself to the blundering policy which in every way proved disastrous in the Western Presidency. His Excellency did everything to conciliate public opinion, to take the public into his confidence, and to carry out the preventive and precautionary measures in accordance with the conservative but enlightened sense of the people. The rigorous way in which he dealt with the delinquencies of Plague subordinates at the Tad-

patri Camp showed at once his determination to tolerate no oppression or illegalities on the part of Plague officials and his earnest desire to respect public sentiment and conciliate public opinion. We have no doubt that, if similar infringements of the intentions and injunctions of Government had been brought to His Excellency's notice, he would have dealt with the delinquents with the same measured severity and rigour. And if it had unfortunately fallen to His Excellency's lot to confront a serious outbreak of the Plague, we think we are justified in believing that His Excellency would have grappled with the situation with insight, sympathy and tact. With regard to the social life and prejudices of the Hindus Sir Arthur Havelock showed the instinct of the Hindus; and with his safe, conservative temperament there was no fear of his consciously contemplating offence to the feelings or sentiments of the people.

The earnest support he gave to the proposal for undertaking fresh legislation in regard to Hindu Religious endowments was an instance of his sympathy with the enlightened sentiment of the Hindus. It was the result of his conviction that these endowments are grossly mismanaged at present and of his knowledge that, so far as this Presidency is concerned, Hindu public opinion is unanimous in asking for legislation and that legislation can be effected without any harm or injury either to the State or to the public. The Government of India have in their wisdom thought it fit to disregard the weight of authority and opinion in Madras; but their fears have been unnecessarily excited by considerations which have no application to the state of this Presidency. The public will acknowledge with gratitude Sir Arthur Havelock's sympathy and support which, it may be hoped, will still help in the removal of a standing cause of grievance to the Hindu community of Madras, especially in the Southern districts.

A similar attitude in regard to the question of Land Revenue Settlement and a similar representation of his views to the Government of India and the Secretary of State would not have been incompatible with the feeling of sympathy which His Excellency is known to entertain towards the agricultural classes and cultivators. Such an attitude would have been widely appreciated by the public. We have a suspicion, and we believe it is well founded, that the excessive claims which the Government of India make upon the revenues of this Presidency and upon land in particular have

been due to the weakness shown by the Local Government in quietly yielding to every mandate emanating from Calcutta or Simla and in failing to represent the actual condition of the people who are at each successive settlement called upon to pay an enhanced revenue much beyond their means and their resources. It was expected that Sir Arthur Havelock would make a strong representation on behalf of the ryots of this Presidency against the present system of perpetually recurring settlements with all their attendant expenditure and annoyance and the inevitable enhancement of existing burdens. There was a rumour some time back that Sir Arthur Havelock was prepared to do something in this behalf. But so far at any rate as the public are aware nothing seems to have been done in this direction. If His Excellency had left a weighty minute or made a strong remonstrance it could not have failed to command attention at the hands of the higher authorities. We cannot help wishing that His Excellency expressed on this subject an opinion as earnest and emphatic as the protest which he repeatedly made in the Legislative Council against the vicious system known as Provincial Contract. But our information, which we believe to be reliable, is that Sir Arthur Havelock has endorsed every bit of the past policy of the Government in regard to land assessment.

On the negative side of Sir Arthur Havelock's administration must be placed his extreme unwillingness to extend the scheme of Local Self-Government. In public addresses, in the proceedings of public bodies, and in representations from other public sources, this important subject had been pressed upon His Excellency's attention. In the constitution of the Taluk and District Boards, in particular, defects had been pointed out, which militated against the fundamental principles of representation and Local Self-Government. We believe it was quite possible and practical for His Excellency to have attempted and effected an extension of the scheme on an elective basis, at least in some of the more advanced districts. Such a concession, while it would have made no material change in the existing arrangements, would have been received with gratitude and favour by the entire educated public. Its political effect would have been greater than its practical significance. Not only was nothing done in this direction, but the course of policy under His Excellency's rule in regard to District Municipalities was not more generous or lenient than it had been under the previous *regime*. Municipalities

were, unless we are very much mistaken, as frequently disfranchised; the power to elect their chairmen was as frequently taken away; and in no case does it appear that excessive sympathy was shown. Everybody knows that these so-called self-governing bodies are judged absolutely and entirely on the one-sided reports of the Divisional or the District Officer; and it always happens that the Municipalities condemned have their own version which is in conflict with the official report, but which is not given any weight in the deliberations of the Government. In Tellicherry, for example, it was the Sub-Collector's Head Clerk who became Chairman-delegate, who quarrelled with the Councillors, and ultimately made up a case against his adversaries who formed the majority of the Council. And it was on this man's report, backed up of course by his official master, that the Municipality received its doom at the hands of the Government. Such treatment of Municipalities bears no trace of sympathy. It lacks impartiality. Local Self-Government in this country is still a tender plant. The powers vested in the local bodies are not sufficient to develop the sense of responsibility, and the complete official control deadens what little there is of it. It has therefore to be reared with sympathy and from a conviction of its usefulness as a preparation and training for a higher state of political existence. It was with this latter object that Lord Ripon inaugurated his great scheme; and it is with the same object that in England great indulgence is shown to Municipal bodies. There are, we have been told by competent authorities, more corruption and irregularities in England than here, but those evils are borne there as necessary, because these local bodies are essential for the training of the people for their Parliamentary life. Here there is no such recognition on the part of officials of the importance and value of the preliminary training which these Local Institutions afford for a higher political life; in fact such training is often regarded as not only unnecessary, but even inconvenient. Anglo-Indian officials who regard these institutions with sympathy and with a proper conception of their aims are very few. It is therefore all the more the duty of Viceroys and Governors, who are expected to fulfil the conditions of a much higher standard of statesmanship, to reconcile the official classes to a right conception of the aims and objects of Local Self-Government.

The wider representation of the popular element in the Local Legislative Council is another matter in regard to which

His Excellency could have been more generous, or at least, more consistent. In reply to the memorial of the Madras Mahajana Sabha praying that six seats might be thrown open for election by District Boards and District Municipalities instead of four as at present, His Excellency the Governor in Council after "careful consideration" wrote:—

"The fundamental principle of the scheme now in operation is *class* as opposed to *territorial* representation, the Government of India having declared that the recommending bodies should not (except in the case of the Presidency Towns) be determined with reference to locality or numbers, but should be so chosen as to afford a fair representation of all important classes in the Community. Moreover, the number of seats is limited by statute, and the Government of India has directed that the non-official seats to be filled, otherwise than on recommendation, be held in reserve with the view of redressing any inequality to which the system of recommendation may lead. Having regard to these considerations, His Excellency the Governor is not disposed to propose any further addition to the recommending bodies."

The reasons here given are explicit and definite. They show that the seats held in reserve are intended to secure the representation of classes or communities that have not obtained representation through the medium of recommendation by electoral bodies. We are therefore entitled to ask whether the two seats which the Mahajana Sabha desired to be thrown open for election have been utilised by the Government in accordance with the principle which is here laid down. Which class, for example, does the President of the Madras Municipality represent in the Legislative Council? Does he represent even any particular interest? The Municipality has always had its duly authorised representative in the Hon'ble Mr. Rungiah Naidu for the first six years and the Hon'ble Mr. Norton afterwards. It is clear therefore that the Government has virtually allowed its act to contradict its word; and more than that, the West Coast Districts which were represented uninterruptedly for eight years by the Hon'ble Mr. Sankaran Nayar and for two years by the Hon'ble Mr. Sankara Soobyer, have been deprived of representation after the latter's term was over. Among things that go to the debit side of Sir Arthur Havelock's administration this act of his Government must be one.

Neither can it be said that His Excellency always used his discretion rightly or justifiably in dealing with interpellations.

We do not refer to the way in which interpellations were answered or taken notice of, but to the manner in which they were, contrary to the spirit and intention of the rules made by the Government of India, rejected in important cases. These repeated rejections of interpellations received additional significance from the fact that they related to matters in which the action of the Government had been challenged. The inference is that Sir Arthur Havelock deliberately allowed things to be done which could not be justified in public, and that His Excellency solved the difficulty of having to explain matters by an arbitrary use of his discretion. There has also been latterly an impression that His Excellency has not been very considerate to the native non-official members. But we believe that he never intended to be unfair or inconsiderate to any Member of the Council, although at certain moments of impatience he may have been led to assume attitudes or use language liable to be misunderstood.

Immediately connected with the Legislative Council is the subject of legislation which it is impossible to recall without pain and disappointment. The Tenancy Bill which is the most important measure designed during Sir Arthur Havelock's term of office is still a distant possibility. In spite of the hubbub made of holding a special Legislative Session at Ooty, the Bill still remains in its incipient stage, and there is no information to the public as to when it is going to be taken up. Among measures passed into law the Malabar Compensation for Tenants' Improvements Act and the Irrigation Cess Act claim special notice. The former was designed as a substitute for the bigger Tenancy legislation which presented complications and difficulties suggesting the necessity for deliberation and delay. In a country where rights of private property in land are so well established by immemorial usage and custom, arbitrary State interference is not easily made without injustice. But the substitute now adopted does not avoid the injustice which the more comprehensive measure would have involved. The Compensation Act is as much an injustice to the owner of landed property, though in a limited form, as a Tenancy Act would have been. It involves the virtual confiscation of private property inasmuch as it makes it impossible for the owner to redeem his land when once a tenant has effected improvements on it on a fairly large scale. We do not think that in this matter the representations

from the opposite party received sufficient attention. The result is that there has been added to the Statute Book, a law which it is impossible to justify on the grounds of equity or justice. The Irrigation Cess Act is even a more important measure in that it affects a much larger area and a much larger number of the land-owning and cultivating classes. It was passed in the face of a most serious and unanimous opposition from the people, in utter disregard of the principles accepted by the Government of India and the Secretary of State in the past, in direct opposition to all former official declarations to the contrary, and in deliberate defiance of the rights of private property. The debate in the Legislative Council on this measure was characterised by a striking unanimity on the part of the accredited representatives of the people and the most unreasoning persistence on the part of the official members. The clause authorising the levy of a charge for percolation, though it was opposed even by such men as the Hon'ble Sir V. Bhashyam Iyengar and the Hon'ble Dr. Miller, was yet allowed to remain even in spite of the fact that the absurdity of such a provision and the practical difficulty of working it without serious injustice and wrong to the cultivator, had been pointed out and emphasised by such men as Lord Hobhouse, Sir George Campbell and even by His Excellency the Viceroy himself in connection with the Northern India Canal Act. It appears to us therefore that this piece of legislation will remain as a serious blot on the Legislative side of Sir Arthur Havelock's administration.

Having ungrudgingly acknowledged His Excellency's desire to respect public opinion and to hear both sides of a case we think we need not hesitate to point out what appears to us as, somewhat seriously detracting from his general impartial attitude and desire to benefit by public opinion. There are instances in regard to which His Excellency, either himself or in concert with his colleagues, betrayed impatience of legitimate criticism when the critics happened or appeared to be those who were liable to be brought under the control of his authority. We have recollection of an order issued by his Government not only to all officials, but even to independent men who happened to be members of Local Boards and Municipalities, enjoining on them the duty of abstaining from participation in movements or criticisms directed against servants of Government. The matter referred to a public meeting held under the Chairmanship of a District

Munsif to complain against a Medical Subordinate, a Civil Apothecary. The order of the Government was right so far as it concerned public servants, but its extension to members of Local Boards and Municipalities was an attempt to diminish the liberty of independent men who volunteered to render gratuitous service to the state and the public. Of a more objectionable description was the G. O. of 27th April 1898 directed against two Mahomedan Public Servants who had been present at a meeting of the Madras Central Mahomedan Association held to protest against the appointment of Mr. Ghulam Mahomed as the Mahomedan representative in the Legislative Council. That appointment was obviously a mistake; and it naturally provoked the resentment of the community. But the Government was unwilling to acknowledge its error and felt irritated by criticism. It was rather undignified, in our opinion, for His Excellency's Government to have instituted inquiries about the persons who attended the meeting and, much more so, to have betrayed its irritation in a special G. O. By doing so it showed more concern for its own delicate feelings than for the interests of the Mahomedan community which, including those of its members who are public servants, had a right to express its disapproval in any manner it thought fit. The G. O. ran—"It has come to the notice of the Government that at a meeting held in January last under the auspices of the Mahomedan Association to protest against the selection made of a Mahomedan gentleman to serve as an additional member of the Legislative Council———and———were among those present, and after considering the explanations submitted, the Government considers that the conduct of these two public servants in taking part in such a meeting is deserving of censure. Similar breaches of an elementary rule of discipline in future will be severely dealt with." This was an illogical position for the Government to take in the face of the fact that Government officials are allowed to vote at public elections and even to make speeches for or against candidates; and in the case of the Mahomedan community which has been allowed a special representative in the Legislative Council, it is absurd to say that any member of it, official or non-official, has not the right to express his free and independent opinion for or against a particular candidate. In this case, further, the officials concerned did not take any part in the meeting, but merely attended

as spectators—an act which is not prohibited even by the orders of the Government of India in regard to their conduct in the matter of political meetings. The Madras Government not only committed a mistake in the first instance, but advertised its irritation at criticism in the next. We would not have referred to the above two matters but for the principle which the action of the Government infringed in both.

A mistake of a graver nature and of graver political significance was made by His Excellency's Government when it introduced new rules in the Educational Grant-in-Aid Code prohibiting pupils, teachers and managers of Aided Institutions from taking part in political meetings or agitation. People could not at first believe that a Government like that of Sir Arthur Havelock could have contemplated such a serious attack on the liberty of the subject. They were even disposed to suspect that the rules had been by some accident incorporated into the Code without the cognizance of the Government. Dr. Duncan was unjustly suspected to have been the author of them, and it was not until the publication of the G. O. that the public came to know of the real source of their origin. The Government at first placed the retiring Director of Public Instruction in a very awkward and unenviable position by its reticence and refusal to give any information in reply to the questions asked in the Legislative Council. It is not possible to say what led the local Government to import into our politics the peculiar political ideas of Bombay Officialdom and to cause a commotion in the calm and serene atmosphere of Madras. A statesman of Sir Arthur Havelock's sagacity and political foresight should not have allowed his Government to be identified with a policy of repression for which, whatever justification there was in Bombay, there was none in this Presidency. But even in Bombay they never went to the extent that our Government did here. Sir Arthur Havelock however soon found that his Government had taken an untenable position in the matter; for it found no supporters outside the circle of those who had originally devised the surprise. On the other hand the volume of public opinion against it was too great to be brushed aside easily. His Excellency, it must be acknowledged, showed practical good sense in withdrawing, in a spirit of compromise, from the position which his Government had assumed and in agreeing to so modify the rules as to limit the prohibition to political meetings and movements directed against the authority

of Government. The prohibition as regards the latter is however superfluous as there is adequate provision in the Penal Code to deal with matters of that sort. The only object of the modified rules, therefore, is to show that the Government has not altogether acknowledged its mistake, and their only effect is to remind the public that the Government once perpetrated a mistake which it could not persist in or uphold.

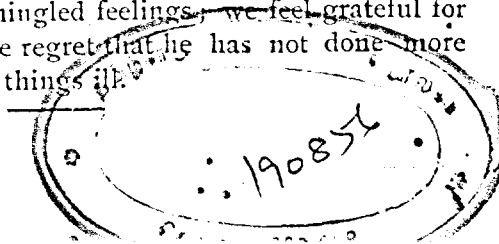
In the matter of higher appointments in the Public Service we are not satisfied that His Excellency's policy has been above criticism. The six higher appointments, two of Collectors, and four of District Judges, have not all been made yet. Considering that native claims for these offices first accrued with the creation of the Statutory Civil Service and considering also that the first Statutory Civilian was appointed in 1880, these six appointments should have in the ordinary course been excluded from the preserve of the Covenanted Civil Service, and natives of India should have been permanently appointed to them long before this. The Civilians who came after the statutory service was created, have no preferential claims to that proportion of the appointments which, if statutory civilians had been regularly recruited, would have gone to natives of India. In these circumstances we do not think that the Provincial Service scheme has been fully or properly given effect to so far as the six higher appointments are concerned; and as regards the post of Under Secretary to Government, no shadow of a preferential claim now remains for the Covenanted Civil Service; and the Government showed neither justice nor generosity when it suggested in reply to an interpellation in the Legislative Council that there were no Indians competent to hold the place. This was adding insult to injury. We can administer native states with success and distinction, we can be successful Judges and Collectors, and successful heads of departments. Our men can do the duties of Secretaries and Under Secretaries as "Assistants" in the Government offices. Yet the Madras Government tells us that it is doubtful whether there can be found an Indian who is fit to be appointed as Under Secretary to Government! Certainly we should be sorry to think that Sir Arthur Havelock, with his innate sense of justice and fairness, assented to such a preposterous proposition.

Nor does this imperfect satisfaction of Indian claims in regard to the higher appointments stand alone. Among Deputy

Collectors not one of them has been promoted to any of the higher appointments. Considerable discontent has been caused by the introduction of outsiders into the higher grades. No less than three such appointments have been made to the prejudice of the claims of men in all but the first and second grades. The members of the Covenanted Civil Service would have never allowed a similar supersession of their claims; but the Deputy Collectors who possess neither their influence nor their importance were powerless to protest against the injustice done to them. It is even said that these new importations have a far deeper object than is apparent, that it is intended to fill the higher appointments in the Provincial Service, with a different class of men from those who now fill them. Whatever be the object or intention, there is no doubt of the injustice done to those who are already in the service. The Deputy Collectors have also reason to complain of the inconsiderate way in which some of them have been treated by Sir Arthur Havelock's Government. In dealing with irregularities or shortcomings on their part, in punishing them for faults which are by no means uncommon in the Covenanted Civil Service itself, the Government did not always show sufficient consideration for their position as members of an honorable service or for their feelings as educated and respectable gentlemen. Individual Deputy Collectors were degraded, or suspended, or dismissed in a manner that showed that the Government cared very little for their feelings or for their position. One Deputy Collector, Mr. G. Kothandarama Aiyar, was dismissed for what was said to be an infringement of certain Government rules. But after sometime, the Government found it necessary to restore him to office. This shows that Mr. Kothandarama Aiyar did not deserve the punishment meted out to him in the first instance, and that the Government was disposed to treat a Deputy Collector just in the same way that it would treat a menial or a peon. We must express our strong disapproval of treating officials of responsibility and position in this light fashion, without strong and sufficient grounds. We are of opinion that the Government has been too ready to deal harshly with Deputy Collectors; while it always thinks its duty to show more consideration for the members of the Civil Service. In the case of the latter, Government would not take such a step as dismissal or suspension without due consideration and without due regard

for the prestige of the service. This facts find a forcible illustration in the way some of the Tinnevely officials were treated in connection with the riots. While the superior officials through whose inattention and neglect the riots were allowed to take place did not suffer any serious consequences, a poor Mahommedan Deputy Collector, Mr. Syed Mustapha, who was not in the District at the time of the riots and who had therefore no responsibility of any kind, was suspended and degraded in connection with some ordinary riot that had occurred several months before. The charge against Mr. Mustapha was that he had made a delay of half an hour or so in proceeding to the spot after the Police had brought him information of the incident; and on such a charge, he who had been five years a Deputy Collector and who had risen to that position by 24 years of hard work and devotion to duty was suspended and afterwards degraded, not even to the position of a Tahsildar, but to that of a Collector's Head Clerk, and further declared ineligible for service as a Magistrate. While the Collector and Magistrate of the district who pool-pooched every warning about the impending riots and even left the district on leave while the riots were developing suffered no more serious consequence than that of stoppage of promotion for a year or two; and the Superintendent of Police who was not less responsible for the peace of the district obtained, we believe, his promotion a short time after. It was very much to be wished that Sir Arthur Havelock had reconsidered Mr. Syed Mustapha's case in the same manner as he had reconsidered the case of Mr. Kothandarama Aiyar. As it is, we cannot commend the act either from the point of view of individual justice or of the honor and prestige of Deputy Collectors as a class.

Such are the views which, on a somewhat rapid survey of Sir Arthur Havelock's administration, we feel bound to express. We have left out nothing which, to our knowledge, can be counted to his credit, which speaks for his good intentions, for his honesty of purpose, for his benevolence of motive, and for his foresight and statesmanship; while we have also thought it our duty to mark out and to comment on those acts and measures which have failed to meet with public approval and satisfaction and which have detracted from the general credit of his administration. We bid him farewell with mingled feelings; we feel grateful for what he has done for us; we regret that he has not done more and that he has done some things



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MADRAS WATER CESS BILL.

THE irrigation system in this country by which millions are fed is a monument to the sagacity, ability and magnanimity of British rulers. It is truly the admiration of the civilized world. No people on earth are more able to appreciate such care on the part of their Government than the natives of this country. Any measure which really aims at placing the relations existing between the Government, as representing the great supplier of water, and those owners and cultivators of land who seek to benefit themselves by taking advantage of such supply, on a satisfactory and equitable footing, is sure to be welcomed by the public. Government undertook the irrigation works either from the funds supplied from the general revenues of the country or with the money borrowed on the general credit of the country. It is but fair that the particular portion of the community that is benefited by such works should contribute to the general revenues the amount necessary to cover expenses and meet the interest on the capital charge. It would not be very easy to define the precise amount of this contribution, as the works vary alike in magnitude, in character and in origin. Whatever the rates charged for the use of water under each work may be, they profess to fairly represent "the cost of water supplied," as would appear from the speech of the Honorable Mr. H. D. Phillips who introduced the Madras Water-Cess Bill, which became Act VII of 1895. What Government expects or rather ought

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to expect is, "a fit return" on the direct outlay on its irrigation works. And this is in accordance with the principle of establishing local financial responsibility for works which are in their nature exclusively of local interest and value. As to the method of charging for canal water, the system in force throughout India is entirely one of voluntary sale. Water is sold by the acre, and the only principle recognized for charging differential rates is, that the value of lands of different classes would be affected in different degrees, according as they are capable or not of bearing sugarcane, rice, garden stuffs, and the more valuable kinds of crops generally. If self-interest induced the ryot to purchase water, he purchased it, otherwise not. The idea of working such undertakings in an agricultural country like India, so as to give the greatest mercantile profit, is not to be accepted without many large reservations, as remarked by the Honorable Col. Strachey in connection with the Northern India Canal Bill of 1870. It is to be remembered that these works were not undertaken by the State for profit, nor yet merely to increase an established prosperity, but under the terrible pressure of necessity. Irrigation in this country spells immunity from famine. That the schemes have been made to pay on the whole and that the expenditure in the aggregate leaves good interest is satisfactory, but financial returns are not their primary object.

In a Despatch to the Secretary of State, No. 98, Public Works, dated 9th September 1873, the Government of India says—"it is to be recollected that besides the direct and calculable results of the working of a canal, we must also take into consideration other indirect effects. Among these may be mentioned the security of Land Revenue in exemption from remissions and the gradual enrichment of the districts through which a canal passes, with its effect on all branches of the Government Revenue. The rise of the revenue from the land and from other sources in the Godavery and Kistna Districts of Madras are notable instances. And there is above all, the mitigation, if not security from famine, which irrigation affords." Any changes to be made in the law regulating the assessment of water-cess should be in accord with the beneficent intentions of Government. The main changes now proposed are (1) that Government be empowered with effect from 1st July 1878, to charge for irrigation by percolation or drainage whenever it is, in the opinion of the Collector, beneficial to and sufficient for the requirements of the crop; and

(2) that the Civil Courts be divested of jurisdiction to question any assessment made by the Collector under the Act. If it is not intended by this Bill to make the water-rate directly compulsory, it is intended to make it indirectly compulsory. The poison is absorbed into the system imperceptibly, and the victim dies without a struggle it is true, but none the less surely.

Looking to the legislation in other provinces, we find that neither the Northern India Canal and Drainage Act of 1873, nor the Bengal Irrigation Act of 1876 sanctions the levy of water-rates except for the use of water directly supplied or utilized. In no part of this country have canal works been constructed on so large a scale as in the North-West Provinces. No part of the country requires such artificial provision for water as those Provinces, where the quantity of rainfall is far lower than in most other Provinces. Proposals to insert provisions authorizing the charge for percolation were rejected by the Supreme legislature in connection with the Northern India Canal Act of 1873. And this was done though the charge for percolation had been maintained in Northern India since the year 1845 in some form or other by the rules framed under the Punjab Irrigation Act VII of 1845. In fact, the clause relating to percolation stood as a part of Act XXX of 1871—which had superseded the Act of 1845. In the Bill introduced in 1873 for the revision of the Act of 1871, the provision regarding percolation appeared in the following form:—

"If it appear to the Divisional Canal Officer that any cultivated land situate within 300 yards of the edge of any artificial canal maintained by Government receives by percolation from such canal an advantage equivalent to that which would be given by a direct supply of canal water for irrigation, he may, subject to an appeal to the head revenue officer of the District, or such other appeal as may be provided under Section 76, charge on such land a water-rate not exceeding that which would ordinarily have been charged for such a supply to land similarly cultivated." I cannot do better than repeat the observations made by Sir George Campbell, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, who strongly opposed this clause. Those observations apply with equal force to the Bill now proposed to be introduced. His Honour said that the result of that section would be to introduce into the Bill the principle of compulsion, on a small scale no doubt, but still the principle. The man who did not ask for a

canal found that a canal was brought through his grounds and he was told "You are benefited by it in the opinion of the canal officer, and therefore, you must pay as if you had voluntarily taken water from the canal." That was so far compulsory, and was, he thought, to be avoided. There might be a good deal to be said in favor of the principle, that a man who had been benefited by a canal should pay for the benefit he derived, whether he wished to have that benefit or not. But this would be a very small source of revenue, and extremely difficult of application. The rule could but apply to a very small strip of land on the sides of some portions of the canal; and it was extremely difficult to say whether the land had benefited and how much it had benefited. It was still more difficult to say who ought to decide that question. His Honour strongly objected to the canal officer deciding it, and, if this section was passed, he thought the claim of the canal officer should be decided by an entirely independent authority. His Honour not only objected to the clause on direct grounds, but also on much larger indirect grounds, namely, that there was no provision for compensation on account of injury done by a canal, corresponding to the rate sought to be levied on account of benefits, and, therefore, it was not consistent that a rate should be levied on account of benefits indirectly given by a canal. That was, in fact, the principal ground upon which he would ask the council to strike this clause out. He had spent considerable portions of his life in countries where irrigation canals existed; and he found that, wherever you took a canal, you must necessarily very much disturb the existing state of things. You did good to some; you did harm to others; you gave water to many to whom it was a benefit; but, on the other hand, you flooded lands where the flooding was an injury; you caused wells to fall in where such falling in was an injury; you drained where it was a benefit to drain; you drained where it was an injury to drain. There was no end to the questions which would arise if you applied fairly the principle involved in the Section to adjust the benefits and the injuries resulting from canal works. If you attempted to adjudicate in these matters, you would be put into overwhelming difficulties. He believed that you must look on these disturbances—these changes which altered the course of waters and drainage—as a sort of act of Providence. You must set the benefits conferred upon those who did not ask for them against the

damage done to others. It would be impossible to adjust those matters satisfactorily; to give compensation to lands injured, and take payments from lands benefited. His Honour much believed that that view must influence the council, because those who benefited in the manner provided for by this section would be a small number in comparison to the cases in which compensation for injury might be claimed, if the principle were allowed. These views commended themselves to the Honorable Messrs. Inglis, Egerton, Bayley and Hobhouse and to His Excellency the President, who observed, "There is a good deal in this clause which is open to objection. There is, no doubt, a small modicum of compulsion in the clause. There is also the question of equity, stated by the Lieutenant-Governor and the Honorable Mr. Hobhouse, *viz.*, that, as the Act debarred claims for compensation for loss caused by percolation, it is not fair that there should be a charge made in those cases in which the land-holders received benefit from percolation." The clause in question was accordingly omitted. No provision of the kind is to be found in the Bengal Irrigation Act, which was passed three years later. I am, therefore, the more surprised to see that after such precedents and established authorities the question should be revived and sought to be enforced in the case of this Presidency, whose irrigation works have been paying a handsome return to Government. Surely, there is nothing peculiar in the circumstances of this Presidency which renders charge for percolation less objectionable. It is said that what is now proposed is merely to invest a uniform revenue custom with legal form. I am aware of no such custom. It has received no judicial recognition. It is opposed to the terms of the Despatches of the Secretary of State of 1863, 1870 and 1873. It is opposed to the distinct understanding on which His Excellency the Governor-General accorded his assent to the enactment of the Water Cess Act of 1865. It was admittedly abandoned in 1889 and Government did not then think fit to ask for legislative sanction. The practice now in force is embodied in Board's Standing Order No. 4, para. 7, which runs as follows:—"Wet cultivation raised on dry lands with water which percolates from a Government work is not liable to water-rate. The land-holder should be given the option of taking a full supply of water for his crop and, in the event of his accepting the offer, he should be charged water-rate, but, should he refuse to take a full supply, no charge should be made for water which reaches his holding

by percolation." This rule seems to be fair and equitable enough. It is, however, urged on behalf of Government that the construction put on the Act by the courts places in jeopardy a large portion of the public revenue; that in the present state of the law it is in the power of any cultivator holding fields not assessed with a consolidated wet rate in the midst of an expanse of wet cultivation from which, in the interests of the majority, water cannot be excluded, to escape the payment of water-tax by not applying for water; and that the power to charge for percolation is highly essential for the protection of revenue. It would be absurd to suppose that the Honorable member of the Bill cannot make a plausible case in support of his new departure, but the question to my mind is not so much whether the cultivator possesses in theory such power as whether the mischief likely to result therefrom promises to be so grave as to make it the imperative duty of the legislature to intervene. It seems to me that the case put forward is one which is not likely to occur in actual practice and that there is no reasonable ground for any apprehension of possible loss of revenue. If the proposition that the interests of Government and people are identical is true in any case, it is in the matter of irrigation. In the first place, in the case assumed, the fields would be unfit for dry crop and a cultivator must necessarily raise a wet crop thereon. Most of the lands irrigated from the ancient works grow rice and rice only—a crop which requires continuous flooding for almost the whole period of its growth. That period varies from about 3½ to 6 months according to the description of rice grown, the better kinds requiring longer time for coming to maturity. I ask whether it is to the interest of any cultivator, who has to raise a *thirsty* crop like rice, to trust to the precarious supply, which he may or may not get without application. In the second place, it is to his advantage to get the previous sanction for water, as, if he irrigates without permission and is found out, he is charged double water-rate as a punishment. It is not unusual for the Revenue Department to charge penalties for water which reaches a field by percolation, on the ground that such water has been taken without permission. Several cultivators have thus been practically and indirectly forced to apply for water if not in view to obtain increased profits, at any rate to save themselves the difference between single and double rates. In the third place, Government has

power under the Act to frame such rules as it thinks fit and to levy its own water-rates. Government reserves to itself the full right, with or without reason given, to discontinue either temporarily or permanently the supply of water for irrigation. Will not Government exercise these powers by framing a rule in respect of the lands irrigated by the Rushikulya project that no relinquishment would be accepted in cases where the surrounding fields are under irrigation unless the applicant has arranged to exclude water from his fields? This is one form of compulsory irrigation—and that too introduced in the case of a Protective work!! Every cultivator is aware that, if he attempts to gain an undue advantage one year, Government has the power to prevent him from doing so next year. Intelligent self-interest, if nothing else, prompts him—as it prompts the majority of the adjoining cultivators—to apply for water and pay for it. The proposed legislation goes therefore beyond the necessities of the case. Again, the cases in which injury is done are far more numerous than those in which benefit is caused. Where a ryot applies for water, it may well be presumed that he does so, in view to derive profit. But, where he has to adjust the crop with reference to the precarious supply which he may or may not get and which no one can control or regulate, the presumption is rather the other way. Indeed, it may frequently happen that the land which is benefited one year by percolation would be injured the next, should percolation increase. Is it right that a charge should be made on the owner in the one case, while no compensation is to be given in the other? This reminds me of a curious provision contained in the Court Fees Act. It is this. A wrong decision regarding court fees may be upset in a court of appeal, if such decision is to the detriment of the revenue; but not if it is in favor of the revenue and against the subject! One may imagine what the effect of the proposed legislation would be in a tract of country like the Godavery Delta—which admittedly suffers from physical disadvantages in point of drainage, upper-ground drainage being obstructed by an insufficient fall of land towards the sea, and under-ground drainage by subsoils. Very little comparatively has been laid out by Government in improving the drainage, even where it is practicable to do so. The committee appointed in 1878 under the famine commission to enquire into the management of Irrigation works in this Presidency drew the attention of

Government to the fact that "in the systems of the Godavery and Kistna a good deal still remains to be done, such as works of provision for cross drainage by which serious mischief is done year after year." Mr. Brodie, the Collector of Godavery, has lately called attention to the same subject in his remarks on the scheme report for the re-settlement of the District and said that without doubt 10 lakhs could well be spent on the improvement of the drainage system in the Godavery Western Delta alone. Experience has shown that drainage must go hand in hand with irrigation. If the drainage of irrigated tracts be not carefully attended to, not only is serious injury done to the land, but the health of the population is often affected in an alarming manner. Now, what the present Bill proposes to do is to enable the Government to take advantage of its own wrong. The idea of the Revenue Officers seems to be that no water would flow on land without conferring benefit—that anything short of total failure of crop should be regarded as a benefit, the water-cess being remitted, as a matter of grace, in the event of total failure only. If the principle of charging for water in such cases be correct, then, the liability for the cess should be contingent upon *increased* profits which a land derives under ordinary circumstances from irrigation, as compared with the average profits it would have yielded before its introduction. Why should an Inamdar who, before the introduction of irrigation, was in a position to and did raise an excellent dry crop on his land be compelled to pay water-cess, though by reason of percolation he is forced to raise another kind of crop which does not yield him more and in some cases does yield less than the original crop? To charge him cess in such a case would be trenching upon his legitimate profits which are exempt from taxation. In no case that arose in the Kistna District was it proved on behalf of Government that the water coming by percolation was of real use to the cultivator by increasing his profits. On the other hand, it was distinctly found in some cases that the cultivators had sustained loss.

The interpretation put upon the Act by the courts is entirely in accord not only with the intentions of the framers of the Act but also with justice, equity, and good conscience. What is now proposed is not to remove any uncertainty of law caused by judicial interpretation, but practically to reverse the policy which underlies the beneficent legislation of 1865. It is

to be noted that the extent of land which gets water by such percolation in the Kistna Delta is very insignificant. The Collector Mr. Atkinson says that it is practically confined to a few villages in Teyali and one or two in Bunder Taluk. By sanctioning the imposition of consolidated wet rates, Government has solved to its own satisfaction the difficulty in the case of the Zeroyaty lands involved. The extent of Inam and permanently settled estates which still remains to be dealt with would be very small indeed and calls for no special legislation. Mr. Atkinson adds that many of the cultivators concerned have assured him that they want to have their land converted to wet, and that, if given a proper supply of irrigation, they would grow wet crops and pay the water-rate without a murmur; but that he has not succeeded in inducing the Public Works Department to extend an irrigation channel into the said tract. It would appear that some of these cultivators actually applied for water, but their applications were refused on the ground of precarious supply. There is, therefore, no ground for saying that the action of the cultivators was due to any intention to defraud Government of its revenue. The result of passing a measure like the one proposed would be that every land-holder who has the misfortune of owning land in the vicinity of an irrigation channel or of a drain natural or artificial—would be completely at the mercy of the Village Officers, Revenue Inspectors and Delta Superintendents, who will have large opportunities of extortion. Another matter to which I would call attention is the proposal to give retrospective effect to this measure. The principle of retrospective legislation is one to be applied with great caution, and surely this is not a case to which the said principle should be extended. Whatever may be said as to the expediency of enacting provisions regarding percolation and leakage rates in a province like Bombay, they cannot certainly be entertained in this Presidency in connection with the revision of its Irrigation Act. Bombay bears no resemblance whatever in its physical features to Madras; it has but a small area under irrigation; and its irrigation works differ considerably in character from those in Madras or in Northern India. Madras possesses practically the oldest, the largest, and certainly the most profitable of all the irrigation systems in India. While the average rate levied for the use of water in Northern India is Rs. 3 per acre or $\frac{1}{9}$ or $\frac{1}{10}$ of the value of the crop raised, the water-rate levied in the Godavery and Kistna Deltas represents about $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{3}$ of the

gross produce or is nearly double what is levied in Northern India. From the report of the Administration of this Presidency, for 1898-99, it will be seen that the net revenue on irrigation works in this Presidency amounts to 8.31 per cent. on the capital outlay of works in operation. This percentage would be 11.86, were it not that the capital outlay is burdened with the cost of the unremunerative Cuddapah-Kurnool canal purchased in 1882-83. The net revenue from the Godavery Delta system during the year 1898-99 after paying the interest charges was 15.02 per cent. on the capital outlay against 15.75 per cent. in the previous year; while the anticipated ultimate return was 9.3 per cent. per annum on the capital outlay. In the case of the Kistna anicut, the net return was 11.32 per cent. against 9.49 per cent. in the previous year. The direct net receipts since the construction of the anicut have been considerably more than double the whole capital expended in the Godavery Delta, while they are about half as much again as the capital expended in the Kistna Delta. The indirect advantages to the country are too difficult to estimate, and cannot be reckoned at all at a money standard. Mr. Welch says that in 41 years the total revenue raised in the Godavery District exclusive of Local and Municipal taxes, has increased from 24 to 88 lakhs, while in the Kistna District, it has risen in less than 50 years from 30½ to nearly 76 lakhs. Already, Godavery and Kistna are the most heavily assessed districts in this Presidency. The incidence of land revenue per head of population in the ryotwari tracts was, according to the figures of 1897-98, Rs. 3-11-4 in Godavery, and Rs. 3-9-5 in Kistna, against Rs. 3-4-10 in Tanjore. This will be raised still further in the ensuing Revision Settlements. And it is these districts that will be specially affected by this Bill, which aims at the taxation of indirect benefits. The right policy is, in my humble judgment, to look at the irrigation works as a whole and to say whether there is any reason to think that the community benefited by such works is not contributing a fair price. It would be extremely difficult in practice to assess water-rate on each land in proportion to such indirect benefits, just as it is difficult to assess cable rates with reference to the benefit which the sender of each message receives. By the use of Codes, we know that mercantile firms, while only paying for one Code word, actually get the value of the ten or twelve words which such

code word might actually mean. But nobody would say that they should be charged for such indirect, though certain, benefit. In the present instance, it is to be assumed that the rates levied, for water supplied or used take into account the waste which must inevitably ensue in the course of such supply or use. Such waste stands on the same footing as the water that passes in floods over the anicut and flows uselessly to the sea; the supplier is not entitled to a separate charge for percolation or leakage.

It is in the proposal to exclude the Civil Courts from the jurisdiction which they now possess in respect to matters affecting the water-cess lies the sting of the present bill. As the bill stands, in any question which arises in regard to accidental or occasional overflow of water, or benefit derived from percolation,—in which case the rate for the use of such water is compulsory—the judge is to be no impartial officer, but the Collector himself. He is to be his own interpreter of the rules under which it is fixed; his enquiry shall not be a judicial proceeding; and there is to be no appeal from his decision. Till now, the legislature has carefully guarded the landed interests of Her Majesty's subjects by providing for the cognizance of questions arising between the Government and the people by the Civil Courts—though I must confess that, in these latter days, the signs are numerous, of a change coming upon the spirit of the administration in this respect. That noble statesman, Lord Cornwallis, in instituting the Code for Bengal, supplied the foundation for the Codes of Madras and Bombay. Some of the characteristics of the system introduced by that statesman are thus stated by Mr. Henry St. George Tucker—"1st—He separated the Revenue and Judicial authorities and thus put an end to that monopoly of power, which not only leads to abuse, but which tends at the same time to secure to it impunity. 2ndly. He established independent courts, to whose jurisdiction both the Government and its officers were made amenable for official acts." These principles, no doubt, are the keystone of the safety and well-being of the British Empire in India. Wherever rights of property are violated, the jurisdiction of Civil Courts attaches. In the words of Chief Justice Westropp "The Revenue Department, when acting within the bounds of discretion which the law entrusts to it, cannot be interfered with by the Civil Courts. It is only when it passes those bounds

and violates the rights of property, or otherwise transgresses the Law, that the courts can interpose. Those who wish well to the preservation of the British power and honor in the East, and whose field of view extends beyond the frontier of a Department, will not desire that this limited and salutary power of interposition should be destroyed or impaired." I would cite in this connection a few provisions to show that the past policy has been one of progress from what we call discretionary Government to Government by law. Section 3, Regulation XXV of 1802, which relates to permanently settled estates lays down "that in all cases of disputed assessment, reference shall be had to the sunnuds and cabooleats, and judgment shall be given by the courts of judicature in conformity to the conditions under which the agreement may have been formed in each particular case." With regard to Inams and service Inams, as soon as the summary enquiry was over, and the Inamdars' titles were adjudicated upon, the jurisdiction of Civil Courts was completely restored under Madras Acts IV of 1862, and IV of 1865. The Madras Survey and Boundaries Act IV of 1897 prescribes that Collectors shall follow a certain procedure in the investigation of boundary disputes and that their decisions shall be subject to reversal or modification by the decree of a Civil Court. Unless the jurisdiction of the Civil Courts in matters relating to water-cess is maintained, the land-owner gains little or nothing by the right of resort to Civil Courts given to him by the above enactments; for, water charge forms in the case of irrigated land by far the larger portion of the payment made to Government. In fact the legislature would be taking away with one hand what it gives with the other. Is it too much to ask not to withdraw a concession already granted? Moderation and discretion combined with ability, are too general among the members of the revenue branch of the Civil Service to lead them to desire a departure, in this respect, from the wise and statesmanlike principles of Lord Cornwallis. Sir Douglas Straight said that during his thirteen years' residence in India, he was firmly convinced of one thing, and it was this—that, while innovations and changes in this country should only be very gradually and cautiously introduced, "a concession once made should never be withdrawn except for reasons of most paramount and pressing emergency." Beyond the usual plea of expediency, nothing has been shown to justify the legislature to sanction this retrograde step. There

is no warrant for saying that the Government has been harassed with any vexatious suits. The precedents quoted for ousting the jurisdiction of Civil Courts can be easily distinguished: In no case cited has a constitutional privilege—which was enjoyed for about 35 years—been taken away. Again, there is no analogy between a tax like land-tax or income-tax and a price like water-cess. One is a forced contribution to the general expenses of Government; while the other is a charge for special services which people are not compelled to accept, unless they choose. Something may be said in favor of the policy which excludes the jurisdiction of the Civil Courts to revise any assessment imposed or levied in the exercise of the prerogative of the Crown. But, when a special cess is demanded in the professed exercise of a special power conferred by a legislative enactment, the courts should not be debarred from seeing whether the power is exercised in accordance with the provisions of the Act. The policy of water-cess can be examined in the broad light of the day and I do not think that Government has anything to fear, if it allows the law to remain as it is in this respect. "The law is a terror to evil-doers, not to them that do well." I have known many Collectors of high ability who have won the confidence of the people, and who have, in the discharge of their duties, enjoyed that confidence as fully as anybody can. But it is my firm conviction that no one in the position of a Collector could satisfactorily deal with cases of the kind proposed to be entrusted to his adjudication. In 99 out of 100 cases it comes to this, that the opinion of the Village Officer or Revenue Inspector, —who always strains more or less in favor of Government—is the opinion of the Collector. Nothing, therefore, will be gained by burdening Collectors with details, to the consideration of which they have no time to give. It is further to be remembered that the measure is one which affects all descriptions of land tenures and which has a very wide application. The practice obtaining in other provinces in this respect cannot furnish a valuable guide, because, as I have already shown, the Northern India and Bengal Acts contain no provisions regarding percolation or leakage rates. But it may be mentioned that the Northern India Act expressly provides that all claims against Government in respect of any thing done under the Act—excepting claims in respect of charges for unauthorized use or for waste of water—may be tried by Civil Courts. According to the Irrigation Acts of all

provinces, every enquiry conducted under them should be conducted in accordance with the provisions of the Code of Civil Procedure and should be deemed a judicial proceeding. There is nothing in the Bengal Act which takes away the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts in case of any breach of law. In Bombay, however, the Revenue Jurisdiction Act X of 1876 enacts provisions excluding the jurisdiction of the Civil Courts in the matter of assessment of any cess. But there is one point of difference between the system obtaining in those provinces and the one obtaining here. There, the canal administration is in charge of a special department, and Collectors are not directly interested in the administration of canal revenue, as is the case in this province.

The true scope and object of these reactionary proposals cannot be rightly understood, unless they are considered in the light of the proposals recently sanctioned by Government in connection with the re-settlement of the Godavery and Kistna Deltas. Government has approved of the proposal made by the Board of Revenue to replace in the said Deltas the existing system of levying a separate charge for water by the imposition of a consolidated wet assessment, with effect from 1st July 1898, on irrigated lands which have been continuously under wet cultivation for 5 years or which may be declared by the Deputy Commissioner not to be in a position to exclude Government water. It has thus, with one stroke of the pen, ousted the jurisdiction of the Civil Courts in respect of a vast majority of ryotwari lands in the Deltas, to adjudicate on questions relating to liability for water-cess. The same thing cannot be done in the case of Inam and zemin lands, whose quit-rent or peishcushi was fixed for ever. Government is pledged in their case not to touch the profits, which the Inamdars or Zamindars may derive from them without the aid of irrigation. But Government seems to have made up its mind to adopt the graduated table of water-rates recommended by the Board in their case. It is said that this scale represents the difference between the dry and consolidated wet rates. It ranges from a maximum of Rs. 8 to a minimum of Rs. 2-12 per acre, in the following gradation:—Rs. 8, Rs. 7, Rs. 6-8, Rs. 6, Rs. 5-8, Rs. 5, Rs. 4-12, Rs. 4-8, Rs. 4, Rs. 3-12, Rs. 3-8, Rs. 3-4, Rs. 3, and Rs. 2-12. The four-rupee uniform rate was thus raised, by 100·75, 62·5, 37·5, 18·75 and 12·5 per cent. in a large majority of cases and possibly reduced in just a few. There is nothing

to prevent the settlement department from placing any Inam or Zemin land in any class, irrespective of its original value. The rate is fixed neither on a consideration of the quantity of water consumed nor of the quality supplied, but with reference to arbitrary estimates of profits, which each individual field is supposed to yield under canal irrigation at the time of the re-settlement. Of course, the legislature has no voice in the fixing of these rates, as it is entirely a matter left to the discretion of Government. At the same time, under the present law no Inamdar or Zamindar can be compelled to take water, and the option of refusing the irrigation is the only safeguard open to him against any injustice and inequality in the imposition of the rates. As observed by the Board, "The Deputy Commissioner doubts whether water would be taken at the proposed rates, and the Collector (of Godavery) is certain that they would lead to extensive relinquishment. The Board concurs with the Collector that extensive relinquishment would be the immediate result, but thinks it quite an open question whether the Inam and Zemindari ryots would continue to abstain from the water if once satisfied that relinquishment would not secure a reduction of the special rates." Now the object of this Bill is apparently clear. It is intended to checkmate any relinquishments on the part of the Inamdars and Zemindars concerned. Will the legislature arm the executive with such enormous power—to charge for a supposed benefit arising from percolation or drainage? It means nothing more and nothing less than the annihilation of Inam and Zemin property. Is this consistent with the generous policy which actuated the creation of such property in this country? In para. 72 of his report, dated 30th October 1869, the Inam Commissioner says: "Gain to the State was not the sole, or indeed, the principal object of the Inam Commission. The subject was so fraught with important social and political consequences." It is to be borne in mind that the full option was granted, having regard to the circumstances of the Godavery and Kistna Deltas—some lands being better fitted for dry crops, others being obliged to revert to dry cultivation at periodical intervals, and others being left uncropped for want of pastures and forest reserves. There is no guarantee that, if the matter were left to the executive to charge the Inamdar for percolation or drainage, the water-charge will be assessed only on the additional profits he may derive from

irrigation. Not only was the present system originally introduced by Government on a careful consideration of all factors of the case, but it was also subsequently pronounced to be the best and the simplest by the local officers and the Board and was confirmed by Government in 1873 and 1878, when special enquiries were instituted into its merits. In the words of the Duke of Argyll, "To force irrigation on the people would be not unlikely to make that unpopular which could otherwise scarcely fail to be regarded as a blessing." To quote another eminent authority, "There will be some advantage in knowing what is the income immediately attributable to the irrigation works. There will be more in the fact conducive alike to good feeling and good working that the water will be an article which men may take or not as they like; so that if any complain, we may be able to say, 'well don't take it, if you think it won't do you good.' If this Bill is passed into law, can the Government say so in future? It is to be hoped that the legislature will look far into the past and the future, at the political and economical bearings of its measures upon the welfare of the millions entrusted to its care, and come to the conclusion that no case has been made out for changing the law on lines entirely different from those that had been laid down by the wisdom of legislators thirty-five years ago.

G. VENCATARATNAM.

TANGACHERRY, A TINY BRITISH SETTLEMENT.

"**F**AR from the madding crowd's ignoble strife," smothered in cocoanut groves, fanned on three sides by the refreshing breezes of the Indian Ocean, within perpetual bearing of the "league-long roller," which, in ever-varying, but monotonous, cadence, breaks into fleecy spray, "thundering on the reef," this Christian settlement—dating from about three centuries ago—now owing allegiance to the British Crown, and very proof of the fact, lies entombed, so to speak, within the territories of His Highness the Maharajah of Travancore. A very interesting old-fashioned community were these Tangacherry Christians of Portuguese and Dutch extraction, not quite a generation ago; for, even in this remote, secluded spot, the pulsations of modern life are beginning to be felt, and a feverish ambition to be up and doing—a strong and increasing desire to learn something of the great world outside, the echoes of which reach the settlement in occasional newspaper paragraphs—characterises the rising generation. The quaint old-world courtesy, humble piety and placid content of the older inhabitants is giving place to manners and modes of thought, which lose much in comparison; but which are, inevitably, the result of the high-pressure education and new-born aspirations of the day. The present inhabitants of Tangacherry are the descendants of men, some of whom were formerly celebrated in Indian History. Wherever the once maritime powers of Portugal and Holland settled, they invariably left behind them indelible indications of occupation, in the names of their descendants, in their religion and in their style of architecture. Thus, while in places such as Tangacherry, Cochin, and Anjengo, Portuguese and Dutch names like Cabral, Diaz, Sequiera, D'Mello, Vans Pall, Hooquewert, Boonigardt, &c., are still borne by people who claim to be the survivors of departed worthies; in Negapatam, Cochin and Sadras the peculiar construction and curiously solid architecture of the houses still remain to justify the belief, if other proof were wanting, that the Dutch once colonized those places

and lived permanently there till they were dispossessed, or died out. It goes without saying that the inhabitants of these ancient settlements are almost to a man, adherents of the Roman Catholic Church; though, here and there, among the owners of Dutch names are to be found some who belong to the Protestant faith. Such names will occur readily to those who know anything of these rapidly changing, if not decaying, communities. Tangacherry boasts nothing very striking in the way of architecture except an old fort, built mostly of laterite, faced with granite, the greater part of which has been swallowed up by the insatiable sea, which, by the way, appears to have encroached a good way into the shore about here. The Tangacherry fort was constructed in the year 1503 A.D. by the Portuguese; Tangacherry itself being counted among the Portuguese possessions three years previous to that date. A ruined remnant of a wall; an imposing entrance way (a vigorous (*ficus indica*) banyan tree deriving its sustenance from its crumbling stones)—a handsome time-worn belfry surmounted by a blossoming *botgamvillia*—a secret passage and a moat, over both of which the salt waves play, are all that remain of what was doubtless a formidable fortress three hundred years ago. But before speaking of other small remains a word or two is necessary regarding the town, or village, of Tangacherry. Probably it was nothing more than a mere fishing village at the time of the Portuguese occupation, and any importance it then had was very probably derived from its contiguity to Quilon, two miles away, which town was known to European and Arabian navigators long years before European nations thought of Indian conquest. Quilon in 1500 A.D. belonged to the king of Desinganiad. The fort of Tangacherry was built, as already stated, in 1503, and it passed into the possession of the Dutch in 1663, when Cochin, a hundred miles or so to the North, capitulated, one Pierre de Poa being commandant. Tangacherry remained with the Dutch till 1795, and on the 19th October of that year Major Petre and Mr. Stevenson captured the town of Cochin, John Lambert Vaces Pall then being Dutch Governor of that Port. On, or about, that date Tangacherry passed into the keeping of the English, and, although cut off from British territory by the native state of Travancore, it, like its sister settlement of Anjengo, has ever since remained a British possession. It is supposed that the name of Tangacherry is a corrupted form of *Tungumcheri*, *Tungum* being

the Vernacular name for gold, and *cheri* that for village, or hamlet. It is said that the Portuguese were the first to set in circulation gold coins, and hence the name. This derivation of the name is, to my mind, extremely unlikely, as a gold currency appears to have been established by the Malayalam chieftain in Quilon at a period long anterior to the invasion of India by the Portuguese. Another origin of the name is *chungo*, or *chungoo*—a shell—which, be it noted, is the symbol of Travancore sovereignty to this day. Probably these peculiar shells were found on this part of the coast as coral is still so found. The shell theory is probably the true one; though the fisher people of this coast—who are locally termed Kollamkar, (*i.e.*, Quilon folk) indifferently name Tangacherry as *Tungumcheri* or *Chungacheri*. A third derivation is, *Tungaseer*, the name of an alleged former ruler of Kollam or Quilon. Logan in his Manual of Malabar says Tangacherry was in the possession of the Dutch from 1519 to 1661 A.D.

Though Tangacherry belongs to the British Government, it is leased to the Travancore Durbar for a period of three years, at a time, the lease on expiry of that period being renewed—the Travancore authorities collecting the revenue and paying in lieu a rental of Rs. 3,347 for the period. The conditions of the lease, which was arranged in 1822, are that “all rents, customs or *jenkums*, profits and produce accruing from the said rented premises of all denominations whatsoever are hereby declared to become the sole property of the Travancore Sirkar during the full and entire period of three years; that the inhabitants residing within the limit of the said village of Tangacherry of all castes and descriptions whatsoever, shall continue to be under the protection of British Government in all cases of a Civil or Police nature; that excepting the introduction of the monopoly of the sales of tobacco and spirits the Travancore Sirkar, or its agents, are prohibited from imposing new taxes, levying unusual duties, or arbitrary exaction of any kind on the inhabitants, and an attempt to do so by the Travancore Sirkar will forfeit all claim to a continuance of the farm. The Police Establishment is to afford every aid and support to the servants of the farm in the detection of frauds or attempts to introduce into Tangacherry any of the articles under Government monopoly.” It will be seen that the interests of the inhabitants of Tangacherry have been carefully conserved by the British authorities; though the Collector of Malabar,

under whose jurisdiction the place is, pays it very rare official visits. A Sub-Magistrate and a few peons are wholly sufficient to safeguard the interest, and settle the differences, of this small but compact community. It may be here remarked that the area covered by Tangacherry amounts to only 99 acres, and in any similar place in British territory, a Village Munsiff, and an occasional beat-Constable, would suffice for all practical purposes. The population numbered at the last census 1,675 souls. During the time the lease has existed the Tangacherry residents appear on several occasions to have appealed to the Governor of Madras in Council against the action of the Travancore authorities. One such quaintly worded appeal was made to Sir William Deslison, and in their memorial the petitioners recite the particulars of the help afforded by the settlement to the British Government in 1809, when they were specially warned by the Travancore authorities "that no aid should be afforded to the British army under penalty of death." The memorial goes on to complain that "during this period (1809) many relatives of the petitioners in several places were in revenge drowned, killed, plundered, imprisoned, &c., by the native authorities.....that the Sirkar in further revenge monopolised all trades such as Tobacco, Salt, Arrack; &c., and even prohibited the petitioners from drawing toddy from their own trees for culinary purposes; Besides removed the colonial customs to Quilon in Travancore; strongly fenced the boundaries and stationed watchmen of a most barbarous nature to examine all the males and females (British subjects) on their passing and repassing the outlets for the necessities of life. That they are also oppressed with a duty of 8 per cent. even on trifles, while the Travancurens have to pay only 5 per cent. This partial and infamous practice was," says the Memorial, "abolished in 1847 by the sole and repeated remonstrances of petitioners.....That by the aforesaid restrictions to this length of time the petitioners have been gradually and insensibly reduced to such a distressed condition, as to experience what is real indigence in all its horrible shapes, even unable to cover their nature and habitations. That, at this deplorable juncture, it is truly lamentable to see a party of natives styled Escheat Officials, measuring grounds and houses, arbitrarily appraising even the commonest and unprofitable trees, fit only for fuel, in this clime, as also wells and walls constructed by the inhabitants and compelling the exhibition of all docu-

ments in order to realize the whole to the Crown, and, this, it is said, to be exchanged to the Travancore Government; without duly weighing petitioner's ancestral claims to the strips of landed property they live in, by right of inheritance and by right of purchase, at increased prices, in the stability of Allodial tenure, undisputed for upwards of three centuries. That the original documents (now so pressingly called for) of the successive Governments are almost lost partly by havoc of age and partly by the general confusion incident on the war, and on the hasty vacating of houses for storing provisions and for the army as well as by repeated conflagrations; the rest are in Dutch, a language now foreign to petitioners..... That the petitioners beg to observe that should the result of the threatened escheat be so arbitrary as apprehended, the poor and distressed inhabitants will have no other alternative save that of forced expatriation to brave with their numerous families, all its horrors solely attributable to the ever-to-be-grieved and unprecedented oppression. In this exasperated state of feelings petitioners with firm confidence approach Your Lordship in Council, humbly craving Your Lordship to be the medium to avert both the impending evils—the contemplated exchange and assessment—and the petitioners shall, as in duty bound, &c."

To the foregoing memorial, a reply signed by Mr. C. E. Walker, Under-Secretary to the Madras Government, was as follows:—"The petitioners are informed that negotiations are in progress for the transfer of Tangacherry and Anjengo to the Travancore Sircar. The first claims of the petitioners will receive full attention." This was dated "Fort St. George, 27th November 1865."

In a certain petition which the people addressed to the Collector and Magistrate of Malabar, the leading signatory being "Jno Oliveira," they assert that they held their lands free of all, and every, imposition or tax and refer the Government of Fort St. George to the "14th article of the Treaty of Capitulation entered upon between the Dutch Governor, Sir Vans Pall, and the British Representative, Major Petree under date the 19th October 1795," in support of their contention.

It will be seen that the people of Tangacherry were averse to the contemplated change of rule. They have repeatedly protested against Tangacherry becoming a part of the Travancore Raj, and that this was a probability at one time will be apparent from

the following letter from the Government of India, Foreign Department, Political, dated 18th January 1884, No. 224. I., on the Proceedings of the Madras Government. In 1884 Sir M. E. Grant-Duff held the reins of Government in Madras and the Marquis of Ripon relinquished and the Marquis of Dufferin assumed the Viceroyalty of India. The letter referred to runs:—

"I am directed to acknowledge receipt of your letter, Nos. 683 and 733, dated respectively, the 26th September and the 18th October last, regarding the Pereyar Project.

This project is not only expected to prove a remunerative work in ordinary years, but also to secure, in years of scarcity, a large population from the miseries of famine to which they are now exposed. The land required for the head works, and the water-supply which it is proposed to divert, are situated in the state of Travancore, whose Government after some negotiations has agreed to accept certain terms proposed by the Madras Government. These terms include the payment of six lakhs of Rupees and the secession of Tangacherry and certain pattom gardens to Travancore.

It appears that Tangacherry is a Christian settlement acquired by us in 1795 containing a population of 1,665, of whom all but 7 are Christians. The boundaries of the settlement which comprise an area of only 96 acres are the sea and Travancore Territory. It is leased in triennial leases to the Travancore Government, but the rights of the whole population to continue under the protection of the British Government, in all civil and criminal cases, are especially reserved, the four pattoms included in the present negotiations contain about 57 acres with a population of 169. They are also bounded by the sea and by Travancore Territory, but each of the pattoms or gardens lies at considerable distance both from the other pattoms and the village of Tangacherry. It further appears that these isolated outlying posts of British Territory are of small value, their transfer to the Travancore State would be very acceptable, inasmuch as the shore and the roadstead of Tangacherry are required for the proper development of a harbour at Quilon which is to be the terminus of the proposed railway from Tinnevely. The exchange of the lands which is suggested will therefore be equally beneficial to the subjects of the Native State and to those of the British Government. It will enable the former to complete its system of internal communication and the latter to rescue a large

population from the visitation of famine to which they are, at regular intervals of time, exposed.

To an arrangement so obviously beneficial to the public interests of the two Governments exception has been taken by the small Christian community of Tangacherry. They object to the absorption of the small settlement in the adjoining Native State of Travancore, partly on the ground that their freehold tenure, confirmed by the British Government, may not be respected by the native administration, and partly from the apparent fears of dangers to the quiet enjoyment of their religious rights and ceremonies. It does not seem clear that these objections are well-founded. The protection of their proprietary right is put forward as a consideration of the first importance in the memorial of the inhabitants of Tangacherry, who addressed both the Government of India and the Madras Government on the subject. But there should be no difficulty in arranging matters with the Travancore State so as to secure a satisfactory guarantee on this point. There remains the question of securing the Christian population in the enjoyment of their religious rights. In the Native State of Travancore there is a considerable population of Christians who, it is believed, enjoy a complete liberty of action, as members of the same community enjoy in British India. It is possible therefore that the second objection raised to the proposed secession may be less serious than the former, and in fact merely addressed in support of the arrangement regarding proprietary rights. But at the same time the anxiety of the people of Tangacherry to preserve their religious rights and privileges, if such anxiety be real, is worthy of every consideration; and before orders are passed upon the case the Government of India would be glad to receive fuller information.

I am therefore to request that the Governor of Madras in Council will direct careful enquiries to be made as to the real feelings of the people on the subject, and I am to ask whether His Excellency is in a position to assure the Government of India that Christians are treated in Travancore in all respects as they are treated in British Territory....."

The foregoing letter is very interesting reading viewed in the light of events which have happened subsequently, and the Government of India only did justice to Travancore regarding the liberty of action allowed to Christians in the State. For the rest, it had long been the ambition of the Travancore Government to

acquire the several bits of British Territory in the Raj, viz., Anjengo—that historic strip of land on the coast eighteen miles north of Trivandrum—made famous by being the birth place of Orme the Historian and the sometime residence of Eliza Diaper, between whom and Sterne a warm platonic attachment existed—Tangacherry and the three or four pattom lands (gardens) on the coast line between Tangacherry and Cochin. I have not been able to ascertain the names of these pattoms or trace the history of their occupation. They, however, exist as British territory no longer, and have been given over to Travancore.

As regards the secession of Tangacherry, the protest of the Tangacherry people appears to have weighed with the Government of India, and some other arrangement apparently resulted in the Pereyar Project being carried to a successful conclusion. Anjengo still remains British Territory.

In regard to their free-hold properties too, the Tangacherry people have succeeded in escaping heavy taxation, a fixed quit-rent having been decided on in 1893, Mr. Bradly, the then Collector of Malabar, in reply to a memorial, plainly telling the memoreasants that they could not expect to live forever free of taxes, and that in any case they would have to pay assessment."

From all that I can gather, the Tangacherry inhabitants cannot yet reconcile themselves to this imposition, and periodically plead poverty and inability to pay. There can be no doubt that the inhabitants are very poor, and many of them are unable to pay for the education of their children; but this is so chiefly because the people of the settlement are unable to forget their origin, and because their standard of living and ideas of comfort are so high as to be hardly commensurate with their income. There are undoubtedly some families in Tangacherry who are direct and legitimate descendants of Portuguese or Dutch ancestors; but on the other hand, there are people bearing Portuguese names who have no legitimate right or title to them, and who cannot be differentiated from Christian natives of the soil. On this account chiefly the well-to-do Eurasian communities in other towns in Travancore as a rule have no social intercourse with Tangacherry Eurasians who are, as a whole, somewhat behind their Eurasian neighbours in Cochin and Trevandrum in education and general progress. I mention this here as a simple fact, no idea whatever of deprecating the respectable inhabi-

Tangacherry. As remarked in this paper before, the new generation of Tangacherry Eurasians is inspired with progressive ideas, and many of these have already found success in the wider field of British Indian competition. When the Tinnevely-Quilon Railway reaches completion, in two or three years time from now, this little settlement will be more in touch with the Presidency of which it forms a part; and if the Harbour—mentioned in the Government of India's letter quoted above as being a wish of the Travancore Durbar—becomes a *fait accompli*—a great future awaits Quilon, and with it Tangacherry. The late Mr. Rama-iengar, who was Dewan of Travancore in 1884, had many schemes, for the good of Travancore, in his head, and among them was the opening of harbour at Quilon. In this connection it is worthy of mention that at the U. P. A. S. I. Annual Meeting last year, Mr. Hockin complained of the want of a good harbour on the West Coast of India, and among other ports, that of Quilon was mentioned by more than one Madras Journal, in the discussion that followed, as possessing great possibilities as a good harbour. But I have been wandering from my text, Tangacherry, and I must, before closing this article, give a brief description of some remains still to be noticed. There are one or two old churches which are of some interest; one having been erected in 1841 by the Archbishop of Cranganore, Don Manuel De Sam Joquim Neves, in which repose the bodily remains of that prelate. A very much older church was built in 1789, or just a century ago. Just south of the old flagstaff, which stands no longer, are the British and Dutch cemeteries and the Portuguese cemetery. The former is carefully looked after, and both contain some interesting tombs. Many of the inscriptions are fast becoming illegible owing to the disintegrating influence of the weather. I transcribe one or two for the information of the curious in such matters.

Lememoire

Dejacques Andrade Vallois

Nca Parisle 30 Novembere 1772

Decadeq Quilonde 24 d'Avril

1810.

Another inscription, apparently in some way connected with the above, runs

THE MADRAS REVIEW.

De Jacque Andre De Valois
Native de Negapatamet
Decede C. 1 Juliet 1819

Agee de 41 ans
Sweercmil regreteee partous
ses Parens et Amis

Ce Monument est eleve parve
Comme un tribut

De leurs

Estimee pour see vertues.

Many of the letters have to be guessed, and if I have made bad guesses, I must be pardoned.

There is another tomb which I am sorry to say I was unable to decipher the name. It is wholly illegible. All that is, to be made out is:—

I am
to rise again
from this

temporal sleep

and on the other side are the words:

This monument is erected—
the name having been obliterated. A tomb in a very fair state of preservation records that it is

Sacred

To the memory of Peter Vans Pall, Esq.,
Late Resident of Manapar
of H.N. Majesty's Service

—and son of the Late Peter Vans Pall, Esq.
also

H.N. Majesty's late Resident of Tuticorin
who departed this life on the 17th September 1848
aged 53 years 3 months and 23 days

This tomb is erected by his widow.

It is impossible to say for certain what H.N. means before the words "Majesty's service": Probably, "*Not Nared* Majesty's Service" instead of *His Majesty's Navy Service*.

Another inscription tells us that

The remains of

John Lyons Ray Walcott

Lie interred below

He died on the 10th April A.D. 1819.

TANGACHERRY, A TINY BRITISH, &c. 27

To the most genuine benevolence
He joined many virtues and few faults.
Death found him prepared, fortitude never
forsook him. He met his fate as became
a christian and will long be regretted by

his numerous friends.

One more, records that the tomb is

In Memory of

Henry Sterling Robinson,

Son of

Sir George Abercrombie, Bart.

of

Baptis house in the county of

Somersetshire

and of

Dame Margaret Southwell his wife

He died 6th October 1833.

Aged 27 years.

This tomb was erected by his brother, Francis.

This last tomb is built of a kind of stone not to be found in Travancore and is in excellent preservation. The tomb that covers the remains of "Peter Vans Pall" says that he was Resident of Manapar. I believe there is a Manapar on the Tinnevely coast line, but why, if that is the same town, a Resident should have been stationed there it is impossible to say. Probably, he was a commercial representative to carry on negotiations with the, at that time, powerful Poligar Princes of Tinnevely and Madurai, who have their modern representatives among the Zemindars of those Districts. The Vans Palls are still well known on the West Coast, and there is a tradition among them that a great fortune awaits the Vans Pall who has the ability to prove his descent (to the Dutch Government in Europe) from the original Vans Pall who was Governor of the Dutch possessions at Cochin. Like other once celebrated families the Vans Palls now are very poor, and that fortune, if a fact, will probably never be claimed. The stranger visiting Tangacherry sees nothing but a few old tombs, a crumbling wall, a dense population of Eurasians and native Christians and a grand seascape and that is all; but many memories cluster around it. It has undoubtedly been the theatre of many stirring events and has experienced the sway of three great nations of Europe; it has

doubtless dictated terms to the surrounding Native princes, it has heard the thunder of cannon and its walls have echoed to the trumpet call; over its ramparts have waved the Portuguese and Dutch flags; and under the shadow of the Union Jack it now remains contented and happy. The sun was setting in one unclouded blaze of living light. One evening, when standing on the highest part of the old fort wall, I looked on the living in the shape of the Convent children full of hope for the future playing hide and seek among the nooks and corners of the rugged rock which protect Tangacherry from further invasion by the sea—and the dead in the cemetery hard by—and their work the long line of crumbling wall and ruined masonry. The sun had sunk, a chill breeze crept over the wave and while I still gazed westwards, the darkness enveloped me as the distant Angelus bell sounded as it perhaps sounded three centuries ago reminding the people of their evening devotions. The pomp of power, the pride of martial life, the strength of man and all his works had passed out of sight leaving nought but memories (fast being buried in complete oblivion) and the worship of that Awful Disposer of events who alone remains while the glory of the earth vanisheth.

A. P. S.

THE INDIAN EPICS AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON NATIONAL LIFE.

It is a pleasing sign of the times that considerable interest is being taken now-a-days in various branches of Sanskrit literature. Our Vedas and Upanishads that were relegated twenty years back to oblivion as unworthy of serious thought are now being studied with care by the members of our educated community. Hindu philosophy instead of being discarded as unintelligible and unpractical has become the subject of study for the leisure hours of the most educated of our countrymen. Philosophical publications representing various shades of opinion and conducted with great learning and zeal have become the order of the day. If sound scholarship is still limited to few, a general awakened interest in the Ancient Hindu Religion and philosophy coupled with an earnest desire to unearth our ancient records and extract fully all that may be valuable in them are clearly perceptible everywhere around us. It may be interesting at this moment to present in a general view what our two great epics 'the Ramayana and the Mahabharata,' which head the list of our popular works, have done for the people. Some observations on these epics with regard to the nature of their contents, their position in Sanskrit literature, and their influence on subsequent Hindu life will accordingly form the subject of this paper.

The first remark that will suggest itself to any reader of these works is their unwieldy and gigantic size. The Ramayana, the shorter of the two, consists of 24,000 couplets of thirty-two syllables each and is about twice the size of the two greatest epic poems of Ancient Greece, the Iliad and the Odyssey combined. The Mahabharata is about 100,000 verses or 8 times the size of the Homeric epics above-named. And not content with this phenomenal size, the compilers of the Bharata state that the work originally consisted of a hundred lakhs of verses, that large portions were extant only in the Worlds of Gods and Gandharvas and that a bare lakh was all that was left in this world below to

satisfy the literary cravings of the denizens of this neglected planet. It has to be added though that a supplement to the Bharata exists by the name of Harivamśa, which is about the size of the Ramayana, and is by orthodox people considered part and parcel of the greater work, the Mahabharata. The question now arises whether this huge mass of literature could be the work of individual authors that really lived or whether they are only the present form of various layers of additions made by successive generations to the nucleus of an original work composed by a single author. In answering this question we have to remember that this form of literature supplanted the prose narrations of the legendary Brahmana and was historically the precursor of the Puranas, Tantras, and Agamas whose name is legion. The period commencing from about the 9th or 8th century B.C. to about the 10th century A.D. when the final touches must have been given to our best Puranas, this period of literary activity developed fully the sloka form of narration. The verse possesses an unlimited amount of flexibility; it is practically prose but can rise at a moment's notice to the sublimity of poetry and can convey the loftiest conceptions of the poetical and philosophical mind as well as it can draw out the lowest stories of sectarian prejudices or the silliest fables of an ignorant populace. Its metrical form made it easy to remember as all literature was committed to memory in that period. But the very fact that it was easy to compose made interpolations in the works possible, and as examples of this tendency may be cited the so-called Sthala Puranas which are the works of local bards of very recent dates who extolled their gods and tanks and speciously called the chapters extracts from the 'Skanda or Brahmāṇḍa Purana.'

Considerations of this kind, internal evidence, the obvious irrelevancy of various episodes, and observations on the growth of legends from simple to complicated forms, all these have led oriental scholars to conclude that excepting the war portion of the Mahabharata, the rest of it, a full three-fourths in fact, is a later addition. Of the Ramayana, it is conceded that the spurious portion is very small, that the first six kandas are mainly correct to the original text, but that the seventh kanda is an addition of later date. It is perhaps safer to say that the portion of the last kanda relating to the banishment of Sita and the Asvamedha sacrifice are as ancient as the rest of the work, and that suspicion ought to be limited to the other portions of the kanda.

A singular story is mentioned in the Ramayana as to the origin of the sloka metre. The story is pathetic and is interesting apart from its historical value. It may be mentioned that Valmiki, the reputed author of Ramayana, is not a Vedic Rishi like Vasiṣṭha or Viśvamitra, but is only mentioned by name in one of the later Pratisakhya. One morning this sage, walking in a grove on the banks of the river Ramasa, observed a pair of Krouncha birds or herons singing sweet tunes and enjoying themselves, but suddenly flew at them the sharp arrow of a wicked fowler and down came the birds, the male one writhing in pain, covered with blood and apparently dying, the female uttering woeful cries at the sight of her dying mate. The heart of the compassionate sage almost bled at this cruel sight and he thus poured out his anger at the offending fowler: "Wicked brute, thy life will not endure long here, for cruelly hast thou killed one of the loving pair of birds." These words uttered the sage reflected a little and was struck with surprise at the new form in which the words had couched themselves. There were four feet of an equal number of 8 syllables each and the rhythm and musical sweetness of the lines was to his ears something remarkable. He called this a sloka and composed the Ramayana mainly in this metre. The poet Valmiki is thence the first *Kavi* and the Ramayana is styled the first poem or *Adi Kavya*. Certain scholars base upon this fact the argument that the Ramayana could not have been long anterior to the kavyas of Kalidasa as all these go by the same name. This view does not seem to be correct. The word *kavya* has two meanings, one, a general one, namely, any imaginative composition proceeding from a single author and another a particular one, namely, a poem strictly so called. When Ramayana is styled the *Adi Kavya* all that is claimed for the work is that it is the first composition in modern Sanskrit as distinguished from Vedic Sanskrit, originating from a poet and treating of a compact subject, like the life of Rama. Native scholars do not style the Mahabharata a *kavya*, not because it is composed by a mythical personage Vyasa instead of a historical human being like Valmiki. For purposes of history Valmiki is as much a mythical personage as Vyasa. The Mahabharata is so diversified in the nature of its contents, is so full of moral texts and expositions on duty that it is by courtesy styled the fifth Veda, especially as it is composed by one who had the chief hand in the classification of the Vedas. For a similar reason the

Bhagavat Gita, an episode of the Bliarata, is styled an Upanishad. This again does not mean that it is of equal antiquity with the Upanishad properly so called but only that it is of equal sanctity, as it also like the Upanishads treats of God, the soul and matter and kindred topics. Again it is argued that as the Ramayana is in chaste and smooth diction and exhibits varieties of metre, it is later than the Mahabharata whose style is comparatively rugged. This is also not quite conclusive. There is no more difference in the styles than what may be expected from individual peculiarities. The soft and lucid style of Goldsmith is in marked contrast to the rugged stateliness of Johnson's verse; but few will venture to base upon this fact an argument doubting their contemporaneity. It is further pointed out that the Ramayana treating, as it does, of an Aryan colonization of the extreme south presupposes the completion of the northern occupations; whereas the Mahabharata treats of a war between two northern nations, the Kurus and the Panchalas, and must therefore be the anterior work. This may be answered in the words of Professor Weber himself that the warfare which forms the basis of the Mahabharata war may have taken place simultaneously with expeditions of other Aryan tribes to the south. Other arguments, based on the alleged weak characterisation of the Ramayanic personae, the apparent effeminate nature of Society in the Ramayana and similar ones, are hardly stronger than those mentioned above to dispute the title of Ramayana to be considered the more ancient work. What I mean to assert is that the strong Indian tradition prevailing for at least fifteen centuries with regard to the earlier date of the Ramayana cannot be disbelieved and upset on such grounds as those cited above. That there was a conquest of Ceylon by a Bengal conqueror Vijaya in the 5th century B.C., that the South Indian Kingdoms of Chola and Pandya flourished from a remote antiquity, that the town of Ayodhya fell into ruins and that a new city Sarasvati arose on the site on which Buddha preached in the 5th century B.C., these are historical facts. But we find no trace of a knowledge of these facts in the poem before us, and if the work is really of a late age the extremely improbable explanation must be made that Valmiki avoided anacronisms with superhuman skill and ingenuity. The result of modern researches on questions of Indian chronology has been to push back the dates of ancient works to a reasonable antiquity. We shall hope that as time advances the forces that had been at work in moulding the

progress of events in Ancient India would be more correctly realized and that the proper intervals of time will be allowed to the Vedic and Epic Ages to allow of these forces producing their natural and uncontrolled effects.

The controversy that has raged in Europe denying existence to Homer and styling his epics to be a mere compilation of previously existing songs, this controversy has had its prototype in Indian literary history. Oriental scholars have come to the conclusion that, beyond the mere fact of the Ramayana being based on an Aryan invasion to the south, no event in the Ramayana has the slightest historical foundation. Sita, the heroine of the poem, the synonym for so much grace, sanctity and feminine excellence, is a pure myth according to these critics and is symbolic of the furrow or the plough, the implement of Agriculture. Rama is but the symbolised husband-man, the plough bearer, who has to protect Aryan husbandry against aborigines, the Rakshasas, and that he is said to do in the Ramayana with the help of other friendly aborigines styled as monkeys in the poem. Such is the view of Professor Weber, the apostle of this creed of Allegory, who further confidently asserts that Rama is identical with Balarama whose favorite weapon was the plough and plays an interesting part in the Mahabharata. How far this view is founded on any argument except the mere statement of it by the learned Professor it is not for me to say. Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, the sympathetic Indian Historian of Ancient India, whose works on India place him in the first rank of India's scholars and benefactors, also agrees with Professor Weber as to the Allegorical nature of the Ramayana. To Mr. Dutt, however, Rama is but a new edition of the Vedic Indra, Janaka is the famous Kshatriya sage pressed into service for his great holiness to be Sita's father and to give her additional dignity. Rama and Parasu Rama are distinct persons, whose rivalry as that between Vasishta and Visvamitra is only an indication of the real rivalry that then existed between the priestly and warrior classes. These are views that cannot be directly controverted. They are entitled to our greatest respect, and we must at present be content to have our very real Rama and Sita and Arjuna and a host of other characters spirited away into vapoury allegorical beings that had no existence except in the busy and creative minds of our ancient poets.

To proceed to the next part of our subject:

Considered as mere works of imagination, the epic poems are

of the highest merit and are a precious heritage, of which any nation may be proud. The grand descriptions of natural scenery form a special feature of *Ramayana* as the stirring accounts of martial exploits distinguish the *Mahabharata*. The human heart, as subject to the emotions of anger, fear, love or hate, is laid bare with such a precision and mastery of its most secret workings, that it is no wonder that the works continue to have such influence over people so distant in time and so different in character as the modern Hindu Nations. The exuberance of imagination and the depth of pathos, with which such touching scenes as the banishment of Rama, the exile of the Pandavas, the outrages on Draupadi, and the harrowing scene of Sita's purification by fire are handled, make the works standing monuments of literary skill in a language which, for wealth and copiousness of vocabulary and adaptability for smoothness of diction, is unrivalled among the tongues of the world. Who has not been moved to tears that has read the heart-rending scene where the unfortunate Kunti makes a last pathetic appeal to Krishna to effect a peace and, that failing, rushes to Karna to reveal to him how in secret he was brought forth by herself and that his hand should not be raised in fratricidal war? That matchless hero sorrowfully replies, his fate is sealed—his die is cast, and he could never think of turning traitor to his benefactors, the Kurus. Or again that grandest scene of all, the closing chapter of the epic wherein Yudhishtra, victorious, and at the zenith of his glory, suddenly becomes disgusted with the crown won through bloodshed and the ruin of his kinsmen, resolves to abandon all and betakes himself, with all his brothers and Draupadi, to the fatal pilgrimage northwards, never stopping, never turning backwards, till one by one all except Yudhishtra fall down dead through weariness and exhaustion. True to the innate nature of the Hindu mind and the utter worthlessness in which it holds the so-called blessings of this world, our poets do not content themselves with the successful issue of their heroes' objects in this life. There is a Beyond to which this life is linked and no life problem is, to us, completely solved till this link is brought into relief and the whole worked into a connected chain. So also in the *Ramayana*, as it now stands, the web of fatality is so woven that Rama, displeased with a breach of duty on the part of Lakshmana, banished him from his presence and when the latter in grief went and plunged into the Sarayu river

and was lost, Rama and, at his instance, his brothers and friends and all Ayodhya went up to the Sarayu and deliberately drowned themselves and thus fulfilled Destiny.

It has been truly remarked that the characters in the *Mahabharata* are strongly portrayed and stand out in bold relief while those in the *Ramayana* are devoid of individuality. Krishna is the Mentor of the poem and is venerated as much for the prowess of his arms and the wisdom of his statesmanlike counsels as for his divine origin or miraculous powers. He is not here the hero of the numerous love stories which are now associated with his name, but is the sober and judicious counsellor of the Pandavas, shrewd but just, bold but conciliatory, revered alike by the warrior and the sage, feared by the selfish Dritarashtra and adored by the good and honest Vidura. Draupadi, strong and patient, noble, virtuous, and fearless, is typical of the Kshatriya lady of the day. Bhishma, the veteran warrior, grandfather of the Kurus and Pandavas, is faithful to the core, though with strong predilections towards the just cause of Yudhishtra and unbounded reverence for Krishna. The gentle Yudhishtra, the mighty Bhima, the accomplished Arjuna, the terrible Drona and the other characters of the story have their individualities so fully developed that they are real existences and not mere phantoms of the imagination to the generality of Hindus. But in the *Ramayana*, we miss the bustle and activity of real life which is so apparent in the other poem. There is an absence of sturdiness in the characters which is dull by its monotony. No doubt Rama is angry once or twice, even Sita ventures to chide her lord, and Lakshmana sometimes storms and threatens and seems to mean business. But all instantly apologise for their ebullitions of temper and seem to consider their transgressions sinful. There is a curious passage in the *Ramayana* describing an outburst of anger on the part of Visvamitra, the warrior priest, which shows how peaceful and quite our poet must have been by nature and how faithfully his mind is reflected in the work before us. The passage occurs in the Balakanda where Visvamitra determined to send the outcast Trisanku bodily to heaven and opposed by Indra is said to invoke terrible anger specially for the occasion and to cry to Trisanku to stop his downward course. The weak characterisation in the poem and the absence of sufficient knowledge of other parts of India and other nations point to the conclusion that the poet must have been a recluse

with scanty knowledge of city life and courts and camps, but of great imagination and natural powers of observation.

We read in the *Ramayana* that this poem of Rama's exploits was adapted to music and sung before Rama himself. The framework of the *Mahabharata* also shows that its contents were continuously read at sacrifices, before great assemblies of sages and princes. A special class of readers originated, whose profession it was to chant these poems, of course with additions, embellishments and explanations which made them popular and impressive. The mere reading of the poem, even the writing of it and presenting copies became acts of great merit and virtue. Every Hindu family of any ancestry had its *cadjan Ramayana* or the *Balarata* carefully oiled, tied up and covered over with silk or shawl and carefully kept in a separate place. The ordinary pious Hindu householder considers it a part of his religion to read a chapter or two of his *Ramayana* especially of the *Sundara Kanda* before meals. This work is to us what the *English Bible* is to a large part of the Protestant world, a book of counsel and advice for consultation in hours of need. It is perhaps well known that in moments of doubt and perplexity our old people open the *Yudha-Kanda* at random and read a line or two and infer their prosperity or the reverse according as the extract favours of success or defeat to Rama. The easy style of the poems and the general familiarity with the story make it a matter of secondary importance that one should be able to correctly construe the language. Apart from private readings, a quiet but effective process of national instruction in religion and morals is going on in the public readings and expositions of the epics before large crowds of ardent listeners. It is satisfactory to note that this species of instruction reaches just those classes of our people, women and illiterate men, who are not directly brought under the influence of our schools and colleges. The *Ramayana* furnishes ideal rules of conduct in trying situations. The inviolability of the pledged word, the duties of the son, the brother and the wife, and the duty of protection at all hazards of the suppliant and afflicted are impressively brought out and inculcated in the *Ramayana*. In the *Mahabharata*, the story of *Savitri*, episode of *Nala*, the *Santiparva* and the various other didactic episodes of which the work is full, form a storehouse of moral and religious teaching best adapted for popular instruction and guidance. Our ancestors

have always believed that religious and moral instruction should be different for different states of society and that the puranic form of teaching is more influential with the general populace than the highly condensed and philosophical *Vedanta* which may be fit food for the intellectual classes.

The direct influence of the epic poems on subsequent Hindi literature and the consequent indirect influence on national life have been really immense. First of all, in Sanskrit literature most of the extant *Kavyas* and *Natakas* treat of subjects which the greater epics have fully dwelt upon. Two of *Kalidasa's* poems and three, if the prakrit *Sethubandha* is considered his, are based on the epics. The greatest of Sanskrit dramas, the immortal *Sakuntala*, is founded on the episode of *Dushyanta* in the *Mahabharata*. Two of the three dramas of *Bhavabhuti* are stories covering the whole of the *Ramayana* together. The *Bhatti Kavya* is the *Ramayana* in shorter form while the *Naishad* of *Sri Harsha* is the story of *Nala*, a well-known episode in the bigger epic. The poet *Myrari* and the author of *Prasanna Raghava* have built their dramas on the foundation supplied by the *Ramayana*. A host of names of Dramatic works like the *Udata Raghava*, *Unmatthia Raghava* now exist, which show that ancient works on the subject were formerly held in esteem and are now lost to us. *King Bhoja* summarise the *Ramayana* in his well-known *Champu*, and the *Bharata Champu* is a similar summary of the other work. It is not too much to say that in both Sanskrit literature and prakrit literature there is hardly a single work of any note, which does not owe its existence to the inspiration derived from the ancient epics. This is the case not simply with the prakrit literature strictly so called, but also with the various modern North Indian languages which are admitted to be the developments of that literature, like the Hindi, the *Maharatti*, the *Bengalee*, and the *Guzaratti*. The best known works of these languages, those which are cherished as imperishable and indispensable heritages, are translations of the epics or compositions based on portions of the same epics. The developments which some of these, like the *Bengalee* and the *Mahrattiee*, have now undergone, and the vitality which they exhibit are entirely due to the vast power and flexibility which the languages have acquired by their ready absorption of Sanskrit words and Sanskrit structure.

The influence of the epics on the South Indian Vernaculars

may be separately considered. These languages possessed structures of their own and had evidently attained to some degree of perfection before the influence of Sanskrit began to operate upon them. But just as the mysterious influence of Brahman life and society gradually pervaded and completely remodelled the lives of the South Indian people, so likewise did the Sanskrit literature act on the languages above mentioned, though in different degrees. Of the Telugu, Canarese, Malayalam and Tamil languages, the last (the Tamil language) has been the most successful in resisting the influence of Sanskrit on its idiom, grammar and metrical arrangements. It is the Vernacular that may be said to possess a literature of its own in the truest sense; the great works of the period of the sangams, the works in fact of authors prior to Kamban, exhibit the minimum of Sanskrit influence and the maximum of native vitality. But as time advanced and the influence of Sanskrit pressed heavily, old authors and old modes of criticism were supplanted by new authors possessing Sanskrit culture and versed in its literature. Inevitably a large admixture of Sanskrit words took place. A grammar *Veerasoliam* on the model of Sanskrit is in existence though of little popularity. The four best known works of later Tamil literature, the Ramayanam the Bharatam of Villiputhurur, the Nalavenba, and the Naishadam are, it will be seen, translations of Sanskrit works. I had once the curiosity to compare and I found on examination that the Tamil Naishada was in some of its cantos almost word for word the corresponding stanzas of Sri Harsha's Sanskrit Naishada. It would be no exaggeration to say that if the Tamil works that are admittedly the outcome of Sanskrit influence were erased from Tamil literature, the loss to it would be immense and could not be compensated by the ancient works referred to of the previous Sangam periods. I have even my suspicions, though I could not be positive owing to my poor scholarship in Tamil, that the so called pure Tamil works like Silappathikaram and others which the learned Pundit Saminathaiyar of Kumbhakonam has been taking so much pains to popularise, whether these works of Jaina authors are not represented by more ancient Sanskrit works. However this may be, there is no doubt, as I have striven to show, that the Tamil literature in its present state owes much to the influence of Sanskrit and its epic literature.

If such is the state of things with the Tamil literature, it goes without saying that the other languages, the Telugu, the

Canarese and the Malayalam languages are more fully brought under Sanskrit influence. The additional fact in the case of these languages is that even their Grammar and the Prosody are copies of the Sanskrit system. It is sometimes amusing to listen to strings of verses in these languages in elaborate and unmixed Sanskrit with fully developed compounds in all the artificiality of their latest form, and then to be told that the verses are Telugu or Malayalam, because there is a single syllable at the end which is not a Sanskrit termination. I must, however, in justice to these languages say that under the influence of writers like the Pundit Verasalingam and the late lamented Chandu Menon a purer style of composition is being fostered, the friendly help of Sanskrit being only sparingly called into requisition. At the same time my observations with regard to Tamil literature apply with double force to the literatures of these languages—viz., that the most valuable part of their extant literature is the outcome of Sanskrit influence, especially of the Sanskrit epics.

Before closing this paper I shall advert to a topic which cannot but be interesting to every well-wisher of India, viz., the future of our literary life. The subject is a vast one, and all that I have space for now are a few general remarks. Every careful observer of the signs of the times sees the strong impetus that has been given since recent years to Sanskrit study, especially the study of the Upanishads and the Vedanta generally. The spread of the Theosophic movement and the emphasis that movement gave to the study of Sanskrit marks the commencement of a renaissance in the history of Hindu literary life. That impetus has been followed up most powerfully by the, to some extent, rival movement of Swami Vivekananda and his numerous disciples. This able philosopher has been proclaiming with wonderful eloquence, complete grasp of subject and command of a charming style, the principles of the Hindu philosophy to English and American, not to say Indian, audiences. The recent discussions on the advisability of forming an oriental side to the University, though they have not been embodied in practical shape, sufficiently indicate the strong feeling of educationists and the Hindu community generally to the necessity of encouraging a systematic study of Sanskrit with a view to rationally understand the principles of our religion and philosophy. Of course, no one but a dreamer can imagine that Sanskrit could be revived as a spoken language

or even as a common language for use in discussions and conversations.

It is my belief that our future lies in so strengthening our Vernaculars that they shall fully represent to the masses the vast stores of useful matter in our Sanskrit literature and at the same time adapt itself to be the exponents of western thought and western influence in philosophy and the sciences. I conclude with an earnest wish that the students of our schools and colleges who adopt Sanskrit as their language will study it up with greater interest than I fear they show now, so that in later life they may usefully supplement it by study and become centres of beneficial influence to large numbers of Hindus around them.

T. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR.

THE TAMILS: EIGHTEEN HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

(Continued.)

THE poems of Nakkirar are full of allusions to contemporary events and show that he was no ordinary bard who cared only to flatter and please his patrons; but was a fairly good scholar who strove to produce lasting memorials of his literary skill. It is from his verses that we know that Karikâl Chôla settled the wandering tribes of Kurumbas⁽¹⁾; that seven kings, whose names he mentions, were defeated by the Pandyan king Nedunj-Cheliyan at Alankânâm⁽²⁾; that the same Pandyan king invaded the Chera territory and went up to Muchirî (the Muziris of Ptolemy) on the western coast⁽³⁾; and that Palayan Mâran defeated under the walls of Madura the large army with which Killi-Valavan had invaded the Pandyan territory⁽⁴⁾. He picks his words and uses the most appropriate expressions to convey his ideas, and his style is always dignified and elegant; but he tries to show off his learning and sometimes pushes his scholarship almost to the verge of pedantry. Besides the Tiru-Murukârup-padaï, nine small poems which are attributed to Nakkirar appear in the eleventh Book of the collection of Saiva hymns. The language of these poems is, however, so modern that no critical student will hesitate to declare them to be forgeries⁽⁵⁾. The legend regarding the origin of these poems is found in the Hâlasya Mahâtmya, a Sanscrit chronicle of the temple of Siva at

(1) *Akam*, 140.

(2) *Ibid.*, 36.

(3) *Ibid.*, 55.

(4) *Ibid.*, 345.

(5) The late Professor P. Sunaram Pillai, M.A., was of the same opinion. *Christian College Magazine* for August 1891, p. 127. The names of the nine poems are as follow:—

1. Kayilai-pâti-kâlatti-pâti-antâti.
2. Konkôy-malai-elupatu.
3. Valap-puli-mam-maïk-kôvai.
4. Elu-kûr-irukkai.
5. Perum-deva-pâti.
6. Kâpap-prasâtam.
7. Kâr-eddu.
8. Pôrik-kôli-ven-pô.
9. Kannappa-deva-tiru-maram.

Madura, the pious author of which who lived about the eleventh century A.D., appears to have had little or no knowledge of ancient Tamil literature⁽⁶⁾.

Māmūlanār (A.D. 60-90) : many verses composed by this bard are found in the *Akananuru*, and a few in the *Kurunthokai* and *Narrinai*. It appears from these verses that he was a great traveller and visited the Chera, Chola, and Pandya Kingdoms, Panan-Nadu (Wynaad), Tulu-Nad (South-Canara) and Eru-

(6) The poem states that during the reign of the Pandyan king Vankya-Sekaran 48 Pandits from Kāsi (Benares) travelled southwards and settled at Madura under the patronage of the Pandya. His successor Vankiya-Chūdāmani aliās Chanpaka-Māran was one day seated in the royal park, with his queen, and charmed by the fragrant smell of her tresses, wondered whether the fragrance was natural or acquired. In a gay mood he sent word to the poets of his court offering a purse of 1,000 gold coins to anyone who would guess his thought and solve his doubt. The poets who were not thought-
readers were at a loss to know what they should do to satisfy their royal patron. A poor Brahmin who heard of this handsome offer thought it a good opportunity to enrich himself, and entering the temple of Siva and falling at the feet of the image of the god, prayed fervently that the god should help him to win the prize. Moved by his prayer the god gave him a palm-leaf with a stanza written on it. The Brahmin received it with joy and hastened to the Poet's hall and presented the verse. It was a gem of poetry: every one pronounced it beautiful in language and sentiment. It was taken to the king who read it with pleasure and ordered that the purse of gold be given to the Brahmin. He hurried back to the poet's hall to receive the prize: but Nakkirar said that there was a fault in his verse, and that the prize ought not to be awarded to him. The Brahmin, sadly disappointed, retraced his steps to the temple of Siva and falling once more at the feet of Siva's image implored the mercy of the god. Incensed at the presumption of Nakkirar in criticising his verse, the god assumed the form of a bard, and appearing in the assembly of poets, enquired which of them had dared to find fault in his verse. Nakkirar replied that it was himself and that the fault was in the statement that women's tresses were naturally fragrant, which he said was impossible. The god enquired whether the tresses of Padmīnis, the highest class of women, were not naturally fragrant? "No" said the defiant Nakkirar. "Are not the tresses of celestial women fragrant?" enquired the god irritated. "No" repeated Nakkirar "unless they wore the celestial Mandhara flower in their hair." "Are not the tresses of Parvati, the goddess whom you worship, naturally fragrant?" asked the god with kindling anger. "No" asserted the obstinate Nakkirar. The wrath of the god was now uncontrollable. The eye in the centre of the god's forehead opened and smited flames. "It is false: even if thou openest a thousand eyes," said the dauntless Nakkirar, carried away by his blind zeal to maintain what was right. The divine eye flashed a ray of fire on Nakkirar, and the latter scorched by the heat fell instantly from his seat into the tank of the golden lotus: and the god disappeared. In humble repentance the poet then composed the poems to appease the wrath of the God.

The *Mahātmya* names Kapilar and Paṇṇar as the contemporaries of Nakkirar during the reign of Champaka Māran. Continuing the narrative the poem states that fourteen kings reigned at Madura after Chanpaka Māran; and during the reign of the fifteenth king Kulesa Pandya, that is, after the lapse of about a century, it introduces again, with no little absurdity, the poet Kapilar and his friend Idai-Kādar.

See also. *Tiru-vilāyādar-purānam* chapters 51, 53 and 56.

THE TAMILS: EIGHTEEN HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

mai-Nadu (Mysore Province)⁽⁷⁾. He frequently mentions "the festive and wealthy town of Venkadāni (the modern Tirupathi) ruled by the generous Pulli," who seems to have been his patron.⁽⁸⁾ He alludes also to several ancient kings: Perunj-Chōrru-Utiyanj-Cheral⁽⁹⁾; Cheral-Athan who conducted an expedition by sea and cut down the Kadambu⁽¹⁰⁾; another Cheral-Athan who was defeated at Vennil by Karikal-Chola⁽¹¹⁾; and the illegitimate Mauriṣas who led their army up to Pothiya Hill, when Mohoor did not submit to the Kosar⁽¹²⁾.

Kallidānār (A.D. 60-90) appears to have been a native of Venkadāni, which town he says he quitted with his family during a severe famine.⁽¹³⁾ He travelled southwards and found relief in fertile regions on the banks of the river Kaviri, where the chieftains of Poraiyaru and Ambar welcomed him and treated with all the honor due to a minstrel⁽¹⁴⁾. He accompanied the Pandyan army to the battle of Alankānam, and when the battle was over he sang the praises of the Victor Nedunj-Cheliyan and received a share of the spoils.⁽¹⁵⁾ He refers in his verses to the battle in which Kāri, king of Mullūr, defeated and killed Ori, king of the Kolli Hills,⁽¹⁶⁾ and to the battle in which Kalankāik-kanni-nār-mudich-cheral defeated Nannan.⁽¹⁷⁾ A commentary to the Tamil Grammar *Tolkappiyam* is said to have been written by him, but it is not extant. The poem *Kallidānam*⁽¹⁸⁾ which recounts the miracles performed by the god Siva at Madura is also ascribed to him; but the language of the poem and the numerous allusions to later events contained in it, stamp it as a spurious work.

Mankudi-Maruthanār (A.D. 80-110) or Maruthanār of Mankudi is the earliest poet laureate mentioned in Tamil literature. The Pandyan King Nedunj-cheliyan, victor of Alankānam, speaks of him as the chief of the poets of his court. A few

(7) *Akan.* 15, 114.

(8) *Ibid.*, 61, 294, 310, 393.

(9) *Ibid.*, 233.

(10) *Ibid.*, 316, 126.

(11) *Ibid.*, 55.

(12) *Ibid.*, 250.

(13) *Param.* 391.

(14) *Ibid.*, 385.

(15) *Ibid.*, 374.

(16) *Akan.* 208.

(17) *Ibid.*, 198.

(18) This poem was printed some years ago with a commentary by Maivil-
erum-perumal Pillai for the first 37 stanzas and by Subbarāya Mudaliar for
64 stanzas.

stanzas composed by him are found in the Pura-Nānuru; but the work by which he is best remembered is the poem *Maḍuraik-Kānchi*,⁽¹⁹⁾ which he addressed to the king Neduhj-chēliyan. It is a moral epistle, and the author appears in the character of a teacher and a moralist; but as it is addressed to a restless and ambitious warrior flushed with success, who is his own patron and king, the author has considered it proper to render the moral to be conveyed as agreeable as possible by a profuse panegyric on the king and his prosperous dominion. The poem opens with an eloquent apostrophe in which the justice and wisdom and martial glory of the ancient line of the Pandyas is set forth; then it relates in glowing terms the various exploits of the king which have extended his authority and increased his fame; and extols the personal merits of the king, his love of truth and justice, his faithful friendship and fearless bravery, his high sense of honor and unbounded charity. The monarch is asked to bear in mind the fact that of the many kings, great and good men, who graced the throne of the Pandyas before him, not one is alive! The poem then proceeds to describe with considerable wealth of detail the extensive country which owns the sway of the Pandya, comprising fertile fields, pasture lands, wild wastes, hill-tracts and a sea coast studded with busy ports where fisherman, salt merchants, chank-cutters, and pearl-fishers ply their trade. It describes very vividly the proud and wealthy city of Madura, the scenes in the streets and in the palace, the personal appearance of the Pandya, and the manner in which he receives and rewards his courtiers; and concludes with the advice that the king should follow in the foot steps of his pious ancestors, perform sacrifices, advance the welfare and secure the loyalty of his subjects, and enjoy the good things that the gods give. It will be seen from the poem that the author was an ardent lover of Nature, and a keen observer of men and manners. His descriptions are true to life; but his diction is not as polished and dignified as that of Nakkirar.

Tiru-valluvar (A.D. 80-110). His fame as the author of the *Kural* or *Muppal* will last as long as Tamil is a living language. I have already given a brief summary of the work and described how warmly it was approved of by the poets of the court of Ugra-Pandya. The immediate popularity of the *Kural* is proved

(19) Published by the Tamil Pandit V. Sāminātha Iyer in 1889: the

by the fact that verses from it are quoted by contemporary authors such as Chēethalai-chattanār⁽²⁰⁾ and Ilankō-Adikal.⁽²¹⁾ After the lapse of eighteen hundred years it has lost none of its original favour among the Tamil people, and it is still considered the first of works from which, whether for thought or language, there is no appeal. No less than ten commentaries have been written on it at different times; but the commentary which is most studied at present is that composed by Pari-mel-Alakar⁽²²⁾.

Kovur-Kilar (A.D. 90-120) was a war bard who was very influential in the court of the Chōla kings. Several stanzas composed by him in praise of Ched-chenni-Nalank-killi-valavan, are found in the Pura-nanuru. In the civil wars that raged during the reign of Nalank-killi, between him and his younger brothers, Kovur-kilar was in the camp of Nedunk-killi. When Nalank-killi besieged Uraiyur and afterwards Avur, where his brother Nedunk-killi had taken refuge, the bard tried to reconcile the brothers.⁽²³⁾ He saved the life of Ilan-thathan, a poor minister, whom Nedunk-killi was about to kill on the suspicion that he was a spy.⁽²⁴⁾ During the reign of Killi-valavan, when that king seized the sons of Malayamān and condemned them to be trampled by elephants, the bard saved the youths, by reminding the Chōla-king of the deeds of mercy which had rendered the names of his ancestors celebrated in ancient song.⁽²⁵⁾ When that king invaded the Chōla kingdom and besieged the capital Karur, Kovur-killar and two other bards, Alathur-killar and Marokattu-Nappasalaiyar, were in the chōla camp.⁽²⁶⁾ The

(20) *Mani-mēkalai*, xxii, 208 and 209.

(21) *Chillapp-ad-karam*, xxi, 3 and 4.

(22) Published by the late Arumuga Nāvalar. The names of the commentators are: Dharmar, Manak-kudavar, Thāmattar, Nacchehar, Pari-mel-alakar, Paruti, Tiru-malaiyar, Mullar, Kavip-perumāl and Kālinkar. According to the *Kapilar-Akaval*, which is a spurious poem, Uppai, Uruvai, Ayvaiyar, Ath-karmar, Kapilar and Tiruvalluvar were the issues of the illegitimate union of Bagavan, a Brahmin, and A'di, a Pariah woman. Their parents led a wandering life in the Tamil country, and abandoned each child as soon as it was born: but the children were brought up as foundlings by strangers, and lived to become famous. The story is palpably untrue: for if each child had been abandoned as soon as it was born, the story does not state by what means their common origin was afterwards discovered. It is surprising that Mr. Simon Carle Chitty, author of the Tamil *Plutarch* and Mr. J. R. Arnold, author of the *Galaxy of Tamil Poets*, have accepted this story as true.

(23) *Durem*, 41, 45.

(24) *Ibid.*, 47.

(25) *Ibid.*, 46.

(26) *Ibid.*, 36, 37.

following is a translation of one of the stanzas addressed by him to his patron Nalan-killi.

"We are the devoted bards of Nalan-killi, the fierce, and brave warrior king of Chōla-Nad, who riding on a steed, with flowing mane and jewelled trappings, leads an army as vast as a sea and lays waste the lands of his foes. We seek not rewards from the hands of others by singing their praises. Him alone we will sing and bless for ever! Thou lord of fleet steeds! Myself and my minstrel youths, who know not the pangs of hunger, but have always feasted on sweets and rice and flesh fried in ghee (at thy palace) will never quit thy side! Give up thy peaceful habits and start like the hooded white serpent (springing on its enemy) with sparkling eyes and forked tongue. Let thy victorious chariot proceed against the fortresses of thy rival kings, and the whole of this sea-girt earth shall be thine! Every time I strike my war-drum with the short stick with tinkling bells tied to it, thy foes shall tremble! (27)

Iraiyanār (A.D. 90-120) author of a grammar of erotic poetry called *Iraiyanār Akapporul*. In later periods the author's name was confounded with that of Siva and his insignificant treatise of sixty Sutras was considered the incomparable production of the god Siva! (28)

Paranar (A.D. 90-120) Like most of the minstrels of this period he appears to have travelled through the Chera, Chola and Pandyan kingdoms, visiting the mansions of petty chiefs as well as the courts of kings. He refers to a confederacy of nine princes, most probably Kurumbas, defeated by Kāṭikal-Chola who had invaded their territories with a large army (29); and to the defeat of Arya kings by Chenkudduva-Chera, the grandson of Karikal Chola. (30) He praises the valor and munificence of Thittan, king of Uraiyur, (31) of Uthiyan, chief of Pali, where gold mines were worked (32) and of Thithiyan, chief of the Pothya hill, who defeated the Kosar. (33) Ten stanzas composed by him in praise of the Chera king Chenkudduva, form part of

(27) *Ibid.*, 382.

(28) Published by Rao Bahadur. C. W. Thamōtharam Pillai, with the commentary of Nilakandan.

(29) *Idam*, 124.

(30) *Ibid.*, 396.

(31) *Ibid.*, 6.

(32) *Ibid.*, 257.

(33) *Ibid.*, 195.

the Pathirup-pattu. The poetess Auvaiyar states that he was present when Kovulur, the capital of Kaṭṭi, was stormed by Nedunjan-Auchi, chief of the Athiyar, and sang the praises of the victor; but the verses uttered by him on the occasion are not now extant. (34) The following is a translation of one of the stanzas sung by him on the battle-field in which both the rival kings, Nedunj-cherai-Athian and Peru-virar-Killi died after a most sanguinary conflict.

"The elephants pierced by arrows are all disabled for ever. The splendid chargers are all slaughtered with their brave riders. The commanders who drove in their chariots all lie dead, their faces covered with their shields. The big thundering drums roll on the ground, as no drummer is alive. Both the contending kings have fallen on the battle-field, their perfumed breasts pierced by long lances. Alas! what will become of their fertile countries, in the cool rivers of which peasant girls decked with bracelets made of lily stalks, leap and sport? (35)

Perunk-Kāṭṭikanār (A.D. 90-120), a native of Perunkunrar, composed the *Malaipattu-Kadām*, a panegyric on Nannan, son of Nannan, chief of Chenkanma. (36) The poem describes eloquently the grandeur of the scenery on the mountain Naviram; the ceaseless din on the hill sides caused by the roar of cascades falling on rocks, the shouts of the elephant trainers, the songs of women pounding millet, the whirl of sugar-mills and the sound of drums beaten by drunken hill-men who dance merrily with their women; the stones with epitaphs inscribed on them set up in memory of departed warriors; the sign-posts planted at crossings showing the names of the places to which the roads lead; the hospitality of the hill-tribes; the rapid current of the river Cheyār which rushes whirling and eddying down the hill; the fort-gates guarded by soldiers armed with swords and lances; and the courteous reception of minstrels by the chief Nannan who welcomes them graciously and expresses his regret for the tiresome ascent up the hill, and waits not till they finish their songs, but feasts them and sends them home loaded with presents.

Auvaiyar (A.D. 109-130) the most famous of Tamil poetesses, is even more popular than Tiru-valluvar as the work of the latter is studied only by advanced scholars, while the poems of

(34) *Puram*, 99.

(35) *Ibid.*, 63.

(36) The tenth poem in the Pattup-pattu.

Auvvaiyar are read by every Tamil student, soon after learning the Alphabet. Her two books of aphorisms entitled Attichūdi and Konrai-venthai, written in the order of the Tamil Alphabet which the learned Boscchi considered as "worthy of Seneca himself," (37) have been most appropriately called "the Golden Alphabet of the Tamils" (38). Being a minstrel by profession, she acquired in her early youth considerable facility in expressing herself in verse, and possessing naturally a literary turn of mind and poetic feeling, she appears to have improved them by extensive learning, so much so that she was soon recognised by her contemporaries as an accomplished poetess. She describes herself as appearing "with a shining forehead, eyelids painted black and wearing a jewelled girdle on her waist." (39) The best part of her life was spent in the court of Athiyamān-Anchi, prince of Thakadūr, who held her in great regard. She says that the halls and towers of Athiyamān's palace echoed daily a day with her songs, which she sang to the accompaniment of a tabor. (40) Her intimacy with Athiyaman is expressed very quaintly by her as follows:—

"Pleasant art thou prince! to us, as the huge elephant is to village youths, when it lies down in the river and allows them to wash its white tusks: but ferocious art thou to thy enemies as the same elephant is when in rut." (41) When the fruit of a certain Nelli-tree (*Phyllanthus emblica*) which was reputed to possess the marvellous virtue of prolonging life, was presented to Athiyamān, he did not eat it himself: but gave it to Auvvaiyar: and the grateful minstrel thanks him in the following words:—

"Thou Anchi! king of the Athiyar! Resistless in war: who wearing a golden necklace and wielding the victorious sword in thy powerful arm which is adorned with armlets, slayest thy enemies on every battle field! may thou be eminent for ever as the matchless God (Siva) whose throat is blue and who wears the silvery crescent on his head! For thou hast given me the sweet fruit of the Nelli tree which grew on the giddy height of a lofty mountain, knowing that it will save me from Death." (42) . Athi-

(37) Babington's Chen Tamil Grammar. Introduction, p. xi.

(38) Asiatic Researches, vii, p. 350, London Edition.

(39) *Puram*, 89.

(40) *Ibid.*, 390.

(41) *Ibid.*, 94.

(42) *Ibid.*, 91.

yāmān sent Auvvaiyar once on an embassy to Thondainān, king of Kanchi, most probably seeking the assistance of that king against his enemies. (43) It is not known whether the embassy was successful or not: but sometime afterwards Athiyaman was killed in a battle: and the verses uttered by Auvvaiyar on the occasion are very pathetic.

"If there was little liquor, he would let us drink it: if there was much, he would also share it joyously with us, while we sang to him. Whether it was a simple meal or a grand feast, he would sit to meal with a large company of guests. Wherever bone, and meat were plentiful he would place us: wherever arrows and lances were aimed he would take his stand. With his perfumed hands he would stroke my head. Alas! the lance, that pierced his beloved breast, pierced at the same time the aims bowl of his minstrels, the hands of the poor whom he fed, and the tongues of the learned poets of his court. Dim are the eyes of his dependents, with weeping! Oh! where is he our dear prince? No more are there bards to sing or patrons to reward them. But many are the men who are as useless to this world as the flower of the Pahanrai which blooms on the cool banks of rivers: but is not worn by any one." (44) After the death of her patron, Athiyamān-Anchi she travelled in the Tondai-Nad and some years hence returned to Thakadur, where Elini, the son of Neduman-Anchi, received her very kindly. She describes her reception as follows:—(45) "Early on a dewy morning, while the mild moon was still shining, I stood at the entrance to the palace of Elini, king of the Athiyar, and striking the drum which I carried in my hand, I sang 'Long life to thee Elini! King of the Athiyar! Who stormest thy enemies' forts and ravagest their fields!' Straightway he welcomed me and made me change my dirty dress and put on fine new clothes which he presented. In a golden cup he offered me strong old liquor which fired my blood to a frenzy and he feasted me right royally."

She attended the magnificent sacrifice performed by the Chōla king Peru-nar-Killi, and she had the honor of addressing the three Tamil kings, Ugrapperu-Valuthy, Peru-nar-Killi and the Chera Ma-ven-ko, who were seated together on the occasion. She exhorted them to do good during all their life time, which

(43) *Ibid.*, 95.

(44) *Ibid.*, 235.

alone she said would save them in the future. (46) As a specimen of the pure principles and practical philosophy she preached, I give below a translation of the first eight lines of the Attichudi or the Golden Alphabet—

1. Desire to do charity.
2. Anger should be controlled.
3. Fail not to render what help lies in your power.
4. Prevent not the giving of alms.
5. Reveal not what you possess.
6. Slacken not exertion.
7. Neglect not numbers and letters.
8. Begging is shameful.

V. KANAKASABHAI PILLAI.

(To be Continued).

MUSSULMANS AND MUSIC.

MR. JUSTICE RANADE in his masterly address to the recent Indian Social Conference at Lucknow traced the influences which the Mussulman conquest of India had brought about. Foreign invasions are not always an unmixed blessing to the conquered race. An unscrupulous and aggressive nation bent upon plunder and having no abiding interest in the land of their conquest will naturally try to trample the subjugated race, while the humanitarian instincts of a civilised one will tend to elevate the position of its subjects by its beneficial acts. Mr. Justice Ranade himself says that Mussulmans were themselves winners by coming in contact with the Hindus. "The Sufi heresy gathered strength from contact with the Hindu teachers, and made many Mahomedans believe in transmigration and in the final union of the soul with the supreme spirit. The Mohurram festival and saint worship are the best evidence of the way in which the Mahomedans were influenced by Hindu ideas." It has been similarly pointed out that the Hindus were also benefited by their contact with Mussulmans. How far these influences permeated the later Hindu thought and action must be left to impartial students of history who may trace these effects to their proper sources in the light of the past history of both the nations. Without in any way questioning the beneficial effects of the Mussulman conquest, it may be asked how far abiding these had been, so far as some of the Hindu national institutions were concerned. There seems to be strong evidence to prove the iconoclastic nature of the early Mussulman rulers to whose advent may be ascribed the arrest of development in all directions of Hindu thought. Foreign nations subjugating an alien race have in the past tried to compel the subject people to adopt their customs and manners on pain of extinction, though the same may be repugnant to the latter. In the case of the Hindus, whose proverbial tenacity to their established customs has always baffled the attempt of foreigners, the Mussulmans also failed to introduce reforms on their own lines. I am not here, however, concerned with estimating the sum-total of the influences of the

Mussulman rule on the permanent institutions of the Hindus. My object here is to examine the causes which led Mr. Justice Ranade to affirm that "they (Mahomedans) improved the knowledge of the people (the Hindus) in *music*, instrumental and vocal." This is an assertion whose accuracy cannot be vouched for without rummaging the literary history of both the nations. We have to examine the nature of the musical knowledge of the Mussulmans before their advent into India, and the same among the Hindus in the flourishing times of their indigenous rulers, and also to see how far their knowledge could be said to have improved Hindu music.

A brief survey of the intellectual progress of the Mussulmans will disclose the fact that music was not one of the sciences early cultivated by them. Scholars were early prohibited from hearing, much less studying, music, owing to its supposed degrading associations, the consequence being that music, which is both a science and an art, came to be one of the least worthy of the sciences claiming the attention of savants.

Notwithstanding their progress in the astronomical and mathematical sciences, music was relegated to oblivion, from which their later contact with the noble genius of the Hindus alone could revive it. Such a neglect was not merely accidental and confined to books. A class of rigid puritans arose who thoroughly eschewed music of every kind on all occasions of marriage, and other ceremonies, auspicious or inauspicious. The deep hatred of music imbibed by their descendants still continues in the sect which not only do not perform ceremonies with any kind of music but strictly abstain from all places where it may be heard. While the Hindus have been unanimous in their praise of music and regard it as one of the sweetest enjoyment of life, this class hates it as ignoble and demoralizing. Could music have thriven under such auspices? Their greatest authority, the Koran, is said to prohibit music. Could its followers ever attempt to ignore its sacred authority? When music was utilised by the Hindus in the praise of their gods with due sublimity, and in the heroic recitals of many a king's valor, the more strict among the Mussulman doctors had prohibited its use as irreligious and profane. Some however seem to have been more indulgent. A few, convinced of its excellence but dreading the censure of caustics, had prudently preferred silence. It would be idle to expect a free and untrammelled growth of the science among

a community which regards it "as exhilarating the spirits and as an incentive to the bent of the inclination." But music which is "the imperishable antidote of pain and the voice of every perfected art" could not long be kept in the background, and in course of time became the silent companion of many whose in-born sympathy led them to surreptitious gratification.

It is not known whether, in the courts of the early Mussulman kings, musicians formed a part of the royal paraphernalia, as in the case of the Hindu princes. It does not seem likely that royal patronage would have been extended to a science which was under the ban of law. The cultivation of a science requires the fostering care of patrons by whose active encouragement men of learning are invited to pursue it for its own sake and bring it to a state of perfection. The royal retinue of Hindu princes was incomplete without musicians. This is one of the important reasons for the perfection of the science among the Hindus. Even in much later times when Mussulman rulers of India employed musicians as an adjunct to their retinue, they seem to have retained them more for dignity and royal pageant than for the encouragement of the science which contributed to their own enjoyment.

Sir William Jones relates an anecdote of the perfect indifference and stolidity of a Mahomedan nobleman when he was listening to a musical performance. He says: "I have been assured by a credible eye witness that wild antelopes used often to come to the woods to the place where a mere savage beast, Siraj-ud-dowlah, entertained himself with concerts, and that they listened to the strain with an appearance of pleasure till the monster, in whose soul there was no music, shot one of them to display his archery." This story simply illustrates the apathy of the Mahomedan nobleman who was more anxious to exhibit his power of shooting than to listen to an entrancing strain which captivated an animal to the extent of its forgetting its immediate danger. Such an amiable ruler as the Emperor Akbar himself was little amenable to the influence of music, if the following story told of him is true. It is said that he ordered Nayak Gopaul, a celebrated musician, to sing the Dipaka raga to which a "fiery power" is generally attributed. The musician humbly asserted that the singing of that raga would bring about his own destruction. But the Emperor would listen to no kind of excuse. "He therefore requested permission to go and bid

farewell to his family and friends. It was winter when he returned after an absence of six months. Before he began to sing, he placed himself in the waters of the Jumna till they reached his neck. As soon as he had performed a strain or two, the river gradually became hot—at length began to boil and the agonies of the unhappy musician were nearly unsupportable. Suspending for a moment the melody thus cruelly extorted, he sued for mercy from the monarch, but sued in vain. Akbar wished to prove more strongly the power of the raga. Nayak Gopaul renewed the fatal song. Flames burst with violence from his body and, though immersed in the waters of the Jumna, he was consumed to ashes." Aurangzeb, after ascending the throne, abolished the court musicians, as music was against the Mahomedan law. Mr. Blochmann, in his translation of the *Aini-Akbari*, quotes a curious story from the historian Khan Khan as to what took place when the order was promulgated. The court musicians brought a bier in front of the Jharok'hat (the window where the Emperors used to show themselves daily to the people) and wailed so loud as to attract Aurangzeb's attention. He came to the window, and asked whom they had on the bier. They said "Melody is dead, and we are going to the graveyard." "Very well," said the Emperor, "make the grave deep, so that neither voice nor echo may issue from it." On the other hand the well-known liberality of the Hindu kings had rescued many a genius from oblivion.

The earliest book on the theory of music is said to be Al-Farabi about which very little is known. A writer in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* remarks, "As for music, its study was limited to the practical end, though we may name the important treatise Al-Farabi on theory of music—a treatise itself drawn from Greek sources—we must acknowledge that Acoustics, properly so called, are not at all taken into consideration by him." If this treatise owed its origin to Greek sources, we know that the early Greeks borrowed much of their information on the subject from the early Egyptians and the Hindus. "If it were enquired whether the nation of Greece or Hindustan proceeded further in the cultivation of music, the accounts we have of its state amongst the former, and the living examples, at present found in the latter aided by a review of its flourishing state under the native princes, would decide in favor of Hindustan. The use of a flute, with holes to produce melodies, was early

discovered during the latter ages of Greece, as well as the performance on that instrument as a solo; both of which existed in Hindustan, from time immemorial. It was the instrument on which Krishna played. The Greeks did not play solo, except on the trumpet, till the Pythic games were celebrated, when Socrates of Argos is said to have been the first who distinguished himself by playing on the flute alone." It will thus be seen, that the earliest treatise on Mahomedan music is indebted to Hindu source, though indirectly.

We next alight upon a Persian treatise on music which is found scattered in "a collection of tracts on pure and mixed mathematics entitled *Durrat'ul-taj*, and composed by a very learned man, so generally called Allami Shirazi or the great philosopher of Shiraz that his proper name is almost forgotten; but as the modern Persians had access, I believe, to Ptolemy's harmonies, their mathematical writers on music treat it rather as a science than as an art and seem, like the Greeks, to be more intent on splitting tones into quarters and eighth parts, of which they compute the ratios to show their arithmetic, than on displaying the principles of modulation, as it may affect the passions. I apply the same observation to a short but masterly tract of the famed Abusina, and suspect that it is applicable to an elegant essay in Persian, called *Shamsi lascent*, of which I have not had courage to read more than the preface."

After this, much of their music seems to have been drawn direct from the Hindu sources. Under some of the liberal Mahomedan rulers, arts and sciences flourished and were greatly encouraged. Translations were made of the Hindu Shastras and Puranas and attempts made to study the Hindu philosophy and sciences by men whose genius detected their true merits. Works on Hindu music were translated later on, but these early translations seem to have been only a mixture of gloss and text with a flimsy paraphrase of them both. Sir W. Jones remarks "that a man who knows the Hindus only from Persian books does not know the Hindus; and that an European who follows the muddy rivulets of Mussulman writers on India, instead of drinking from the pure fountain of Hindu learning, will be in perpetual danger of misleading himself and others. From the just severity of this censure, I exempt neither Abulfazl, nor his brother Faizi, nor Mooshani Fani, nor Mirza Khan himself; and I speak of all four after an attentive perusal of their works." "The well-known scholar Mirza Khan is said to have composed in Persian

a book entitled 'Tohfut-ul-Hind,' which gives a minute account of Hindu literature in all its important branches. His chapter on music is based on translations of the well-known Sanskrit works Ragamava, Ragadurpana, Sabhavinoda, and Sangitadurpana. He describes the four musical systems of Ishwara, Bharata, Hanuman, and Callinath. Besides this, Ragadurpan was translated by Fakir Ullah "from an Hindovee book on the science of music, called Muncuttuhub, compiled by order of Man Sing, Rajah of Gwalior. The Sangita Durpan (or mirror of melody) is also a Persian translation from the Sanskrit. To this I am enabled to add the title of another Hindovee work translated by Deenanaut, the son of Bausdheo, into the Persian language on the first of the month Ramjan, in the year of the Hegira 1137, of our Era, 1724. "An essay on the science of music, translated from the book Paurjanthuck the object of which is to teach the understanding of the Rags and Ragnees, and the playing upon musical instruments." This probably refers to Sangita Parijata, which treats of music in all its important details. Col. French who made a careful study of the subject writes: "Indeed, in the South of India, music appears to have been maintained and cultivated as a science, long after it had ceased as such in the North. Mahomedan historians of the period relate that, when the Dekkhan was invaded by All-oo-deen Togluk in A.D. 1294, and the conquest of the South of India completed by the Mogul General Mullick Kaffoor, several years afterwards, the profession of music was found to be in a condition so far advanced of the North, that singers male and female, musicians and their Brahmin instructors were taken with the royal armies and settled in the North. The works that remained on the subject have been examined by competent oriental scholars who have discovered that music as a science held a high place among ancient Hindus and became the subject of learned, though pedantic, treatises on doctrines of sound, variations of scales, accord of musical instruments, discussions of modes, singing and instrumentation."

It has been shown above how works on Hindu music were translated. These translations seem to have greatly influenced their knowledge of music. In the first place, the names of the seven notes of music were adopted from the Hindu music. They are Kharaj, Rekhub, Gundhaur, Muddham, Punchum, Dhavath, and Nikhath, which are no other than the Shadja, Rishabha,

&c., of our music in a different garb. The initial letters were used to express them in writing, as among us, excepting the first which is always expressed as Sur (Swar). Some attempt seems to have been made at a minute analysis of the notes into the srutis forming them. The classification of their musical modes into Raugs and Ragnees is another instance of their adoption of the Hindu music. Some of the names of their modes are borrowed from the Sanskrit, such as Chayanat, Hindol, Sindbhiravi, &c. In the matter of Ragas generally, the system of Hanuman prevalent in Northern India seems to have been freely had recourse to. As for *tala* or rhythm, they have a few similar to those of the Hindu music. But the places where the beats fall are a little different, though its duration is the same as in Hindu music. And the fact that they have only a few talas shows that they have not made much improvement in this direction. Hindu musicians had a high conception of the function and value of time in music, and the elaborate analysis of the various measures of time marks their early ingenuity. A European musician observes "while the modern measures of Europe are exclusively in common time and triple time and their compounds, the Hindus have beautiful melodies with five, seven and other unequal numbers of time or beats in a measure and plenty of musicians to perform them." As for notation, it is difficult to surmise if they had any at all, even to the little extent that they might be said to have improved the knowledge of the Hindus. The various musical instruments in use are only varieties of those that have been in use among us from time immemorial. Musical critics are almost unanimous in awarding the palm to the Hindus for their early invention of several ingenious instruments. It may be here observed, *en passant*, that the Tabla (side-drums) which Mahomedans use in accompaniment to singing, is made mention of in the Sangitaratnacara as having been in use in early times.

A few remarks concerning their mode of singing may not be out of place here. The use of Sruti or drone as an invariable and necessary accompaniment in singing is unknown among them. I refer to the use of the Tamboor among the Hindus, apart from other accompaniments. Hindu musicians have strictly enjoined the same, it being regarded as "the mother of singing." 'Srutir matha, Jalah Pita' (i.e., drone accompaniment is the mother and Tala, the father of singing) is the first thing taught to be kept

constantly in view. The use of *Sruti* consists, in the first place, in greatly assisting the singer to find out the limits and capacity of his voice, with a view to its adjustment. This further enables him to remember the Key-note from which he started. Without such a help he may be apt to wander away and may be at sea when he begins solfaing. The be-all and end-all of all music, being the capacity of freely translating the songs into the language of musical notes, a perfect achievement in this direction is possible only when an accurate perception of the *Sruti* is attained. This solfaing test is unknown among the Mahomedans, although some of their best musicians, trained under our system, use for that purpose, the '*Sarigan*' of the Hindus for want of a similar nomenclature. Captain Day observes "Hindustani music, in some respects, differs from the system previously described, and which is called *Karnatik*. It has been much copied from the latter, but its professors are not men of much education and though many of them are skilled executants, their knowledge of the theory of their art is, as a general rule, but small. In Hindustani music, more attention is paid to the minute distinction between the various *Ragas* than to the actual melody itself. To melodic form the same importance is not attached. The nomenclature of Hindustani and *Karnatik* *Ragas* differs, but musicians everywhere quote the *Sangitaratnacara* as their principal authority." Much space will not be taken up here to establish the undoubted antiquity of Hindu music. The hymns of the *Rig-Veda* and the *Sama-Veda* are the earliest examples of words set to music. In the *Upanishads*, frequent references to music and musical instruments are found. *Puranas* are also replete with similar references. I shall here quote a few European Orientalists who have spoken in high praise of the antiquity of Hindu music. Weber says: "From the high planes of Asia, where many ancient historical traces are found, it followed man in his wanderings through China, India, and Egypt. Like the light of the day, musical enlightenment moved from East to West, from the ancient Chinese, Hindus, Assyrians, and Babylonians to the Egyptians, the Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans." Sir William Hunter writes: "A regular system of notation had been worked out long before the age of Panini (350 B.C.) and the seven notes were designated by their initial letters. This notation passed from the Brahmins, through the Persians, to Arabia, and was then introduced into European music by Guido-d' Arezzo at the

beginning of the 11th century. Some indeed suppose that our modern word gamut comes not from the Greek letter gamma, but from the Indian word *gama* in Prakrit, in Sanskrit, *Grama*, literally a musical scale." "Perhaps the most reliable proofs of the antiquity of Indian instruments can be found, not so much in the Sanskrit, but in the Pali works remaining. For to these Buddhist treatises, it is an easier matter to assign dates that can be tolerably accurate. In the *Milindha Panta*, a Pali work, written a little after the Christian era, is a description of the *Vina*, also of the shell-trumpet (*Sankha*) and the flute (here rendered *Vansa* a reed) and in the *Mahaparambhava Sutta*, a still older work of about 400 B.C., we find mention of the *Bheri*, a word still used for the *Nagara* or large kettle drum, and also of the *mridang*."

We have thus far sketched a brief survey of the state of musical knowledge among Mahomedans before and after their advent into India and also of the state of musical culture among the Hindus long before any foreign invaders set their foot on the Indian soil. We have incidentally seen how their knowledge of music was such as was never calculated to improve Hindu music and how some even of the enlightened Mahomedan rulers themselves were indifferent to the true purpose and appreciation of the musical science. On the other hand it will be seen that the Mahomedan conquest of India really retarded the progress of music which was at its height during the flourishing times of Hindu Kings. Captain Willard says: "The conquest of Hindustan by the Mahomedan princes forms a most important epoch in the history of its music. From this time we may date the decline of all arts and science purely Hindu, for the Mahomedans were no great patrons to learning, and the more bigoted of them were not only great iconoclasts, but discouragers of the learning of the country. The progress of the theory of music once arrested, its decline was speedy; although the practice, which contributed to the entertainment of the princes and nobles, continued until the time of Mahomed Shah, after whose reign history is pregnant with facts replete with dismal scenes."

I shall next consider the question whether Hindu music is susceptible of any improvement. I shall here confine myself to the Southern Indian music. The highest end and aim of Hindu music is the skilful singing of *Ragas*, which implies a

thorough knowledge of the component notes of each, and of the embellishments peculiar to each. The singing of a Raga, implies a facility of transposition and combination of notes. The peculiar use of the graces employed here has early differentiated it from its sister in the North. Accordingly certain stereotyped forms of composition have come into use so that Ragas cannot be improved by any internal changes. This is the peculiar characteristic of all classical Ragas. There are however some popular melodies which seem to have been influenced by foreign contact. But such influences are confined to stage music, which has of necessity, to suit the tastes of various classes and, for the matter of that, various nationalities. Though some of the Hindustani Ragas such as Biag, Kafi, &c., are very melodious, and are very popular, still they cannot be said to have been incorporated into the classical music of the land. Classical compositions are very rare in these Ragas, although popular demands have called forth some compositions. It is clear, therefore, that notwithstanding foreign contact the music of the land has continued to retain its peculiarities. The same is the case as regards Tala.

I have thus far attempted to show in a more or less detailed manner how the knowledge of Mahomedans in music could not improve Hindu music in any of its details. On the other hand, the reader would have remarked that their music had considerably improved by their contact with Hindus. Their indebtedness to Hindu music in the development of their theory cannot be over-estimated, and an impartial student of history cannot fail to draw his own conclusion from the materials placed before him.

C. TIRUMALAYYA NAIDU.

LEGENDS OF ANCIENT MADURA.

MADURĀ, or as it is properly spelt Madhurā, was once the metropolis of a kingdom both large and powerful, the seat of learning of many kinds; of pious Hindus, from the earliest times, she was the favourite resort. Her earliest days under the rule of kings who promoted the material prosperity and happiness of their subjects would have been lost in utter obscurity, were it not that under the guise of fable they have been recorded by the Rishi Vyāsa as all true Hindus believe. He, it is said, wrote the work ascribed to him and known by the name of the Madhurā St'hala Purana, but it is declared that he gleaned his facts from the sage Agastaya. The latter with other Rishis was one day worshipping the *linga* at Kasi, when his company asked him to tell them the name of the holiest book in the universe, of the spot most holy and the water more holy than any. In reply he said that there was no book more holy than the Skanda Purana, seeing it spoke of the praises of Sundara-linga, that is of Siva; that the Kadamba forest, where Madhurā was built, was more holy than any other spot not only naturally but also because the most holy *linga* was there; and that the holiest water was the *Scarna push-karini* or "pool of the golden lilies" in the Kadamba forest. Then he began to recite to his audience some of the miracles performed there.

Many ages ago it happened that Malaya Dhwaja, the Pandyan king, married the daughter of Shutra Sena, the Raja of the Chola country. He tried in 10,000 years to beget an heir but failed. Thousands of wives and concubines filled his seraglio to no effect. Despairing of issue he at last performed the *putra-kameshti* sacrifice, whereby pious men obtain children; and his desire was fulfilled, as out of the sacrifice Ishwari or Minakshi, Siva's wife arose as a child. But great as was the queen's joy, her concern was greater when she and her husband found that the female child had a third breast situated between two proper breasts. Just when their anxiety was at its greatest a fairy appeared and assured them that the unsightly excrescence would

disappear so soon as the child saw her future husband, and at the same time advised the Pandyan to call the child Thata'thakei and to crown and make her his successor, which was accordingly done. When Thata'thakei came to proper age she assembled a vast force of horse and foot, chariots and elephants. She led it against and defeated first all the kings of the earth, then the gods of the eight quarters and lastly Indra himself. Next she invaded Kailasa, the heaven of heavens and routed Siva's troops. Now Siva himself came forth to do battle. The instant Thata'thakei beheld him her abnormal breast disappeared; and she hung down her head in shame, being made aware that she saw her future husband. Knowing this himself Siva promised to wed on the approaching Monday. Thata'thakei now wended her way back to Mad'hura where her prime minister Samatli made immense preparations for the marriage. All the kings of the fifty-six countries that composed the world were invited to attend; the city was decorated with the greatest magnificence; and the hall of marriage shone with the resplendence of jewels. When the appointed day came round Siva appeared in the form of a youth, seated on his celestial bull, attended by Vishnu and Brahma, and escorted by a vast retinue and also by Indra and all the gods. While the procession was approaching Mad'hura the bride's mother went out to meet it, and washing Siva's feet garlanded them. Then she bade him accept her daughter and the throne. In gracious acceptance Siva smiled and entered the marriage hall. The wives of Vishnu and Brahma, Lakshmi and Sara'swati, with rarest jewels decked the bride till her face shone like the concentrated rays of a thousand suns, and then placed her at Siva's right hand. All things being arranged the service was performed by Brahma, the bride's hand being placed on that of the bridegroom by Vishnu who pouring water upon it declared the queen to be Siva's consort. Delightful melody was now heard; sacred verses were chanted by Rishis and Brahmans; and the most pleasing ceremonies were observed. The marriage rite now having been duly celebrated, Siva was crowned king of Mad'hura, after which he assumed the name of Sundara Pandyan. Now the company sat down to a sumptuous repast. But two Rishis named Patanjali and Vyag'hraputtra excused themselves, for, said they, "before we eat rice our invariable custom is to see day by day the sacred dancing of the God Siva at Chidambaram." Hearing

this Siva graciously vouchsafed to them, in the Silver Hall of the Mad'hura Pagoda, a vision of the sacred dancing. There, in the Pagoda he danced before them on his right leg alone, keeping his left stretched straight over his head. Siva's kindness and condescension so delighted the Rishis that they prayed that such dancing might daily be witnessed in the Silver Hall; and to this day there it may be seen.

The banquet over, the bride pointed boastfully to the enormous quantities of food left unconsumed, although so much had been eaten. Heaps of *cooked rice* were in thousands, whilst vegetables and other special dainties were to be seen lying about on all sides. But Siva quickly showed his bride what his power was. Into the belly of his attendant dwarf Kendodana he caused the all-consuming fire *Balaba-Muk-hagni* to enter; when the dwarf was seized with so unabateable a hunger that not only was all that was left devoured but he also asked for more, avowing he was hungry, consumedly hungry. So ravenous indeed were his cravings that Siva was compelled to summon Annapurnishwari, the Goddess of plenty, to furnish the hungry wretch with abundance of rice and buttermilk. And she stayed his hunger. And nothing could assuage the thirst that followed the satisfaction of his extraordinary hunger. Not a well, not a tank in the country but was drunk up, and yet "more, more," cried the dwarf. Siva now being moved with compassion thought he would call upon the Goddess Ganga to do something for the unhappy dwarf. While so cogitating the Goddess appeared before him, coming out of a lock of his hair and agreed to satisfy his servant's thirst on the condition that Siva would consent to make her more holy than the river Ganges and would also grant her the boon that the bones of all corpses thrown into a river, which she said she would cause to flow past on the instant, should become *lingas*; and also that all who bathed in it should be forgiven whatever sins they might have committed in former lives. The boons were granted, whereupon Ganga caused the river Kritamala to flow north of Mad'hura; into which the dwarf entered and quenched his thirst. To drink the more copiously he sat between the banks and stretched out his arms on either side, thus forming a dyke.

Later on, the bride's putative mother, Kanchanamalâ, became seized with the desire to purify herself from the pollution of sin. So she considered how

about her purification. While so thinking she happened to meet the sage Durvāsa. Hith she consulted. And his advice to her was this:—"Bathe in the sea which is especially holy, for, mark, therein flows all the holy rivers." Siva hearing of this and desiring to save the ancient dame the inconvenience of a journey caused the springs of the seven seas to be brought straight on to the neighbourhood of the Madhurā Pagoda. And even to this day there the springs may be seen. Now, just as the old lady was about to plunge her limbs into the sanctified bath of the springs of the seven seas and whilst the Brahmans were chanting sacred verses it was discovered that no widow who had not had a male child could possibly purify herself in the manner proposed unless she went down with the water holding the tail of a calf. How troubled was she then! But Siva came and removed her difficulty without much effort. He caused her deceased husband to leave Paradise and appear before her. Holding the first finger of his right hand she descended into the water, washed her sins away—and died! And with her husband went she into the abode of the blessed. After this, on a fortunate Monday, Thata'thakei was brought to bed. The star Ardra was then in the ascendant. And the child born was a male with body-marks that would bring great joy to his subjects and much grief to their enemies. Long and prosperously would he reign. He was named Ugra Pandya. He grew in intelligence; and acquired much scientific lore. It happened that when it was time he should get married that his father considered the propriety of uniting him to Kantimathi, the daughter of Somashek'haran, the Chola king of Kanchipuram (Conjeevaram) a descendant of the race of the Sun. Strangely enough it happened that the intended bride's father himself dreamt that his daughter would be sought after by the Pandyan king. The marriage was duly celebrated; and then Sundara Pandyan, making his son king, presented him with three gifts whereby he could conquer Indra, the god of the seas and Mount Meru. These weapons were named *Valaya*, *Shakti* and *Chentla* respectively. Having made these donations to his son, Siva or Sundara Pandya, retired from the world locating himself in the *linga* in the Madhura Pagoda, the queen, his wife, locating herself in the image of Minakshi in the same place.

Ugra Pandya now performed ninety-six Ashwamedha sacrifices, four more entitling him to rule in Indra's heaven. That

deity becoming alarmed ordered the destruction of Madhurā by Varuna who in his turn directed the god of the seas to overwhelm the city; and shortly afterwards the waters of the sea flowed right up to the very walls of the Pagoda and threatened to sweep it away. But the Pandyan having been advised by Siva in a dream to do so hurled his *Shakti* at them, and the waters were immediately dried up, and the city thus saved. After this, there was great drought in the Pandya, Chola and Chera countries. The kings of those countries therefore met in conference, and agreed that they should consult the sage Agastya as to the cause of the calamity and what they should do to avert its evil consequences. The sage explained that the reason for there being no rain was that Mars, followed by the Sun and Venus, had been moving irregularly—and that therefore there would be drought for twelve years. But Indra could help them. So he advised them to go to Madhurā and observe the Somayāra fast there; and urged that by doing so they would obtain access to Indra's heaven. He further explained how powerful a means of grace and strength this fast was, and what miracles it enabled the great gods to work when they kept it. In keeping the fast, he said, the following procedure was to be adopted. The fast should begin on a Monday, a full-moon Monday, if possible, in the month of Kārtiga, only one full meal having been taken on the Sunday previous. Then the faster should purify himself in the golden-lily tank and anoint and worship the *linga*. If he required a meal after this he should take it at noon; but some did not eat until the stars appeared; others fasted till the next morning, others again fasted and watched till noon; while some passed the night fasting and praying. The three kings attending to the rishi's instructions strictly reached heaven where they were kindly received by Indra. Below Indra's throne three seats were set for them and in two of them sat the Chola and Chera kings; but the Pandya with much haughtiness declined to take the third, and seated himself beside Indra on Indra's throne. This rudeness annoyed Indra so greatly that he turned his back on the offender and, addressing the other two promised to send them rain. Before sending them away he placed on the Pandyan's breast a *hira*, or breast-plate of great weight, with the intention of crushing him therewith, but the Pandya bore it as if it were a chaplet of flowers. Then reproaching Indra for his treachery he stalked away. He thus

earned for himself the title of *Hāradhari Pandya* or "he who bore the *hāra*." Now it happened that the Chola and Chera kings' countries were favored with plenty of rain, but the Pandyan land had none. One day as the Pandya was returning, from hunting he saw the four clouds grazing. Whereupon he seized them and confined them in his capital. Enraged at this outrage, Indra descended from heaven on his white elephant and attacked him. But the Pandya with his magical *Valaya* smote the God such a blow on his crown that it broke into fragments, when the God fled in dismay. Indra now wrote a letter promising to send rain if the captive clouds were set free. But the Pandya declined to do so, till a wealthy proprietor of villages offered to stand security for them. They were then released, and there was sufficient rain in Madhurā and much fertility in consequence. But before this victory over Indra the Pandya had relieved his subjects to some extent from the terrible effects of the drought. Having had a dream, he went in consequence to Mount Meru and summoned the spirit dwelling there to discover to him the immense quantity of gold buried in the rocks. The spirit did not appear. But the Pandya struck the mountain so terrific a blow with his *chenda* that the spirit came forth awed and submissive, and did what was required of him. Thus Ugra Pandya obtained the three victories promised him by his father Siva when presenting him with the three magical weapons. So Ugra Pandya died at last after crowning his son Vira.

E. H. B.

THE JOINT FAMILY-SYSTEM, AND THE GAINS OF LEARNING BILL.

(An untenable plea of those who oppose it.)

For one, did not expect any serious opposition to Sir Bhashyam Iyengar's "Gains of Learning Bill," because all the time the Bill was pending before the Madras Council, and it was pending for a long time, there was practically no note of dissent or opposition to the Bill, anywhere in the Presidency. If it be said by those who clamour now against it, after its passing, that they did not expect it to pass, and therefore did not think it worth their while to agitate against it, it looks to my mind a futile argument. The cry is now raised that the bill is very far-reaching in its consequences, that it will prove a blow to the joint family system, and that public opinion is strongly opposed to it, &c. The opposers of the Bill may be taken to have known from the beginning that all that was required for the passing of the Bill was a majority of votes in the Council, and yet, what made them hold their tongues in a mood of false prophecy that it had no chance of getting through the Council, is what one cannot understand.

(The true test.)

Nevertheless, it is worth considering whether even this too-late-opposition has made out a case, strong enough to justify the dropping of the measure. The strength of the opposition is not to be gauged by so-called mass-meetings, especially of the sort held in the Conjeevaram-temple; when it was crowded in perfect innocence of the gains of Learning Bill, and in all probability dispersed too in the same blissful mental condition about it, nor could it be gauged by memorials and signatures, that could be obtained without the signatories knowing what they are signing. The only safe and feasible way of finding out the strength of the opposition, is how far it carried conviction to the minds of those who are responsible for the good Government of the country. The measure itself having emanated from Sir Bhashyam

Iyengar—the embodiment of caution and forethought—is a sufficient guarantee that it is not due to any ultra-radical who wants to run in advance of our necessities.

(The necessity for the Bill.)

To realise the necessity for the Bill, one must realise the changes that have come over the system of Hindu joint family under the British Government. But for these changes, the Bill would not have been called for. Within less than half a century of British administration, the joint family system has broken up with marvellous rapidity, perhaps for the first time in its history. Population, and with it the struggle for life, has been hourly on the increase under the British Government. Education has created as well as supplied a demand for comforts and conveniences of life, never before known. In fact, there is no concealing the fact, that it has introduced a different ideal of life altogether in the joint family from what it was accustomed to, all along. Railways have scattered members of a family to the different corners of the country, for their living. Families are *joint only in name, not in reality*. Brothers don't meet and can't meet except once in a few years. Most of them have to depend strictly on their own individual earnings. Instances where they could draw from any ancestral joint property, are the exception, not the rule. When living was so cheap that, on Rs. 5 a month, a whole family could live and marry and propagate up to great-grand-children under the same roof, there was necessarily no great pressure for earning and therefore no necessity for treating the earning member very differently from the non-earning member of the family. All were happy without much exertion. Now a graduate and his wife with two or three children find it *honestly* difficult to manage with Rs. 100 a month, and he is very often in debt. So, then, it behoves us to realise that the break-up of the joint family has become complete in fact, and it has only to be accepted in theory.

The present keen struggle for life cannot but awaken the members of a joint family to a sense of the conflict of their interests in the family. Individuality is developing fast, and with it a sense of individual responsibility to one's own wife and children. The idea of merging himself and his family in the joint family has become unjust and impossible. The idea of looking upon his brothers and their children, as entitled to *his* earnings,

quite as much as his own wife and children, has come to placing him betwixt two perpetual fires, by which he is incessantly burnt up. To him, therefore, there is no means of escape, except by recognising sooner or later the principle that every member of the joint-family must become the centre of his own circle of wife and children. A system, therefore, that was once the happy-go-lucky one of giving protection under its roof to every coparcener, and putting no one in particular to much exertion, is *now* proving the wreck of many a hard-working bread-winner, and what is more miserable still, it is proving the wreck of his wife and children. It is a system that, by the force of altered conditions of life and living, gives the earning man no peace during life, and none alas! after his death, to those nearest and dearest to him. Who can make the tide go back? Who can prevent this mighty march of the individual, through stress and strife, debts and difficulties, tossed hither and thither by his very kith and kin, and eaten up by an endless domestic war, before which death may be mercy itself? This is the great ordeal through which the country is passing for the sake of Domestic Emancipation which lies at the root of Freedom in the largest and best sense of the word. The hand of the clock none can set back. History shows that individuality is indispensable for progress, because above all it carries with it a sense of duty, justice and fair play. If it should resent tyranny abroad, it should first be trained to resent it within the four walls of the sacred home. If it would stand up for Justice and Right in the State, it should be prepared to shed its blood for the victims of social and domestic inequity, which sap manliness, kill conscience, and encourage duplicity and cunning as the only weapons, offensive and defensive, to an extent one can hardly conceive.

The time for the application of the true and correct principle of life and living,—*that the fruits of labor shall go to the laborer and his family*,—has long since come, and what would bear legislation even as a matter of pure equity, was necessitated by the state of law itself on the subject.

: : (Will it make us more selfish?).

This principle is dreaded as having the effect of stifling all gracious and noble impulses in a family, and as tending to accentuate selfishness. Thank God! I have known instances among Englishmen of affection, attachment and love, to near and even

distant members of the family as pure, lofty, and disinterested as any you can find in Hindu Society. I have found the mistake of supposing the English people to be bereft of those qualities of the heart, which are said to be pre-eminent among us, in the domestic circle. I have known cases among ordinary soldiers and sergeants in the Army, who won't marry, because they have to support a mother, or sister. Their sympathies to brothers in trouble, their help when they need it, and the feeling of sorrow their death or misfortune causes them are all, to my mind, quite as keen and noble as examples we may cite among ourselves. But there is this difference, to *their* advantage. Theirs, not being forced love and their help not being forced assistance, both their love and help are all the more noble and graceful, natural and genuine, than ours. Heart is the greatest of Democrats and slayer of tyrants. You cannot force it to love, or compel it to feel, when it is not prepared for either. The love of a joint family is often forced and false, and like a hot-house-plant, its life is feeble at best. Freedom, not compulsion, is the soil on which the sacred affections of the home should be planted: and when you do grow them on this soil, the growth is marvellous, true and life-giving. If I am asked to define the place, to which the wicked are sent for punishment, I would define it as a house in which men live *together* without loving each other, and keep up a cruel farce of being bound together by common ties, while, in fact, they are more like loose marbles which are more ready, when brought near, to hit each other and break away. One can see hundreds of instances of men among us, helping their brothers and even distant relations, out of mere love and good-feeling. There are many who bear cheerfully the yoke of a joint family without being compelled to do so. These noble instances of goodness and greatness of heart will not die, as long as human nature is what it is: and there is nothing in Hindu Law or the present day-life, to compel those to be generous to their brothers, who cannot afford to be generous: just as there is nothing to punish a man for not being generous when he can well afford to be so. There is not, among us, even the public opinion which is brought to bear upon Englishmen to keep up their position or discharge their various social and political obligations. A miser, with lakhs hoarded, is among us, less subject to the wholesome influences of public opinion to which an Englishman

would be subject: and if that miser wants to be *intensely*, selfish, cruel and unjust to his relations, nothing can check his evil course.

(Other objections to the Bill.)

Some object to the Bill on the ground that it is unnecessary as a sufficiently large number of cases have not arisen to justify legislative interference. If so, there can be no harm in having it on the Statute-Book. If we are so happy, that cases do not arise at all for decision, presenting any difficulty in the matter, the Bill will lay down a principle for guidance, and that cannot affect anybody. It can be no interference with religion or custom inasmuch as it does nothing more than apply an ancient principle of Hindu Law to modern necessities and requirements. If the ancient Hindu Law was to the effect that no member of a joint family can earn anything, in any manner, without making it joint family property, and if the present Bill was passed in the face of such a law, then the cry of "custom and religion in danger," might be raised, with reason. Nor can it be said, as the Hon. Mr. G. Venkataratnam put it, that we should wait until the people are prepared for the change. By the way, the Hon. Mr. Venkataratnam was the last person from whom I expected opposition to the Bill. The expression "people are not prepared for it," is more often than not, meaningless in this country. Here is a law obviously and admittedly vague, defective and leading to endless litigation, causing domestic misery of the bitterest sort, and yet it is said people are not ready for placing that law on a secure and satisfactory footing. Does it mean that people want misery and litigation? Does it mean that people want a vague and bad law to give them work in law courts? That may be the cry of a few interested men who might desire to prey upon the people, but it *cannot in the very nature of things be the people's wish*. I don't see the reason for the existence of a body of legislators in the country, if their function is not to free the people from doubtful and defective laws. It caused me a great deal of painful surprise to see that a gentleman of Mr. Cröle's experience and knowledge of the country should have fallen into the blunder of objecting to the Bill. His reason is that it will put a stop to the education of a brilliant boy in the family, to the exclusion of the rest, as there is no longer any chance of recouping from him what is spent on him, for the benefit of the family as a whole.

Mr. Crole virtually ascribes prophetic powers to the Hindu parents, in that they can discover beforehand the dunces or failure as well as the would-be fortune-maker, of the family and sacrifice the one for the other. The unexpected happening is nowhere more true than with reference to what our sons are going to become, and nothing short of divinity would be needed to extort from futurity, her secrets as to who are the *failures* and *successes* of the coming generation. As a matter of fact, the Hindu father does his best to all his sons, as far as means will permit, and perhaps if you take account, the dunces and failures have had more care and money spent on them than the intelligent ones. The dunces, on account of their being so, are often the pets of mothers, whose maternal instinct goes involuntarily to help those who need help. This is so true that, to this day, the love and sympathy of the mother is for the weakest irrespective of ideas of justice.

(From the women's point of view.)

There is *one* point of view from which the question should be looked, more than from any other, and that is, from the point of view of the *women* of the house—the wives of the coparceners themselves. If the present Bill would break up joint family more than anything else, I am sure none would welcome it more than the women of the household. I would ask those who oppose the Bill to consult their wives about it, and give us their opinion. I consider it essentially "*The Hindu Women's Bill*," a Bill that would place many a widow beyond the legal nets of unscrupulous coparceners. It is a Bill that would, by stimulating the *failures* and *dunces* to more exertion and independance; gladden the hearts of the wives of the very *failures* and *dunces*, who are now smarting under a sense of humiliation and wrong that their men have reduced them *literally* to the position of drawers of water for the joint family. They prefer a 15 Rs. monthly of their lords and a separate house for themselves, immensely, to their present abject dependance in the family. They are panting for independance, for a little free air and light, for a little freedom from the mother-in-law, brother-in-law, sister-in-law, and all the other laws and facts in the family which make her life not much worth living. More than three-fourths of the domestic quarrels and misery of the joint family, during the lifetime of all the coparceners, is due to incompatibility of temper.

between the women, the petty jealousies they indulge in, and the authority one wants to exercise over the other, which the latter resents until at last, men go to partition, "as the women won't agree." The wife of the earning man feels more keenly than others *her position*: because, she is not the mistress of the house in a joint family though her husband may be earning a lot and all the rest are only dependant upon him. She becomes the target of criticism to all the rest of the family. She is pulled by a natural and wholesome desire to look to the welfare of *her* children, and that is abused by the rest as *mean selfishness*. While whatever he or she does to please the others, is looked upon as *duty*; what they cannot or do not do for them, is marked and commented upon. For the sake of social opinion she tries to serve all as much as possible, all for "a good name": but she succeeds in pleasing none, although she has reduced herself to the position of nothing more than a mere servant of the household.

(The earning member.)

What about the earning member? He comes home after a hard day's work, arguing a case, or writing long depositions. What is it that awaits him at home? Quarrels and complaints, long-faces and tears. Fortunately now-a-days the file of cases between mothers-in-law vs. daughters-in-law are very much on the decline. They were at one time very heavy, and the poor man who had to decide them, found life at home a real misery, and had peace only when he got out of his house.

(The joint family system.)

What then is the joint family system, *as it is*? It is a partnership of earning and non-earning members, in which the earning member's liability is unlimited, that of the non-earning members being necessarily *nil*. And it is more often than not an insatiable gulf: for with early marriage to healthy and strong idlers or failures, the needs of the family are ever on the increase, and beyond the earning man's capacity to maintain. It is a mill-stone that crushes with all its weight the earning man, the stay and prop of society, but sits lighter than a feather on the non-earning man. In fact, it is a socialism which equalises the Newton and the Idiot, and enables the latter to get an equal share of the former's property, on the basis of a pernicious fiction. Could anything be more unjust, cruel and monstrous than that a non-earning man should, after the earning man's death, rush

into Court and take an heirship certificate as undivided member, and proceed to enforce his half-share of property, in the making of which he had as much hand, as the proverbial man in the moon? How can people oppose a Bill that has for its object the righting of this wrong?

K. S.

THE HINDU GAINS OF LEARNING BILL.

THE Hindu Gains of Learning Bill introduced into the Madras Legislative Council in 1891, was passed at its last sitting, and is now awaiting the sanction of His Excellency the Governor of Madras and of His Excellency the Governor-General. No one who reads the debate in the Council on this measure can fail to be struck by the extremely unsatisfactory manner in which it was dealt with. The European and official members, as the Hon'ble Mr. Arundel pointed out, adopted an attitude of neutrality, the measure in question being one in which the native members were far more competent to form a sound opinion and to act on behalf of the great mass of their countrymen whose interests were in their keeping. Such discussion as there was, relating to the Bill was singularly inane and academic, and there was a touch and go and lackadaisical style in the manner in which the Bill was huddled in the Council and passed. This is all the more remarkable since, as Sir V. Bhashyam Iyengar observed, he was the only Member of the Council as it was constituted in 1891 when the Bill was first introduced. Honourable Members who generally leap to their feet and have something racy and vigorous to say when, for instance, the matter for discussion is the annual Budget, upon which no division can be taken and their opinions therefore are held not of much consequence, were content on the present occasion to let a Bill which, as the Honorable Mr. Justice Benson observed in his minute, "is essentially a matter which should be determined by the weight of Hindu opinion," pass without a word of approval or dissent. One Honourable Member indeed said that he had formed no opinion on the measure and more than one other Member who outside the Council has been known to be warmly opposed to the measure, failed to give articulate expression to his views in the Council. This fluidity of opinion is not peculiar to the members who deliberated over it at the time of its passing. When after the lapse of more than six years, since its first introduction.

four hundred thousand invalids are cared for in the hospitals. Seventy thousand old and infirm persons live in almshouses: there are seventy thousand foundlings. Finally the prisons lodge four hundred thousand individuals. Without doubt, it is necessary that every population should have its refuse element, but it is terrible to find it amounting to so enormous a figure." Later on he says "To speak generally, it is too true that modern civilisation is becoming more and more a mercantile civilisation in which social position, choice of a profession, manner of life, marriage, even the duration of existence, has become a question of money in which a ruling class has grown up not less powerful than the old aristocracy, and social influence is based solely on money. Well or illacquired, gained or acquired, money in our contemporary civilisation seems to hold the place of all the virtues."

Without going so far as to say that the Gains of Learning Bill will work a revolution in Hindu Society, it is well to bear the above observations in mind when we attempt in however small a degree to improve and refine upon the existing social fabric. It is also well to enter a protest against the cant too often indulged in by not a few of our educated countrymen regarding the uneducated members of the family who are stigmatised as drones and who are certainly troublesome encumbrances and drawbacks on their ambition for high living. As the learned French writer above referred to points out, if the individual has not to pay and maintain his poor relations, the State will have to undertake the task, and the demoralising results to the national character from a considerable section of the population being thrown for maintenance upon the Government need hardly be enumerated. Sir V. Bashyam Iyengar however says "I may state without hesitation that I am not prepared in the present state of the Hindu Society to suggest or advocate any measure which would in any way be calculated to cause disintegration of the joint family system. Apart from what may be urged pro and con on such a question on economic and other grounds, it is enough to say that such a change will be revolutionary and out of the question." He then goes on to say "How this measure can in the least produce the apprehended result of breaking up the joint family system passes my comprehension. If anything it will have just the opposite effect." We may without irreverence exclaim how it can have just the opposite effect passes our comprehension—and that not a few of

into the Council, the Bill was reintroduced by the Hon'ble V. Bhashyam Iyengar in November 1897, we find that three out of the five elected Hindu Members of Council had not arrived at a decisive opinion in the matter. The Hon'ble Mr. N. Subba Row said :

"I do not wish to pronounce a blessing or a curse on the Bill at this stage. From some it has evoked enthusiastic support and from others, whose opinions are also entitled to equal weight, it has received strong condemnation."

The Hon'ble Mr. P. Rungiah Naidu seconded the re-introduction and said that by so doing he should not be understood to be in favour of the measure and that he reserved to himself the liberty to vote as he thought fit at the final stage. He also said that "the opinions that have already been collected are those of a few educated gentlemen and not those of all classes of the community."

The Hon'ble Mr. Jumbulinga Mudaliar was not also in a position to pronounce a blessing or a curse, but observed :—

"Unless it has the approbation of the whole community, or a very large portion of the community have an intelligent understanding of the Bill and its ultimate result and unless we have such a strong consensus of opinion, I submit that it will not be safe to pass this Bill."

Since leave was obtained six years ago to introduce the Bill, the Bill has been published in various languages, but my own impression is that the outside public, those who are not classed as barristers or pleaders, have not understood anything of the Bill, having given no attention to it."

Thus both in 1897 and 1900 the attitude of the bulk of the Hindu section in the Council was pretty much the same. This is a state of things much to be deplored since on this matter the views of Hindu members ought to be calculated to afford light on the matter in hand, and also because the European members who rightly looked forward to their native colleagues for knowledge and guidance on the question were entitled to treat the absence of a serious opposition to the Bill on the part of the native members who are the accredited exponents of public opinion as indicative of all but the unanimous verdict of the country on the soundness and utility of the measure. The fact however cannot be disputed that on the merits of the proposed law, there is a sharp division of opinion, and

the statement of Sir V. Bhashyam Iyengar that "the opposition to it is but little and that based upon an entire misapprehension of the scope and effect of the Bill," cannot reasonably be maintained in the face of the eminent native gentlemen Mr. P. Chentsal Row, Mr. Seshiah Sastriar, Mr. P. Rajaratna Moodaliar, Mr. Nagoji Row, D. B. Srinivasa Row and others, who have opposed the measure, and in the light of the outburst of opposition which has followed the passing of the Bill. Sir Bhashyam Iyengar says "The measure has been before the public for nearly nine years and ample opportunity has been afforded for the expression of public opinion thereon." If, as has been shown above, gentlemen in the position of members of the Legislative Council whose duty it was to form their opinions and acquaint themselves with what was thought of the subject by the classes whom the measure was calculated to affect, failed to do so, is it a wonder that the unlettered masses who have no organised methods of agitation in this country, and a large majority of whom were most likely ignorant that such a law was proposed to be enacted, did not exhibit any signs of emotion? It must be borne in mind that the members of the legal profession, who generally take the lead in educating the masses in matters of public importance and help to formulate their views, found as a class that it harmonised with their interests to support the provisions in the Bill. The fact that no agitation was set up against the Bill during the nine years it was pending in the Council is a proof either of the lethargy of the people or of their approval of it. If the latter is the true conclusion how comes it that, as soon as the Bill is passed, the country is alive with keen opposition to it. The fact is that during the long period the Bill was slumbering in the Legislative Council, nobody took it seriously and the attitude of several of the members of the Council was such as to induce a feeling of security that the Bill would not be passed into law.

It is not our purpose at present to deal with the various problems which the subject involves. The author of the Bill as may be expected has brought to bear a vast amount of learning and industry on the discussion of the question. He is supported by men of light and leading in the community. But the opposite position is equally maintained by a considerable body of educated and cultured opinion deserving of every respect. There has however been no attempt made to ascertain the opinion of those

the supporters of the Bill hail it on the ground that it will dissolve the joint family system is to our mind proof positive that our view is correct. In any case there is a clear and irreconcilable conflict of motives and objects on the part of those who advocate the measure. The question then may be asked whether it is worth while throwing society into a ferment over the proposed experiment. Sir Bashyam Iyengar's reasons for the law are.

Firstly.—That the present law is very uncertain and leads to ruinous litigation and expense. This statement is challenged by the opponents of the Bill and it is, if true, capable of easy demonstration. We believe that family disputes in matters of this kind seldom reach the courts and are settled by mediation and friendly arbitrament among the relations themselves which in the long run make for family harmony and mutual good will. Sir K. Seshadri Iyer says on this point "As a matter of fact, at the present day, earning members of families though supporting those dependent on them are willingly allowed to keep the great bulk of their gains as their own property and suits for partition of such property are rare."

Secondly.—That the Bill simply proposes to effect by means of a legislative enactment what now every individual has the means of getting done through partition and therefore there can be no great harm in the law being enacted. The opponents of the Bill answer that the remedy by partition is sufficient for all practical purposes and cases in which this is not effected are mostly where the individual concerned is deterred from taking the step from social or moral considerations which it is not wise to overcome by enacted law.

Thirdly.—That the existing law offers an inducement to educated men to enter into Benami transactions and offers a premium for dishonest concealment of property acquired by them. We venture to question the accuracy of the statement that some of our educated men are open to this imputation, but if the fact is true, we should decline to support any measure calculated to open a royal road to dishonesty and fair dealing to educated men in which all bewitching temptations to go astray shall be kept out.

The present legislation is advisedly undertaken on behalf of a minority of educated Hindus who are placed at a great disadvantage, as the author of the Bill puts it, by the present law. The disadvantage when stripped of all gloss being that men in a

position to ask for partition have not the moral courage to ask for it and are obliged to mask the ownership of the properties they acquire under false names. If the non-earning members of a family, as Sir Seshadri Iyer testifies, do not covet the gains acquired by the earning member and allow him to have the bulk of his gains and if partition can be had for the asking, we fail to see what necessity there is for the enactment of a new law.

We forbear to touch upon many other considerations which render inexpedient the passing of a measure of this kind. There can be no doubt that the new legislation is intended to enure for the benefit of the classes as against the masses and that in a matter between an articulate minority against a voiceless majority, the Government would act rightly to pause before sanctioning a measure prejudicially affecting the rights of the latter. The writer we have quoted from before, says that some nations have "decayed and died in consequence of an organisation of property fatal from a social and moral point of view, by the triumph of egoism over altruism." All that we need say is that the gains of Learning Bill is looked upon with misgivings by many thoughtful men.

THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF SOME OF THE CASTES IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

INTRODUCTION.

THE question of caste in India is a vast one. The main subdivisions have been *Brahma*, *Kshatria*, *Vysia* and *Sudra*; and they are said to have grown from the head, the arms, the legs and the foot respectively of Brahma, the Creator of the Universe. The more rational explanation seems to be that these divisions only show the different avocations pursued by the respective classes. The castes now extant in India are no longer confined to the above four classes, but they have multiplied without limit, and there is no knowing where this growing congeries of castes will stop. In a country where the caste system has prevailed from time immemorial, it is quite natural that the teeming millions of this country of Hindustan should constitute themselves into as many guilds and corporations as there are arts and persuasions, and style themselves by the euphonious terms of so many castes, mostly indicating their avocations and the duties they have imposed upon themselves. The castes having been denominated *high* and *low*, we find in the sequel the native community of India split up into countless castes which neither eat, drink, nor marry with one another. An investigation into the manners and customs of this vast community of castes does not land us on any interesting sphere of enquiry, as one may imagine, disclosing as varied and diversified a feature in the customs and habits as there are castes. It is one monotonous story marked by the same general features with considerable differences of detail. This leads us to the irresistible conclusion that this heterogeneous mass should have originally separated from a common homogenous whole; and if they show anything, they show the tenacity with which the eastern races cling to their customs, unaffected by the examples of those who live near them and other foreign influences. In this connexion another important fact should not be lost sight of; the process of assimilation has been going on, and each caste, as it grew in worldly prosperity, began to imitate

the higher castes in all their customs, as will be evidenced by the simple fact that widow-remarriage has become extinct in most of the castes that have the religious sanction to perform the same and which followed such mandate in the beginning; and that polyandry practised in many of the lower castes has become a thing of the past, except in out-of-the-way corners and in isolated instances, as in the case of the Kullars of Madura, &c. In consequence, one is struck by the extreme similarity, if not the absolute identification of all the ceremonies, connected with birth, marriage and death, &c., nay, in dress and ornaments. It is probable that most of the prevailing customs had been in existence even before the advent of the Aryans and that the Brahmin supremacy has only given a religious gloss to them.

2. Now turning to the main sub-divisions of Brahma, Kshatria, Vysia and Sudra, the two middle classes, viz., Kshatrias and Vysias, have almost become extinct, though some of the castes now pose themselves as the Vysias. We shall not therefore be far wrong, if we classify the existing castes under the comprehensive terms of *Brahmins* and *non-Brahmins*.

3. *Name, origin and traditional occupations.*—It is not possible to trace out the name or the origin of most of the castes, except those that are glaring on the very face. In these days of high culture and enlightenment, when the privileged classes have lost their assumed superiority and the several industries are not confined to the respective castes as of yore and all citizens now enjoy the high privilege of pursuing those occupations that are most congenial to their tastes, it is not possible in some castes to find out the traditional occupations either.

4. *Relative position among castes.*—This has again become difficult to determine. Brahmins are undisputedly considered to be of higher caste, so far as the non-Brahmins are concerned; among themselves each division, I fancy, considers itself superior to the other. Among the numerous castes of non-Brahmins, the relative position is ascertained by the fact of one caste dining in the house of another caste. Even this data now fail, as practices vary in different parts and castes, as they improve in material prosperity and get enlightened, change the old order of things and make their own resolutions not to take meals in the houses of other castes, as will be made manifest from the following instances. Some of the Tondamandala Vellalars of the South do not

dine even in Brahmin's houses, as also the Sathanees, a recently sprung-up caste, and Cammalars. Vania Chettys do not now dine in Mudaliar's or Naidu's houses. Vellalas and Beri Chettys dine together at Madras in some cases, while the distinction of right and left hand party is so strong in the Mofussil that a Pariah will not dine in Beri Chetty's house.

5. *Sub-divisions and Religion.*—The sub-divisions among the Brahmins have a religious origin and they are Smarthas, Madhwas and Vaishnavas that follow, respectively, the three systems of philosophy, viz., Adwaitam, Dwaitam and Visishtadwaitam, propounded by Sri Sankara Chariar, Madhwa Chariar and Ramanuja Chariar. These main divisions are now split up into many sub-divisions too numerous to be mentioned so much so that not only for purposes of intermarriage, but even for purposes of dining together among the last class of Vaishnavas, only a few families now form a unit. This applies equally to the non-Brahmins. Various causes have contributed to this splitting up of the castes. Time, place and circumstances had their full sway in bringing about the same. One important feature to be noticed is that almost all the Tamil castes have their exact counterparts in Telugu, and as a rule the Tamils follow the Tamil customs and the Telugus the Telugu customs. This can be easily traced to the place of their settling, viz., Andra and Dravida meaning North and South. The different castes among the non-Brahmins should have sprung up, as already adverted to, from the arts and manufactures they have betaken themselves to, as their names mostly indicate. In religion, the non-Brahmins mainly follow the Sanyasa mattam or the Ramanuja mattam or style themselves *Sivas* and *Vaishnavas*. This religious division in the same caste does not stand in the way of their inter-dining or inter-marrying except in rare cases of extraordinary bigotry. There are no real sub-divisions among the castes, except for purposes of inter-marriage. The Hindu family tie is so strong that they wish to have their sons and daughters near themselves and most of the less enlightened do not even now take advantage of the railway. They marry their sons and daughters in a small circle and form a *colony* by themselves. Some of those that migrated to other places for purposes of merchandize, &c., by adopting the customs and manners of their place of domicile, not only differ from the common stock, but confine their marriages to those families that have

settled with them and become a sub-division by themselves. Thus sprang up the numerous sub-divisions of the castes, and it will be observed that most of them inter-dine, but do not inter-marry.

6. *Thread-wearing and priests.*—Thread-wearing is no longer confined to the twice-born races. Any caste selects out a guru and obtains from him the sanction or *upadesam* to put on the sacred thread, as do the Vancars (வனக்காரர்), Pallis (பள்ளி), Potters (காசை), now-a-days. Almost all the castes have Brahmin priests; only a few castes like the Kannadiar, the Sivas of the South, &c., follow their own caste gurus or priests.

7. *Birth, Marriage and Death Ceremonies.*—The ceremonies connected with birth, marriage and death are almost the same in all the castes. This is easily explained by the fact that Prohitis administer the ceremonies in all the households and they have a set form to do them as ordained in the Shastras. These ceremonies are generally expensive and the lowest classes that are mostly poor do not at first follow any of these ceremonies, but when they get the wherewithal to do the same, they invite a Prohit, who gladly avails himself of the opportunity as being remunerative to him, to perform the ceremonies. The ceremonies are thus inaugurated into the family and they are imitated by the other caste men.

8. *Birth ceremonies* divide themselves into two functions, viz., those before and those after birth, for the first born. When the girl or woman is advanced five months in pregnancy, a ceremony called the fifth month's ceremony or அஞ்சுமாதம் is performed. This is done generally in the girl's mother's house, for which purpose she is carried home by the parents from the husband's house; the relations and friends are invited and the pregnant girl is regaled with various dishes of rice, (viz., sweet, sour, saffroned, mixed with curd, with gingely seeds, &c.,) cakes and other rare eatables, as pregnancy is believed to develop a taste for everything sour, and the invited guests partake of them. At the seventh or ninth month is observed another ceremony termed *Srimantham* சீர்த்தம் when also invitations go round to all relations and friends, as a matter of course, now from the husband's house, wherein the ceremony is generally observed. The pregnant girl is placed on a platform bedecked with jewels, and the Sumangalis (i.e., married women, not widows) pour saffron water over the girl with a small golden leaf made for the purpose.

It is termed முதுகிக்குத்துதல் i.e., pouring saffron water over the back. These two ceremonies are confined to the first pregnancy. In this connection, it may also be stated that some of the non-Brahmin castes which resort to non-Aryan forms of worship propitiate *Katleri* or the blood goddess at the seventh or ninth month for a safe delivery, as she is feared to cause miscarriages among women.

9. After birth, a purification ceremony colloquially termed தீட்டுக்கிழித்தல் is performed on the 8th, 9th or 11th (to be postponed to any date up to a maximum of three months, if the mother or the child do not keep good health, as the ceremony comprises bathing), when the family prohit utters the usual mantrams and makes Punniathanam, spills cow-urine throughout the house and gives Panyokaviram, composed of the five ingredients of milk, curd, ghée, honey, cow-urine or excrement. The *Namakarnam*, the naming of the child and the *Jathakarnam*, the drawing up of the horoscope, are then done. The former is performed by the family members; the oldest member of the family, generally the grandmother of the new born baby, cradles the child in an auspicious hour and names it. The child is named after the grandfather or the grandmother according as it is a male or a female, or the great-grandfather or grandmother, if the former are alive. The lower classes in some cases follow the English custom of naming the child after the father. The *Jathakarnam* is done in first instance by the family prohit; if the party is a rich man, he sends for distinguished astrologers and marks the horoscope of a son, rarely born to him. The naming of the child is postponed to three or six months in certain of the lower classes. Then follow the hair-removing and ear-boring ceremonies, after the child is grown to five, seven or nine months; till the child attains the first year, the above are the favourable months, even for purposes of removal from one place to another, generally from the girl's mother's to mother-in-law's house or *vice versa*. These ceremonies are performed generally, by both sections of *Vishnavites* and *Saivites* alike on any Saturday in the month of Purathasi (15th of September to 15th October nearly) which is dedicated to Vencata Chellapathi of Tirumalai (Tiruputti Hills), either at home or at the shrine, except in cases where special vows are made to perform these ceremonies at particular shrines of gods or goddesses. In some classes, the anniversary of the birthday is celebrated,

but it is not universal. After the child reaches the sixth or seventh year, *Asharappisam*, i.e., his education, is commenced. All these ceremonies are marked by much *celat*, feasting, &c., commensurate with the rank, position and wealth of the party, accompanied by parents from relatives and friends.

10. *Marriage*.—The ceremonies connected with the marriage are generally the same. Here again the Hindu begins with propitiating all the gods and goddesses by *pongal* (cooking rice) and other offerings from the street Vinayagar to the *lope* village goddess and invokes thereby their blessings on the couple to be united in wedlock. If the rice is early and easily cooked, it is a sign that the gods are pleased; otherwise the god is in wrath and should have to be appeased by other offerings. On a day ranging from three to eleven days, previous to the wedding-day, a post for the marriage pandal, called the *pandakkal* (பந்தக்கல்), is planted in an auspicious hour, lifted by three or five *Sumangalis* (married-women, not widows) and accompanied by music; then commence a ceremony called *nalangu* both for the bride and the bridegroom in their respective homes and is continued to the wedding day. The *nalangu* consists of the women of both houses congregating in their best festive suits with the bride or bridegroom seated in their midst similarly decked; each lady goes up to either party and smears his or her hand as far as the elbow, with sandal and other scents. Music is played throughout and the women of both households sing verses or songs composed for the purpose and the occasion. The bridegroom is invited to the bride's house on an auspicious day before the wedding day, and he goes with pomp or simplicity according to the capacity or tastes of the parties. This *Nalangu* ceremony seems to be only a preparation of the bride to appear in public and the bridegroom to receive the homages due to him in a new household, as he is then the cynosure of all eyes (women) for the time being, inasmuch as the critical eye of the women of the bride's party will spare him no delinquency in dress, manners or in his very conducting himself as a man. Of course, the bridegroom has his bestman to direct him and to meet the jokes and taunts of the women by intelligent replies and repartees, as he (the bridegroom) himself accepts and returns them only by nods and smiles. Once in her life the Indian woman has a free tongue at the marriage festive occasion; the young and the old, nay the little ones, throng together and cram the room, and what with

their wit and humour, fun and frolic, accompanied by peals of laughter, the very acme of feast is reached and enjoyed by all parties alike. If the bridegroom is a shy, reserved youth not accustomed to such usages, he seals himself on his trial, and at its wit's end in spite of the best help rendered him by his own sister, brothers' wives and even mother, and aunts. The bridesmaid is the much condemned *Dasi* (dancing girl) against whom the social reformer of the day is preaching a crusade, not only against her existence in society, but also against this pernicious custom of allowing a common harlot to profane the very sanctity of a marriage occasion by her baneful presence. This practice seems to be only an innovation, introduced after the ladies of the household have become *purda nashin*, not only by position and increasing wealth, but also by the comparative youth at which the women, now-a-days, become mothers-in-law, as it is not even now strange in country families and villages to find the lady of the house or some Sumangali relation of the bride acting the bridesmaid. While we have said that the bridegroom is on his trial, the bride is actually in torture; she makes her first debut in public on the wedding-day and all eyes are turned on her. She has to squat by the bridegroom on a plank hardly sufficient for a comfortable seat for hours together without moving a limb or lifting up the head; her very wishes have to be anticipated by the bridesmaid and her very movements foreseen and attended to. The chanting of the Mantrams goes on by the *prohit*, all the time above the buzz and noise of the assembly now and again joined in a chorus by the other Brahmins who are more anxious about the amount of *thakshanni* (largesses by the bride and bridegroom's party) they may get and the class in which they may be placed by the presiding *prohit* and for which they apply either entreatingly or threateningly to him (*prohit*) and appeal to either marriage party as their man in the midst of their chanting operations, than the mantrams which they chant automatically. If amidst this confusion, the bride, in a spirit of curiosity, steals a glance at her lord and master to see how he is like, whether handsome or otherwise, or out of intense pain lifts up her bent form and head, lo! the fiat at once goes forth, if not from the men, at least from the women that she has not proved herself 'a good girl,' but may be taken for a most forward girl.

11. When the wedding day is reached, the marriage proper

commences; all the preliminaries of marriage are gone through and the beginning is marked by the tying of *kanganam* (கங்கணம்) which consists of a saffron tied in a string. This string is tied, one on the right wrist of the bridegroom and another on the left wrist of the bride; then follows the tying of the *tali* (தாலி) which is the most essential part of the wedding. The *tali* is of two forms; it is either a gold ornament made in a grotesque form with two horns or a *pottu* (பொட்டு), i.e., a gold plate shaped into a concave form. The *tali* is run through a saffron thread and is passed round the assembly, placed in a plate with a coconut daubed with saffron, by the *prohit* for being blessed. It is generally a moment of excitement for all; the *lakkanam* agreed for the tying of the *tali* is passing away or approaching, the *prohit* is hurried on and the musician is lashed on, mantrams are chanted at the top of their voices by the Brahmins, and all are on the tip-toe of expectation of the *tali*-tying; the *tali* is handed to the bridegroom, who grows more nervous than ever at the time, with instructions by the *prohit*; the bridesmaid slightly lifts up the head of the bride and moves the neck-load of jewels to make room for *tali*, the crowning jewel of all for a Hindu woman, to take its sovereign place.

The bridegroom reaches the bride with shaky hands—just then a friend whispers into his ears 'brother pray to God to bless your marriage'—and ties the *tali* amidst showers of flowers, *ashathay* (saffroned rice), and the blessings of all. It is a moment of supreme satisfaction, and joy gleams in the face of all interested. There is a pause and a sign of relief all round that the *tali*-tying ceremony is over. The bridegroom wipes off the drops of perspiration standing on his forehead and is given letters and messages of congratulation from absent friends and relatives. In some castes this important function which is the *sine qua non* of making a woman wife of a man that ties the *tali* is performed by Brahmin women. Presents of cloths in the good old days, but now of any kind, from rupees to a suit of anglicised dress or a bicycle are made afterwards and then the elders assembled bless the bride and the bridegroom by throwing three handfuls of raw rice in front of each. This is termed *Sesha Oman* (சேஷா ஓமன்). Then follow *Sabha palace*, the bride and the bridegroom go seven steps hand in hand (not English fashion, but the bridegroom holding the last finger of the bride by his own last finger) round the fire. When this is done, an interesting function is per-

formed in most castes by the little girls of both households and of the guests, that have not attained the age of discretion; the galaxy of young beauties decked in their best suits and ornaments are arrayed and arranged in a row in front of the bridal party; and they go round the green pandal or the temporarily erected marriage pandal with four posts. This going-round is termed (அரசாணிகால் சுத்திதது), i.e., going round a post termed *arasainkal* which is planted with due ceremonies in the earlier stage of the marriage. The piloting of the youngsters is generally entrusted to the eldest of them all who heads them with a plate full of colored water and a lamp in it; three rounds are gone through and at each post she stops and *coins* are thrown into the plate now by the one party and now by the other party. The girls are very clever in extracting a good round sum, by stopping as often as they please and not budging an inch till the money expected by them is obtained; the parties, if they are rich, vie with each other in pleasing the girls by liberal contribution towards this. The money thus collected is, of course, divided equally among the girls, the head girl getting double share. This custom, ancient or modern or however conceived at its inception, seems pregnant with much meaning, as seen in everyday experience. The best of matches are made from this exhibition of girls; it is not strange to hear in one corner of the assembly a gentleman or lady exclaiming ah! that girl will suit my boy admirably, whose daughter is she? The girl is kept in view and negotiations are made and completed after she is of age. This completes the wedding day's ceremony and the festivities are continued for three or five days. The gist of the ceremony devoid of the religious forms and festive portion of it amounts to this, viz.; that the man and woman bind themselves before God and man and above all, before Agni (fire) that they will be loving and faithful towards each other. In this connection it may not be out of place to state that the Indian woman, though she seems to occupy a much lower position in the social scale to foreign eyes, is virtually the presiding genius of the household and reigns supreme on such important occasions as marriage, &c. The very disposal of her daughters, nay, the finding of suitable wives to her sons is entirely at her disposal; the consummate skill with which she gets round her husband, who, the autocrat of the house as he is, despotically lords it over in these matters and other household functions, and the remarkable tact with which

she gets off such prodigious ceremonies as marriages, &c., without a hitch, betokens a fund of common sense and potentiality which mark the province of the social world all her own, in whatever nationality she may be, and, however, restrained her liberties may be.

12. Now turning to our subject, the *prohit* performs all the ceremonies; certain castes like the *Kammalars* (*smithis*) have dispensed with the services of *Brahmin* *prohits* and some of their own castemen act as *prohits*, having learnt the mantrams and the modes of performance. The *Konga Vellalars* of *Coimbatore* and the adjacent country of the ancient *Seranad* (சேரநாடு) likewise perform their marriages without the help of *Brahmin* *prohits* by their own castemen termed *Arumakaran* (male) and *Arumakari* (female). This seems to be a relic of the old custom that must have prevailed before *Aryan* influences. It is indeed strange that this community should have stood impervious to such influences, in the face of the universal submission to, and adoption of *Aryan* forms. Among *Vaishnava* *Brahmins* and the *Curum* caste, there is a practice peculiar to themselves. Before the *toli* is tied in the latter class, the yoke (தொழுவம்) of the cultivator's plough is brought washed and adorned with mango leaves, &c., and the *toli* with the string is passed round the yoke three times. Among the former, the *toli* tied to the yoke similarly adorned is placed on the bride's head and the *toli* is afterwards tied round her neck. This is called a remnant of *Yukavivakam*. *Yukam* = yoke and *Vivakam* = marriage, and it is traced to the following myth. In the old days, a *Kandarva* woman by name *Appala* (அப்பலா) made a long *thapas* (penance) to win the hand of *Indra*, the king of *Devas*. In response, *Indra* appeared on his chariot and *Appala* expressed her wish, viz., her love towards him. *Indra* assented to her wishes, but stated that the ceremony of marriage should be gone through. The woman persisted in its being done at once. Thereupon the *Rishis* assembled, and as there was nothing on hand to perform the ceremony of marriage, took the yoke from *Indra's* chariot, placed it on *Appala's* head, uttered the usual mantrams and united the pair in wedlock. Thenceforth, the marriage has been termed *Yukavivakam*. It is strange that this custom should be confined to the above two classes.

13. Almost all the castes follow the above marriage ceremonies, except the *Koravars* and other forest tribes that are still

in the primitive stage. The chucklers during the time of marriage resort to a cluster of Avarah (cassia-auriculata) plants and there tie Kanganam, return home and perform the *tali* tying without any ceremony.

14. Cohabitation as a rule takes place only after puberty. Even when infant-marriages are practised, a separate ceremony is performed called *sobanam* after the girl-wife attains the age of discretion, when cohabitation takes place. This ceremony is observed by almost all the castes either after the kanganam is untied or three months after the marriage. The very idea of cohabitation before majority is repudiated with repugnance by all the castes. Thus the 'age of consent' Act was neither a desideratum, nor an infliction in this part of India.

15. There is another ceremony called *புட்புத்திரம்* which may well be disposed of under this head. When the girl attains her puberty, she is separated from the other inmates of the house and kept in a room for ten days; on the tenth day the girl is seated, decked in clothes and ornaments, and rice-pudding (*புட்பு*) is offered and given to the dhoby of the house. This ceremony in which all are invited as usual is probably a proclamation, in a way, that a girl is available in the market for marriage, among castes where adult marriages prevail. This simple ceremony has now grown to such dimensions that they beat outright even the marriage ceremony in pomp and splendour.

16. *Death*.—The dead are either buried or burnt. The milk ceremony or the spilling of milk over the buried or the burnt remains of the dead is done on the 2nd, 3rd or 5th day. On the 10th, 12th or the 16th day is performed the *சுண்ணிதிரம்* or the purification ceremony. As usual, the Brahmin prohibit ministers. The ceremonies performed refer to the Pithur Devas so that the soul of the dead may rest in peace and many offerings are made to these gods besides gifts to the Brahmins and the poor in expiation of the sins of the dead. The funeral ceremonies are performed by the son to parents and in the absence of issues, the youngest brother performs the ceremonies to the elder brothers and their wives; in their absence by the first cousin or any other near relation according to circumstances. The night previous to the last ceremony, if a married woman loses her husband, the *tali* tied round her neck with so much acclamation during the marriage ceremony is taken off amidst great wailing and beating of breasts, widows only assembling round the newly made widow.

If she happens to be a young widow, she is smeared with saffron and decked with all ornaments for the intervening days till the night's ceremony of taking off the *tali* is performed, as that will be the last occasion on which she will be entitled to the saffron—an emblem, of *sumangali* (married woman) and most of the jewels which widows are forbidden from wearing. The last ceremony is termed — *தாலிவாங்குதிரம்* or *தாலியறுத்திரம்* i.e. taking or tearing off the *tali*; this ceremony is performed at home by some castes and by others at the river side or the public place where the 16th day's ceremony is performed. Among some castes, the *tali* is kept on, till the thread gives way of its own accord. The male that performs the funeral ceremonies takes off his whiskers on the day of death, as a mark of sorrow, and those that have Suthagam keep off flesh till the 16th day's ceremony is performed; on that day, the brothers and dayadees take off their whiskers also. After the last day's ceremony, the inmates of the house, as well as the near relations bathe in oil and resort to their usual modes of living by taking flesh, &c., and the deceased member is said to be numbered with the dead. Though the anniversary of the birthday is not generally observed among the Hindus, the anniversary of the day of death is observed most rigidly every year by the children of the dead, and it is termed the annual ceremony.

17. *Marriageable age*.—Among Brahmins girls should be married before they arrive at the age of puberty: this is mandatory and no option is left them in the matter. This Brahmin custom is now imitated by the *Komathies*, Beri Chattees, Vania Chettees, Sathanies and some other castes. With the numerous other castes, marriage after puberty is the rule and infant marriages, the exception. There is no limit of age for the males and it generally begins at their teens.

18. *Re-marriage of widows*.—Among Brahmins and also among a large number of non-Brahmins, widow re-marriages do not take place. Though it is stated that the Shastras permit the re-marriage of widows among non-Brahmins that do not come within the pale of the twice-born races, it is not in practice observed by them. Only a few castes, viz., Pallis, Kannadier, Kai Kolar, Sembalavin, Oddar, Korumar, Pariahs, &c., practise re-marriage as a rule.

19. *Divorce*.—It will be noticed that only in castes where re-marriage of women is practised that the sexes enjoy the equal

privilege of divorce. In the other castes, which form the majority, the husband alone has the right of divorcing the wife, which results generally in her excommunication from the caste. This extreme social penalty is visited only in cases where the wife proves unfaithful to her husband and becomes guilty of adultery. Above all, the Hindu prizes a woman's chastity as of inestimable value and as her crowning ornament, so much so, that their works are replete with the undying devotion and the unprecedented self-denial of Indian women that have left their land-marks in the annals of India. Though there is 'alloy' in every success and a 'black sheep' in every fold, and every nation carries in its bosom paragons of female virtue and glories in such a possession, yet a girl widowed long before her teens, going through life's dreary voyage, shut to all comforts of life, with a fame unsullied and a character unimpeachable and a devotion to her dead lord unexampled, is a phenomenon only to be seen within the confines of the land of Ind. A Hindu will, indeed, be wanting in his duty, if he will not ungrudgingly pay his deserving meed of praise and tribute of glory to the womankind of India.

20. *Social Constitution*.—There was indeed a real constitution for social purposes in the good old days among castes as indicated by the appellation of the headman, Nattamkar, among the Tamils, and Desayee among the Telugus, but the disintegrating and levelling influences of civilization have so far broken the constitution and the facilities afforded by the railway and other advanced means of communication have so far scattered the families that composed a clan, that only the very vestiges of these constitutions are seen in some of the lower castes. Castes-panchayets composed of members, chosen for the time being, have taken the place of their constitutions in some castes and in others, the relatives dispose of the matter, as they please. It is only among Kaikalars, a Tamil weaving caste, there is anything approaching the real constitution, now-a-days. Among this caste, the whole extent of their constitution is divided into 72 Nadus for purposes of social Government over which Congee Nadu or one situated at Conjeevaram, the capital of the ancient Shola kingdom, reigns supreme. Each Nadu has a Nattan as its head and has one or more Pernr (பெரு), important villages, under it wherein is placed a Manthri (மந்திரி), minister who is subordinate to the Nattan; each village has a *gramany* who is subordinate to both. All caste transactions, such as marriage, divorce, &c.,

should be communicated to the *gramany* who in his turn informs the *Pernr* or minister who carries the same to the Nattan. The Nattan disposes of all disputes, divorce suits, &c., subject to an appeal to the Congee Nattan. Congee Nadu has the power of appointing and dismissing other Nattans under it; these appointments are generally hereditary but in cases of incompetency of an incumbent or paucity of competent men in the same family, they devolve on other competent castemen. The Nattans have the power of inflicting fines on parties which are appropriated to the social funds and this sum goes to defray the expenses of mahamad or caste congregation or other religious purposes. The reasons are not far to seek why this caste should have continued this old institution in tact; to work the mediæval loom at which the Kaikalars are employed several hands are necessary and the loom will cease to work if the clans are disbanded and the families scattered. This dependence of one on the other has kept them perforce together.

21. Divorce and other social punishments such as excommunication, &c., are effected by the caste-panchayets or the relatives themselves, where secrecy is desired. In castes where the husband and wife enjoy equal privileges of divorce, if the husband has no objection to keep the wife condoned, even after proof of adultery with the same casteman, a sum of money is recovered from the adulterer for his having debauched another man's wife and is paid as a compensation to the injured husband or appropriated to general expenses; the husband and the wife live together as hitherto. If the husband, however, declines to keep the wife, his marriage expenses are recovered from the adulterer and paid to the affected husband and the woman is afterwards legally married to the adulterer. This is done in cases, where the woman commits adultery with the same casteman, but in other cases, she is excommunicated as a matter of course. In case, the woman desires to divorce the husband, if the husband also agrees to such a divorce, her *tali* and the *parium* or jewels given by the husband to the wife are recovered from her and returned to the husband; the man and the woman are then left free to marry whomsoever they please.

22. *Titles*.—The titles vary in different parts according to the places of their domicile and the occupations pursued by the castes. It will be strange to find that in some places of the

northern parts, the Brahmins style themselves Koundèn, *கவுண்டன்* Reddi and Naidu.

23. *Food, drink, dress and ornaments.*—There is nothing peculiar to the several castes under the above head, as castes advance in circumstances and enlightenment, they adopt the fashion of the day without any restriction. The castes are either vegetarians or flesh-eaters. Drink is practised in almost all the castes to a smaller or larger extent, though the nation has an aversion for drink generally and imposed a social penalty on drunkards in the old day.

24. After this introduction, the several castes are treated *seriatim* Brahmins. The traditional etymological signification of the term is the descendants of Brahma, the creator; the probable signification is those that attained *Brahmagyandm* or the highest spiritual stage. The main sub-divisions are, Smarthas, Madhavas and Vishnavas. *Smarthas*, i.e., those that follow *Smriti* or the *Vedas*; their traditional occupation is Vethathyanam or the chanting of the *Vedas*; present occupation they resort to all occupation except those of the artisans or of the lowest calling. As *Brahmins* they are of the highest caste. They follow Sankaramattam or the Adwaita philosophy of Sankara Charriar, who is their guru. The sacred thread is worn from the 8th year and upwards, when a ceremony called Upanayanam is performed. The purification ceremony after birth and the jathakarmam and Nama-karnam are performed on the 11th day—Marriage five days compulsory, tie *Pottu Tali*, in a string of black beads and perform Sabthapathy on the 5th day. They burn the dead and bury their gurus, perform the milk ceremony on the 2nd or 3rd day and purification on the 10th day; on the 12th they bathe at home. The former is called River ceremony and the latter house ceremony. Marriage of girls at any age before puberty and divorce only by the husband. The various Sangra Charriar mattams have gumastahs for each centre; the gumastha assembles the family relatives and disposes of divorce suits according to the opinion of the majority, subject to an appeal to the Sangra Charriar of the mattam. Re-marriage of widows is neither permitted, nor practised, though under the present reform movement, there have been a few instance of re-marriage of virgin widows. Their title is Aiyar-Row-Sastry, Buttar, Sirmā, Achariar, Thi Keshithar, Shrowthi, Athviri, &c. Food strictly vege-

tarian and drink prohibited. The main sub-divisions are (1) Vadama, (2) Brahmacharnam and (3) Cundramainekam; among Vadama, there are Vadathera Vadamal (North Telugu), Thakshana Vadamal, (South Tamil), Erugi (உருகி) Vadamal. In the former, the Telugus follow Madhva customs and the Tamils, Vishnava customs. Brahmacharnam has similarly three or four minor sub-divisions, viz., (1) Sakamangalam, (2) Tiruvannamalai, (3) Milagu (மிலகு); and (4) Mazhanadu Brahacharnams. Inter-dining allowed among the sub-divisions but no intermarriage.

Madhvas are those that follow the 'Dwaita' philosophy of Madhwa Charriar; as a class of Brahmins, they perform all the ceremonies as described above. They belong to separate mattams termed (1) Oothrathi mattam, (2) Viyasaroja mattam, (3) Raghavandra Charr mattam, and (4) Sripatharoja mattam. *Title*—Row, Achariar, Aiyar and Aiyah. Sub-divisions; (1) Desastas, (2) Kambalavar, (3) Aravativakkulu (60 houses), (4) Patakanad, (5) Murikivatte, (6) Oolchakambi, (7) Arievelee, (8) Niyogi, (9) Viyabari, (10) Hydrabadee, (11) Dravidi. Inter-dining permitted among the sub-divisions, but no intermarriage.

Vishnavas are those that follow Vishnu or the Visishta Adwaita Philosophy of Ramamuja Charriar. Vadagalais or U marked follow Desikar and Thengalais or V marked follow Manavula Munni, as priests. Among this class of Brahmins, besides the yoke ceremony described in the *Introduction* during marriage, one *tali* is tied by the bride's house and another by the bridegroom's house. *Title*—Aiyangar and Achariar. Sub-divisions. Andra Vishnavas (Telugu) and Tamil. The Vadagalai widows shave their heads, while Tengalai widows do not. The other customs are like those of the rest of Brahmins.

25. *Non-Brahmins.*—The so-called *Vysias*—*Beri Chetty*—Traditional and present occupation—merchandise; they style themselves Vysias, but caste-people do not eat in their houses generally; they are either Sivites or Vishnavites, wear thread from the 7th year, failing which from the time of marriage; marriage from 3 to 7 days; some of them tie double Thoppa tali (tali with a big belly). *Tali* is removed in the river. Marriage of girls before puberty from 8 to 12 years. Divorce suits, &c.; disposal of by relations and street Periathanakaran. Some are vegetarians and others flesh-eaters; drink practised; *Title*—Chetty; no sub-divisions except for purposes of marriage.

26. *Komats.*—Traditional occupation commerce. No castes

take meals in their house. They wear thread from the time of marriage; are either Sivites or Vishnavites; have Brahmin priests, bury or burn the dead, marry girls before puberty, marriage 5 to 7 days, and tie Pottu Tali. No marriage of widows, and divorce only by the husband. There is a small constitution consisting of a Periathanakaran for disposing of and settling caste disputes. For every five or six villages, there is a goddess termed Karni-ga Parameswari; the Periathanakaran of the village wherein the goddess is located assumes superiority over other Periathanakarakans, irrespective of other considerations. This headman disposes of divorce suits, &c., assembling the relations, according to the opinion of the majority. They call themselves *Chetty* and have no sub-divisions. One good feature among them is that they suffer under no restrictions for purposes of marriage in the caste. The other ceremonies are usual.

27. *Vania Chetty*.—This is the oil-monger caste; term themselves *Vysias*; no caste people eat in their house. It may be noted here that until recently this caste was considered one of the ordinary classes and was taking meals in the house of higher castes. Mullanram Gnanasiva Chary prevailed on this class of people to accept him as their guru and initiated them to put on the thread. There is an interesting legend connected with this caste. It is said that they have fallen low owing to the despotism of one of the Pandyan kings. A Pandya in a frolicsome spirit conceived the idea of exercising his Kshatria right of marrying a woman in each caste. The other castes yielded to the inviolable commands of the ruling magnate and when the turn came for the Vaniars, the king, in an evil hour, lighted on a Vania girl known for her remarkable intelligence who succeeded in outwitting the prince by defeating his aims and desires and eventually leaving the country unperceived. The king's retainers pursued her, but at a river cross, the limit of the Pandian country, she persuaded her millionaire father to scatter the bullock loads of navaratnam (nine-diamonds) carried along with them as a bait to slacken the course of the pursuers. The plan succeeded so well that she crossed the river unmolested and then invoked the goddess of water, Gangabavani; who in her feminine sympathy came to the rescue of the distressed maiden and filled the river with freshes, thus frustrating the king's attempts to capture the runaway beauty. At this, the wrath of the discomfited monarch knew no bounds and the fiat went forth from

the incensed Pandya's lips to exterminate by massacre the whole class of the Vania caste that proved disloyal to him. This necessitated their migration and their consequent insignificance. Gnanasivachary is said to have raised them from the mire to their present status. The above myth is, more or less a folklore. Their occupation, merchandise, mostly oil-mongering; Sivas and Vishnavas, wear thread, have Brahmin priests, marriage of girls before or after puberty, divorce only by the husband, caste headman and relations dispose of divorce suits, &c. No re-marriage among widows;—call themselves *Chetty*;—flesh eaters; drink practised. No sub-divisions except for marriage purposes.

28. *Vellalas* from வேலாயுதம் (Velaumai).—Agriculture, i.e., tillers of ground. This class forms by far the largest in the Southern Presidency; cultivation is their calling, rank high among non-Brahmins, follow *Siva* and *Vishnu*, wear no thread except during marriage and death ceremonies; have Brahmin priests, except the Saivas of the South; birth, marriage and death ceremonies the same as above, the Toppai thali (தோப்பைதாலை), take off tali in the house, perform சூரிய நிகரம் on the 10th, 12th or 16th day; marriage before or after puberty of girls, no re-marriage of widows, divorce only by the husband for adultery, no mahavadu as a rule; the relatives dispose of caste disputes and divorce suits. The titles of Vellalas who are generally termed *Mudaliars* and *Pillais* vary in different places as shown by the following stanza, viz.:—கரைய - ரெட்டி, கலசபாக்கம் - செட்டி, வந்தவாதி - வண்டியாள் - படவெரி - வண்டன் - வரைய - பிள்ளை, i.e., at Karai (Village) they are termed Reddi, Kalasapakkam (Village) செட்டி, Wandiwash, Oodayan, Padavedu, Koundan, Varaiyar, Pillai. These divisions intermarry, though they apparently bear different titles. They are also known as செவ்வகாரன், Servakaran. It is probable that the clans assumed the titles of those castes whose occupations they had pursued, some are strictly vegetarians, others flesh eaters; drink practised. This caste is divided into numerous sub-divisions among the Mudaliars, the main being Karunguliar (கருங்குழியார்), Poonamalliar (பூநாமல்லார்) and Ponnariar (பொன்னாரிபார்); the two former do not intermarry with the latter. As in all other customs there is an interesting tradition connected with the cause of this sub-division; it appears that the members of both the sexes of these clans plunged into the river for bath on a common occasion; some of the women bathed with their cloths on while the others divested them of their

clothing. As the latter, Ponnariar, did so devoid of all shame, they are termed of the lower class and intermarriages were forbidden thenceforth with them. All these are termed Tonda Mandala Vuyar Tholuya Vellalar (தெண்டை மண்டலம் உயர் தொலுவேளாளர்) and a lower order termed Agamudiar (அகமுடியார்). There is another sub-division termed சேத்துப்பட்டார் (Setpettar) and this is a class in which widow-re-marriage was practised and hence termed low in these days; they are called கட்டுப்பேன்வகரது *i.e.*, those that married a widowed woman. The sub-divisions in the South are (1) தொலுவேளாளர் (Taluva), பாண்டியவெள்ளாளர் (Pandya), சேரகுலவெள்ளாளர் (Sera), சேழிய வெள்ளாளர் (Salia), செத்தலைவெள்ளாளர் (Tenthalai), பட்டத்தலைவெள்ளாளர் (Padathalai), கர்க்காத்வெள்ளாளர் (Karkat), தெந்தலைவெள்ளாளர் (Thenthala), &c, &c. There is also a class called கும்புதுசட்டி வெள்ளாழர் (Kumbudusatti), in the North, meaning thereby those that carried the pot with burning twigs in it now carried by the son or whoever puts the kolli (கொல்லி) (*i.e.*, setting fire to the funeral pile) of a deceased person. The main sub-divisions have references to places in the North and South Arcot Districts which were, probably, the centre of their colonisation; it is also probable that those that served under or ministered to the wants of the richer classes among the same caste assumed a name and became a sub-division by itself. The Southerners are mostly pillays; of them hereafter.

There is another caste which had better be disposed of under this head. They are termed Vellalan Chetty (வெள்ளாழற்செட்டி) and comprise the enterprising and prosperous class of Nathukottai Chettys. This is the trading sub-division of Vellalas and so known by the common denomination of Chetty. They follow the Vellala customs, but have the tali in the case of widowed women till the thread gives way. They are also known by the name of பவழக்காரசெட்டிகள், coral dealers.

29. *Kavarai*.—This caste may be called the Telugu counterpart of the Tamil Vellalas; otherwise called *Balgavallu*, *i.e.*, those that manufacture and sell glass-bangles. Present occupation cultivation, &c., rank high in the caste, all Vishnavites, rarely Sivites, wear no thread, Brahmin priests, birth marriage, death ceremonies usual, the Pottu (பொட்டு) tali, marriage few days, burn the dead; take off tali in the river, marriage before or after majority, divorce only by the husband, no re-marriage of widows. *Title*—Naidu or Chetty, flesh eaters, drink practised. Sub-divisions

(1) கவரை, (2) வளைக்காரகவரை (those that make bangles), (3) தேசா செட்டி (desai), (4) பவழக்காரகவரை (coral), (5) உப்புசவரை (salt), &c. The Desais tie Tamil tali. These interline but do not intermarry. No. (1) Kavarai is sub-divided into (1) குண்டு கும்மல் வள்ளு (Kundu kummal Vallu) = wearing a round earring, and (2) முசக கும்மல் வள்ளு (Musakamul Vallu) = wearing a flat-earring. The above sub-divisions are equally ranked, but there are others that come under the common denomination of Kavarai, though of a decidedly lower rank, and they are ஜைப்ப கவரை (Jaiappa-Kavarai) = those that weave gunny bags from the fibres of the hemp-plant, which fibre is called ஜைப்ப வரைய (Jaiappavarai); and சாராயக் கவரை (Saraya Kavarai) those that manufacture the country-liquor. The former have Lingayat gurus and among them, the tali and toe-ornament, a silver ring, are removed on the tenth day in the river; re-marriage of women is allowed among them and hence divorce by both the husband and the wife.

30. *Kammavar* is also a Telugu caste, occupation, cultivation mainly, caste class, Vishnavas and Sivas, wear no thread except during death ceremony, have Brahmin priests, birth, death, marriage ceremonies usual, tie Pottu tali, remove tali in the river on the 11th day, marriage before or after puberty, no re-marriage of widows, divorce only by the husband for adultery of wife, no constitution, flesh-eaters and drink practised; *Title*—Naidu or Naicken. Sub-divisions (1) கம்பா கம்மவர் (Kampa Kammavar) *i.e.*, kampa bask, (2) முசக கும்மல் Musaku = veil, *i.e.*, those that put on the veil, (3) Pagada mukkeravallu—those that wear coral nose ornament, (4) Kodacadaravallu—those that hide behind the wall, &c. These interline, but do not intermarry.

31. *Reddi*.—Also a Telugu caste. Cultivation is their main occupation, Sivites and Vishnavites, wear no thread, have Brahmin priests, other ceremonies like the Telugas, marriage five days tie pottu tali, burn or bury the dead, take off tali in the river, marriage before or after puberty, divorce only by the husband, no constitution, no re-marriage of widows, *Title*—Reddi; flesh-eaters, drink practised. Sub-divisions (1) Pakanad, (2) Pokanad, (3) Elmad, (4), Erramareddi, &c.

32. *Edayan* or the shepherd caste, Tamil and Telugu. Occupation—tend and graze cattle, all Vishnavites, wear no thread, have Brahmin priests, other ceremonies usual according as they are

Tamil or Telugu, Tamils tie achutali (அச்சுதலி), Telugus pottu tali; the former keep tali till the thread gives way and the latter takes off in the river on the 12th day. Marriage before or after puberty, divorce only by the husband, no constitution, remarriage allowed of widows, Title—Manthadi, Konan, Servaikaran, and those raised in rank and status Pillai, flesh eaters, and drink practised. Sub-division (1) Tamil Edayar, (2) Punugu, (3) Edayar, (4) Telugu Edayar, (5) The native Gollavalu, (6) Erra Gollavalu, &c.

(To be continued).

Note.—I must state that the information contained here has been obtained mostly from the caste heads; they are neither exhaustive, nor any attempt has been made to put them as high, or low in any order. It is therefore particularly requested that no offence will be taken by any caste or community at the order or any misstatement unwittingly made.

A. RAJAH BAHADUR MOODALIAR.

REVIEW OF BOOKS.

Valda Mansm—By D. H. Pryce—Messrs. MacMillan & Co., Ltd., London.—This romance of a Turkish Harem, as the author calls it, is admittedly founded upon a careful study and intimate personal knowledge of the Osmanlis (Turks) and their ways; the author, though he says in his preface that he does not attempt to lay bare the history and betray the secrets of any actual Turkish household, as it would be a base return for the kindness, confidence and hospitality experienced by him in generous measure from his Turkish friends, has undoubtedly succeeded in exquisitely describing the little peculiarities of the Turkish character—the generally harmless intrigues, plots, plans and piccadilloes of a Turkish household—which are at first a puzzle and quite incomprehensible to an English mind. The chief character in the novel is *Valda Hanem*—the heroine of the story—the most superbly beautiful, but passionate wife of the Pasha—who falls madly in love with a gallant British military officer. The story begins with the appointment of an English mistress—the sweet young Margaret—to the only son of the Pasha. How Margaret at first found it difficult to understand the peculiarities of the Turkish character and the secret intrigues of a Turkish household, but gradually succeeded in this and ultimately became the trusted friend of her Mistress, how the fair Valda Hanem, who had some inherent and unaccountable liking for the tall English youths—their appearance and good manners—first happened to meet the English officer, how she fell madly in love with him, how Margaret was prevailed upon to aid and help her Mistress in the pursuits of her amorous inclinations, how she ultimately connived at the secret meetings of the lovers, how the voluptuous Hamida Hanem, the pleasure-loving friend of Valda Hanem, helped her friend by arranging secret meetings for the lovers, how the British officer tried for an elopement with the lady, how in the end she was able to withstand his entreaties to fly with him to England, —these, one and all of them—have been very successfully and beautifully depicted.

The character of Hamida Hanem, the wife of another rich Turkish gentleman—a coarse-minded, pleasure-loving, voluptuous and vulgar woman, the enforced seclusion of life, the idleness of her hands, the activity of her brains and her voluptuous habits had

urged her into many a secret adventure when she was young, and who, when her charms were waning and her opportunities for amusement and pleasure becoming fewer, was quite delighted to have an affair of some one else's to conduct and who by arranging secret meetings for the lover and carrying billet, etc., aids and abets her friend in her treacherous love affair with the British captain—is very exquisitely portrayed.

The story though not true and the description in it though not intended to apply to any particular Harem, is told with perfect ease and naturalness, besides being narrated in a very neat, elegant and easy flowing style; and we have no doubt that all who read this book will find it of absorbing interest from beginning to end.

Young April—By Egerton Castle—Messrs. MacMillan & Co., Ltd., London.—There is a tide in the affairs of men which when properly and timely directed would lead to the effacement of their baser qualities and the evolution of their better nature. It was so in the case of the young Duke of Rochester who is the hero of this novel. When he was in his boyhood, he was sent over to the continent under the charge of an ambitious and scheming clergyman who hoped that, by moulding the plastic mind of the young Duke in the most impressionable period of his life in this manner, he could acquire an amount of ascendancy over him which might be turned to good account in the promotion of his material welfare. But the Duke, amidst the weaknesses that fall to the lot of youths, fortunately possessed a decision of purpose added to a strong temperament that proved ultimately to be too much for the wily ecclesiastic. At a time when the restraining influence of the tutor was proving a drag upon the youthful propensities of our hero, there came the news of the death of his father. This sudden and unexpected occasion of importance put ideas of a not very healthy character into the Duke's head and while they went very near running away with him the clergyman found his authority suddenly slip through his fingers by a clever stroke on the part of the pupil. However, at this time there occurred an amusing episode in the life of our hero which involved him in a nasty escapade out of which he emerged a sudden and a wiser man. On the very day of the announcement of his elevation to the Dukedom of Rochester, there turned up at the hotel a dashing young beauty who was bound for the capital of Tuscany. Our hero was so pierced with a passion for this beautiful creature, a try if not a bid for her affections. Disguising himself as a coachman, he drove her to her destination trusting in the meanwhile to the chapter of accidents to accomplish his object. On the way the trick was discovered by the fair occupant of the coach and his identity was revealed. The prima donna (for

she was none other) had a keen sense of humour and anxious, not to spoil the dramatic interest of the situation was urging our hero to complete the self-imposed task when there appeared upon the scene another actor who was the lover of the lady in question and who had come home upon the wings of love to escort her to the city. When he saw that his ladylove was the object of attention of a markedly warm character on the part of one whose handsome exterior and noble bearing contrasting, as it strangely did, with the dress he wore, nevertheless proclaimed him to be a gentleman who could hardly keep his self-possession. The result was a duel—that most interesting of all combats—interesting because it is always undertaken, with the tremendous sacrifices involved in it, for the assertion of your manly courage and not infrequently for the unsullied preservation of a lady's honor. The most gratifying outcome of this was the springing up of an affectionate regard on the part of the Count towards our hero who is subsequently introduced to another character in the novel. His name is Spencer—the philosopher who all through the length of the novel treats the reader to the highest and noblest discourses upon his favourite study which, without tiring our patience, elevates the tone of the novel. The introduction of the prima donna into the Court of Tuscany creates quite a flutter and the serenity of its atmosphere is disturbed as well from the charming personality of the woman as from her fascinating accomplishments. Even the presence of such a stern moralist as Spencer was not able to elevate the morality of a Court into which the author allows us a good peep and an attempt on the part of our hero and the Count to institute a scrutiny into the life of the king drew down the royal displeasure and the three were banished the kingdom. Here came the parting of ways; our hero returned to England a sadder but a wiser man chastened by experiences acquired on the continent. On the whole the book is very readable with beautiful illustrations and quotations *galore* from Shakespeare, Victor Hugo and others which appear to be a new feature worked into the present day fictions.

Via Crucis—By Francis Marion Crawford—Messrs. MacMillan & Co., Ltd., London.—"The sun was setting on the fifth day of May, in the year of our Lord's grace, eleven hundred and forty-five." These the first words of this novel, point to the period during which the incidents—partly historical and partly imaginative—recorded herein occurred. This period, the middle of the twelfth century was one of confusion and unrest in England in consequence the alternate victories and reverses of Stephen of Blois whose claims to the English Throne were vigorously disputed by Empress Maud, backed by a large number of faithful barons and knights of Norman blood.

Among them was Raymond Warde, who was devotedly attached to the Empress and whose only son was Gilbert Warde, the hero of this book. Gilbert Warde was but a boy of eighteen years of age when his father died. He would have been the rightful heir to his father's lands and castle; but his mother, Lady Goda, who had not much liking towards her husband, and who had been carrying on amorous intrigues, even in her husband's lifetime, with Arnold de Curboil, a friend and neighbour of Raymond Warde, married Curboil after her husband's death and thus disinherited Gilbert of all his father's property. Being greatly offended at his mother's unfaithful conduct, Gilbert left England and went to Normandy and thence to Paris where he joined the Crusaders led by the king of France. Eleanor, Queen of France, who was the most beautiful woman of her day and who was very unhappy in the selection of her husband, was attracted by the English-man's grace, symmetry of form and nobility of heart; and she loved him, at first sight, as ever, a woman loved man. But her love was quite unrequited, because though Gilbert was struck with the almost super-human beauty of Eleanor, the thought of Beatrix, the playmate and friend of his childhood, and the daughter of his stepfather Curboil, did not allow, the looks and words and caresses of the most beautiful woman to affect him. His love of Beatrix originated in the cradle and it was his will that it should vanish only in the grave.

Eleanor, though disappointed was always courteous and kind towards Gilbert; for, many a danger he encountered on the Crusader's way to Jerusalem; many a battle he fought for the Holy Cross and many a risk he ran, in the mountainous tracts of Syria—and all these in obedience to the sovereign command of the beautiful Queen of France. In the army of the Crusaders, was the Queen's Regiment of 300 Ladies, clad in bright armour and determined to fight the way of the cross. Beatrix, who had escaped from her father's castle and come to the court of Paris, was also in the Queen's Regiment of Ladies; and thus Gilbert and Beatrix occasionally met and enjoyed the opportunity of developing and maturing that tender affection which the poet describes as:

"The silver link, the silken tie,
That hand to hand and mind to mind
In body and in Soul can bind."

After a long and tedious journey, the King, Queen, and the army of Crusaders reached Jerusalem and there Gilbert rescued Beatrix from the jaws of death and once more "Kissed her till it hurt." Thus ends the story.

The characters of Gilbert and Beatrix, the hero and heroine of this story, are beautifully drawn. Gilbert is brave, noble-hearted—

and ever mindful of his duty—not flinching from it even by thoughts of love as lovers are apt to do; and Beatrix is a modest country girl bold to her lover, always high-minded and never envious. Eleanor is also worthy of our best consideration. In her health, wealth, beauty, power and greatness which make one the "cynosure of neighbouring eyes," are all combined. She combines in herself the qualities of a born Leader of Men and of a loving woman—courage—strong will—high-mindedness—courtesy and kindness.

This book is moreover interesting as it contains a dozen illustrations painted exceedingly well. The book further gives us an insight into the social and moral side of the Continental Nations, chiefly the French, Romans, and the Greeks in the twelfth century, which was the age of chivalry, the age when God, Honor, and woman made up the simple trinity of a man's belief and reverence.

Richard Carvel—by Winston Churchill Messrs. MacMillan and Co., Ltd. London:—

This is a biography of Richard Carvel, who lived in Maryland (America) during the latter half of the eighteenth century. His parents died while he was young, and so he was brought up by his grandfather. Bold and daring to a fault, he won the admiration of all who came in contact with him in his childhood. Of his early associates, only two of his playmates require mention. The one, Miss Manners, was certainly the living illustration of Scott's description of "a woman." Now touchy, now gushing, this girl was too deep a mystery for him who loved her as no one had ever loved. Patty Swain, the other, was a shy and self-sacrificing little baggage. His daughter, being a beauty beyond compare, Mr. Manners took Dorothy to England so that she might win a coronet and he might get a lordly son-in-law. She became the rage of London and was wooed in vain by men of distinction. Richard's uncle fearing that his father would make him his heir instigated some pirates to remove him from his path and he was accordingly abducted. Agreeably to the adage "There is many a slip between the cup and the lip" Richard was released and taken to London by a captain. Want of funds drove him to Debtor's Prison from which he was rescued by Lord Comyn with whom he had fought a duel in America. Nothing could in those days better cement a man's friendship than fighting a duel. To us why cry out "Police, Police" at the slightest insult or an attempt at it and who live in an age in which duel is prohibited by legislation, this, to be sure, will appear inexplicable. Well Richard now becomes half-fellow-well-met with Fox, Walpole and others and gives himself up to drinking, gaming and other fashionable vices. From the snares set by Lord Chartersea (a rival suitor to the hand of Dorothy) with a murderous intent, he escaped

and on hearing of his grandfather's death, hurried back to America only to find his place usurped by his uncle. Then it was that Patty Swain came to his rescue. Cast adrift in the wide world without help or hope he was taken good care of by Patty's father. He was severely wounded in a seafight during the American war of independence and was again taken to London. Like a "ministering Angel" that she was, Dorothy nursed him during his illness for weeks together. She did more. She declared her love for him openly as she could no longer conceal or control her feelings. As his uncle sided with England his possessions were confiscated and Richard became not only the owner of the Carvel Hall and estates but the happy possessor of a handsome wife in Dorothy. Although she loved Richard more than any other, Patty Swain, true to her unselfish nature became Aunt Patty to his children.

Notwithstanding the numerous nautical phrases and expressions which would take Captain Marryat's breath away and the want of a plot popularly so called, the book under review is interesting as it gives a real insight into the manners and customs of the Englishmen of the eighteenth century. Even then, as now, it was usual for mammas to put their marriagable daughters for sale. The ladies swore like drunken sailors and were as well versed in oaths, at once rare and choice as in social amenities. The church was in a rotten state and its pillars—namely—rectors, priests *et hæc genus omne* were not what they ought to be. Fox-hunting and gaming were only too common and their ecclesiastical garb, like charity, covered many faults. The way in which the scions of the aristocratic family became hardened rakes in their teens is very well represented and the topography of London as she then was is worth perusal. The author paints Fox and other historical personages in vivid colours. It is certainly surprising to learn that these men held such opinions in politics as their personal advantage required and courage of conviction was quite unheard of. Charles Fox who was an incorrigible gambler and drunkard and who "twisted fiction into fact and fact into fiction" to the unspeakable admiration of those of even a different political persuasion, Lord North, the then prime-minister who had the reputation of going to sleep standing like a horse, Horace Walpole, the author of the castle of Otranto, junius, the "Terrible Unknown"—all come in for some comments from the author. The knowledge that money "the devil's pass-key" was everywhere respected in London and poverty made a crime, must have given a rude shock to the conception of our American hero, just in the same way as the continuance of that pernicious system even now, is food for our deep regret.

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THE FEUDATORIES OF INDIA.

SPEAKING at the historical city of Agra, with its magnificent buildings and surroundings, the Pearl Mosque, the tomb at Sekundra, and the Taj Mahal, and amidst the pomp, circumstance and magnificence of an Indian Durbar, Sir John Lawrence, then Viceroy of India, told the assembled Princes and Chiefs, among whom were the Maharajah Scindia of Gwalior, the Rulers of Jodhpur and Jeypore and the famous Begum of Bopal, that the standard by which the paramount power would henceforth estimate the worth of each one of them was not his long line, his wealth or his power, but his determination to govern well; and that that Chief who made his people happiest would be the best friend of the British Government. These words, uttered nearly thirty-five years ago, indicate the spirit and enunciate the policy which guide the British Government in its relations with the Native Princes and Chiefs. Sir John Lawrence was not a dreaming sentimentalist, but a practical administrator and ruler of men. He had long been in India, had studied Indian society in all its aspects. He had administered Districts, had ruled over Provinces, and, in the course of his long official career, had come in contact with Native rulers and had seen Native systems of Government. Indeed, as a member of the ruling race and an official of long experience, he had his partiality for the system of Government which he represented; and it was not likely therefore that he would have readily acknowledged the superiority of Native over British administration. Nevertheless, he was not a

supporter of the policy of annexation which had been but too freely carried out by Lord Dalhousie, and to which many Englishmen in India appear to have been much devoted. He recognised the force of the argument for the maintenance of Native States in the outlet which they give and which, under direct British rule, was and is still denied to the talents and abilities of Native Indians of rank and respectability. And while, therefore, generally setting his face against the annexation of Native States, he was not for tolerating their existence except on the condition that their rulers governed their subjects with wisdom, justice, and benevolence. He realised that many of the Native rulers, such as he addressed at Agra, did not possess the necessary intellectual and moral qualifications, that some of them had entirely given themselves up to a life of luxury and ease and had either neglected the affairs of the state or acted cruelly towards their subjects. He therefore thought it necessary to impress them with a due sense of their duties and responsibilities. In his Durbar speech at Agra, he said: "it has often happened that after a Chief has passed away, he has not been remembered as a good and wise ruler. Great men when living often receive praise from their friends and adherents for virtues which they do not possess, and it is only after this life is ended that the real truth is told. Of all fame that such men can acquire, that alone is worth having which is accorded to a just and beneficent ruler. The names of conquerors are forgotten. But those of virtuous and wise chiefs live for ever." He therefore exhorted them to govern their people well and thus conduce to their own good name and their subjects' happiness.

In the days of Sir John Lawrence the Native Princes of India were in a state of transition; the old despotic rule had to give way to the new influences of British rule, and the new principles which that rule had introduced, had not found general acceptance among the Native Princes. Nor were they adepts in the language, the ethics or the methods of Government best appreciated by their western masters to whom their religion was superstition, their Government an anachronism, and their notions of dignity and rank an intolerance. Sir John himself did not hesitate to tell them that, instead of vying with each other for precedence and feeling aggrieved at the position which they occupied, it would be much more to the purpose if all would try which could govern his con-

try in the wisest manner, and that the British Government would honour that Chief most who excelled in the good management of his people, who did most to put down crime and improve the condition of his country. The time has, however, long gone by when the Indian Prince, proud in his ignorance, insolent in his isolation, and dreaming of greatness which he did not possess, preferred the pursuit of his own pleasures to the duties and responsibilities of administration, and allowed himself to be an instrument in the hands of selfish and scheming ministers who degenerated into a set of parasites, who encouraged their royal master in vicious indulgence, while they themselves wasted the resources of the State and filled their own pockets. The average Indian Prince of to-day is a well educated man who has travelled in different countries, has seen a wider world than his own State, and has imbibed notions of enlightened and progressive Government. He is frequently reminded that there are men greater than himself, endowed with higher capacities and blessed with more of the good things of this world than himself, and that he forms a comparatively insignificant item in the wide empire into which he is incorporated. There are at present conspicuous instances of personal accomplishments among Native rulers and of model governments in their respective States. And there is also among them a keen competition for success and distinction as wise and beneficent rulers. This result has been brought about partly by British influence, but chiefly by the sagacious way in which the Government of India and the respective Local Governments have been recognising and rewarding exceptional merit and success wherever shown.

Indeed, there is often much that is spurious in the brilliant accounts, that are published to the world, of the administration of Native States. They exhibit only those that are calculated to fascinate the eye of the reader. A prosperous and progressive finance often saves a state from all its faults, from its corruption, from its oppression and tyranny, and with a friendly Political Agent, the records of years of maladministration can be palmed off upon the British Government as evidencing a brilliant feat of statesmanship and administrative ability. The British Government is accordingly now and then misled in its attitude towards Native Princes and States, while the people who experience all the hardships of misrule have no means of making their voices effectively heard in the proper

quarters. They have no constitutional Government, no constitutional methods of representing their grievances to the Government of India, no freedom of the Press, and no adequate constitutional safeguard against arbitrary or oppressive proceedings. With the strong arm of the British Government at the back of every Native Prince, he has nothing to fear from the disaffection among his people, and popular dissatisfaction and discontent can no longer show themselves in popular revolt as of old. However much therefore many of the Native Princes may be capable and well-intentioned, the continued exercise of unrestricted authority must develop some of the worst features of despotic rule, and despotic power long enjoyed is apt to be abused by the best of men. The British Government therefore, while undertaking to afford protection to every Native State under its influence against external aggression and internal disorder, have imposed upon itself the duty of ensuring good Government to the subjects of those States. In the days of Lawrence, this duty seems to have been kept more prominently in view than the obligation to maintain the dignity and privileges of the Princes. With the progress of time, with the progressive development of Native rule, and with better appreciation by the British Government of the efforts of Native rulers in behalf of good Government and of their loyalty and devotion to the British Empire, it is only natural that their rights also should be thought of along with their duties. And Lord Curzon's speech at Gwalior in November last contains at once a happy acknowledgment of the one and an emphatic insistence of the other. Addressing the young Maharajah His Lordship said: "The British Government alone of governments has succeeded in the wise policy of building up the security and safeguarding the rights of its Feudatory Principalities and to this are due the stability of their organisation and the loyalty of their rulers. I rejoice wherever I go to scrutinise the practical outcome of this policy, to observe the States consolidated, the Chiefs powerful and their privileges unimpaired. But I also do not hesitate to say wherever I go that a return is owing for these advantages and that security cannot be repaid by license or the guarantee of rights by the unchartered exercise of wrong." Incidentally it is of interest to note that the very two States of whose good government Lord Curzon spoke with enthusiasm in November last, viz., Bhopal and Gwalior, were precisely the two

States whose governments were considered by Sir John Lawrence as having long furnished and still furnishing models for other Native States. And there is no doubt that, at least for the last half a century, these two States have acted up to the expectations of the British Government and fulfilled the conditions which Lord Curzon has laid down in the above paragraph.

Lord Curzon, we are sure, is actuated by the most generous feelings towards the people and princes of India, and His Lordship's words of sympathy and encouragement have gone far to reassure the minds of both that, under His Excellency's rule, justice and fair treatment are ensured to all. It is apparent that, under Lord Curzon, a new era is impending in the relations between the Imperial Government and its Feudatories; for His Lordship's utterances and his action have tended to create such an impression in the public mind. The eastern ideals in many respects have given place to the western, and a government which is controlled by the democracy in England can by no means allow the eastern ideal to prevail in regard to the government of a country. The eastern rulers were nursed in the feeling that God created the country and the people for their unmolested enjoyment, and they accordingly spent the revenues of the country more upon themselves than for the benefit of their subjects. But modern democracy would make short work of such pretensions; and Lord Curzon as one brought up in a democratic country and accustomed to a democratic Government is unable to give up his own political creed and accept the exploded theory of the divine right of kings. In the course of the same speech from which we have quoted, Lord Curzon described the Native Prince as his colleague and partner in the administration of India and as the master and servant alike of his people. "The Native Chief," His Lordship said, "has become by our policy an integral factor in the imperial organisation of India. He is concerned not less than the Viceroy or the Lieutenant-Governor in the administration of the country. I claim him as my colleague and partner. He cannot remain *vis-à-vis* with the Empire, a loyal subject of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress and *vis-à-vis* with his own people, a frivolous or irresponsible despot. He must justify and not abuse the authority committed to him; he must be the servant as well as the master of his people; he must learn that his revenues are not secured to him for his own selfish gratification, but for the

good of his subjects; that his internal administration is only exempt from corruption in proportion as it is honest and his *gadi*, is not intended to be a *divan* of indulgence but the stern seat of duty..... His real work—his princely duty, lies among his own people. By this standard shall I at any rate judge him; by this test will he in the long run, as a political institution, perish or survive."

It is impossible to conceive a higher or more enlightened ideal of duty for any ruler of a state to place before him, and yet it is by no means an impossible ideal to attain. Hindu kings in the past have acted up to that ideal and have left an enduring name behind. Among a people long accustomed to personal government, the personality of the ruler is an all-important factor, and his guiding example must accordingly be the inspiring force in the administration. He must guide the machinery of the state, he must give tone to the administration and he must see that each component part of it is in fully working order. His is the moral force that ought to pervade the Government in all its branches; and his is the supreme influence which ought to keep every part in its place. As Lord Curzon said "if he expects his officials to follow an example, he must himself set it; if he desires to conquer torpor or apathy, he must exhibit enthusiasm. Everywhere he must be to his people, the embodiment of sympathetic interest, of personal authority, of dispassionate zeal." A Prince who, in these days, acts up to this conception of duty has a wider field of public service, of distinction, of fame and of reward than his ancestors of a generation or two ago. The contentment, the happiness, the good-will and the affection of his subjects are the most important returns for his efforts and his services, but beyond them are a wider public whose watchful interest in, and sympathetic appreciation of, good work done in Native States find expression, in the public press, on the platform and even in the Councils of the Empire. And above these is the approving testimony of the Paramount Power which shows itself in the marked distinctions which are conferred as a reward for conspicuous good work and successful and beneficent administration. It is no small rôle for a Prince of India to play in the grand Imperial organisation, as a participator in its responsibilities and burdens no less than in its prosperity and glory.

While ensuring to Native Princes the due enjoyment of

their rights and privileges and securing to their States, protection against foreign aggression, the British Government requires from them nothing more than loyalty and adherence to the British flag and good government to their subjects. Nevertheless these Princes have difficulties to grapple with—difficulties arising from the injudicious interference of Political Agents, and from local factions and intrigues which are not always put down but countenanced and encouraged by the latter. The three chief sources of power and influence in a Native State are the ruling Prince, his Dewan and the local representative of the British Government; and there are always people trying to play upon the weakness or the failings of one or the other of these. The moral influence which the Political Agent exercises over the affairs of a Native State is indeed great; and in many cases his influence operates in the direction of good, enlightened and progressive government. The existence of the British representative is a check upon the irregularities and idiosyncrasies of the Native administration which regards the good opinion of the Paramount Power as an essential condition of its very existence. But unless he is a man of exemplary character, of rectitude of purpose and of good intentions, he often becomes a clog in the wheel, an obstruction to good work, and an upholder of injustice and wrong. An ideal Political Agent is one who keeps himself above all influences of local faction and intrigue, who abstains from interference with the authority of the Prince and his minister, but who keeps a watchful eye over the administration and regulates its course more by his personal influence and prestige than by injudicious meddlesomeness. The institution of Political Agent no longer serves the purpose for which it was originally intended. In times gone by, when British Supremacy had not yet been firmly established, there was need to guard against the unfriendly attitude and acts of Native Princes and to watch their movements and foreign relations. That need no longer exists. Self-interest, and peaceful security long enjoyed have made them staunch and loyal adherents of British Power and Supremacy; and they know that their very existence as a political institution depends upon the maintenance of that Power and Supremacy. If therefore the Political Agent is not able to influence the affairs of a State for its benefit and advantage, it is far better that this costly show of British power at the Native Court is forthwith put an end to.

was disallowed from England; and we think that in this matter the Home Government acted most wisely. For although as a matter of course it is the minister that rules the country, in the generality of cases he does so under the authority of his master and not independently of him or in spite of him. And while he is at liberty to do his best for the well-being of the people, he has no inducement to act in opposition to the Prince, to disregard his commands or to despise his authority. To make him independant of the Sovereign in any respect would be to make him a tool in the hands of the Political Agent. Such an arrangement is hardly conducive to the dignity or the self-respect of Native Princes; it would merely reduce them to the position of District Municipalities in the Madras Presidency where the Government virtually appoints the Secretaries and compels the Chairman to permanently assign the real powers to them. No better proposal could have been made if it was the intention of the Government of India to make the administration of Native States a department of the Government. The Dewan would lord it over the Prince, the Political Agent would lord it over the Dewan, and the Foreign Department of the Government would lord it over all. And the Prince in his own State, amidst the gorgeousness and circumstance of his palace and surroundings, would be a perfectly impotent personality worse than his own subjects. It was well that the Home Government refused to perpetuate Native States under such an arrangement.

In practice, however, even now the Political Agent actually interferes with the discretion of Native rulers in the appointment of their ministers and sometimes even of subordinate officials, as he interferes in several other matters without the authority of his Government. Although they feel the inconvenience of such interference and are often irritated by it, the peculiar delicacy of their position renders it inexpedient, if not dangerous, for them to protest. Such a state of thing is hardly conducive to that amicable and cordial relation which ought to subsist between the British Government and the Native Princes, and hardly conducive to the due maintenance of their dignity and position among their subjects. It is a positive humiliation to them to have it to be known to their subjects that their position in their own States is dependent upon the will of the minister or his subordinates, and a ruler so humiliated and distressed is hardly

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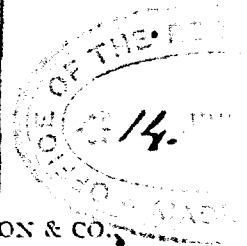
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the person to throw his whole heart into the business of the administration and to devote his time and energy to the good of his subjects. Lord Curzon's declared desire to respect their rights and privileges as Rulers of their respective States and as his colleagues and partners in the Imperial Organisation must reassure them of the earnest desire of the Government of India to maintain their dignity unimpaired, and their rights uncurtailed, and to support them in their endeavours to promote the happiness and prosperity of their subjects. It now remains for His Excellency to investigate the whole question of the relationship that is now existing between Political Agents and Native Princes, to prescribe the limits of their admonition and interference, and to depute none but men of exemplary tact and discretion to Native Courts. It is indeed a difficult matter to regulate these things by despatches and regulations, but seeing that many of the troubles and scandals in Native States have risen from the incompetence and perverseness of Political Agents, we cannot but regard the subject as one deserving the most careful and delicate handling. And none is better fitted for the task than His Excellency Lord Curzon.

It is important that Native Princes should have a guarantee that they shall not be condemned unheard on the one-sided representations of the Political Agent. At present in any case of conflict of opinion between them, there is no independent inquiry or investigation by a person in whom both the parties have confidence. The Government is naturally inclined to support its Agent, and the Prince is often unable to effectively explain himself and avoid the danger of misrepresentation. The Political Agent may be a well intentioned and honest man, but he may be weak enough to allow himself to be influenced by all sorts of stories which may be conveyed to him by people inimically inclined to the Prince or interested in serving their personal or factional interests. The complaint, one often hears from Native States, is that no hearing is given to the Prince in cases where charges of incompetence and maladministration are made against him, and instances have not been rare of Princes being virtually deposed and deprived of all powers on the sole representation of Political Agents. The decision of the Government in such cases does not receive that amount of public approval and support which is accorded to a judgment arrived at after a due investigation of all the facts and mature and dis-

passionate consideration of the *pros* and *cons*. If it is important to secure the confidence of the public in the ordinary matters of administration, where common subjects of the Queen dispute about private or personal rights, much more important it should be to secure the same confidence in dealing with the authority and rights of ruling Princes. An unjust decision arrived at in their case is very apt to engender suspicion and unrest in the minds of all Feudatories as regards the good faith of the Paramount Power, and sound policy requires that nothing should be done which is calculated to diminish their faith and confidence in its benevolence and justice. In all matters where it is deemed necessary to indicate the displeasure of the Government towards a Prince or to interfere with his rights and privileges in the interests of good government, the most politic course will be to precede the verdict by a satisfactory inquiry. In view to the great moral advantages which such a procedure is sure to bring about, Lord Curzon cannot do better than lay down in clear terms the right policy to be pursued in the future in matters of conflict between the ruling Prince and the Political Agent, a course which, while it will secure confidence in the good intentions and sense of justice of the British Government, will also induce British representatives in Native Courts to be more cautious and circumspect in their relations with the Princes.

It is needless to insist on the importance of Native States to the British Empire of which they form the most valuable auxiliaries of influence and power. They constitute one-third of the area, and contain one-fifth of the population, of India and possess infinite possibilities of development and progress, unfettered by the restrictions which imperial considerations impose upon the British administration in India. Experiments in administrative reform, in legislation, and in measures intended for the moral and political progress of the people may there be tried without harm; and with wise and beneficent administrators there is no limit to the achievements of good government and successful statesmanship. There is besides no better field for the development of Native genius and capacity for rule; in fact, they furnish the sole opening for the highest Native ambition and for the highest achievements of Native intellect. The Government no less than the people of India have therefore the deepest interest in the maintenance and security of Native States; and great will be the hope among all classes of people that Lord Curzon may

signalise his rule no less by internal reform and progress within British India than by the consolidation of Native States as powerful and enduring units of the British Empire.

THE HINDU GAINS OF LEARNING BILL.

THE passing of the Hindu Gains of Learning Bill marks quite an epoch in the social evolution of the Hindu community governed by the Mitakshara Law. The event must immortalise the name of the originator of the measure. But whether that immortality is of an enviable kind or the reverse, the future alone can determine. The change introduced is one of a drastic character affecting the mass of the Hindu population socially, morally and religiously. It is nothing short of unhinging the joint family system which is bound up with the most sacred traditions and which rest on altruistic principles of the highest level ever reached by human forethought and wisdom. The grace of the Hindu home-life will be gone, and the people concerned contemplating their present condition, cannot but look upon the innovation as a national calamity, a death-knell to the tenderest domestic ties and affections, family cohesion and social economy. The great Hindu law-givers of old have calculated on preserving an effectual barrier against the encroachment of individualism and self-seeking so natural to man. This barrier has withstood the shock of ages and has been left intact in spite of successive political changes. Even Mahomedan iconoclasm would not touch the Hindu social structure. The British rule has been all along sympathetic, characterised by an unswerving policy of non-intervention in matters of Hindu law and usage. Now for the first time in Indian history, a departure comes to be made—a departure of so portentous a nature. The fault is not to be laid, of course, at the door of the British policy, which happily continues as steady as ever. We have to blame mainly the native element in the Legislature, but for which so violent a hand would never have been laid on the Hindu social system. It is an irony of ironies that what should be held as the bulwark of the system and the jealous guardian of its integral interests should turn out such a source of danger. It is notorious how the non-official element in the British Indian Legislature is deplorably weak, and when there happens to be a split there, the result must be worse.

In the case under discussion the opposition came from a single member. He had the courage of his conviction and he did his best. But he was no match to the Hon'ble Mover who had consequently everything his own way. One Hon. Non-official Native Member held completely aloof, contenting himself with an expression of doubt as to the necessity of legislation. Another was for an important modification which found no support. As for the council taken as a body composed mostly of the European element, they professed neutrality. The Government too were declared neutral, though it is difficult to conceive this position of Government after they permitted the introduction of the Bill, in the face of the adverse views recorded by many Hindu gentlemen consulted at the initial stage.

Such opposition, be it ever so small in numerical strength, should, especially in the absence of any step to sound the voiceless masses, have induced the Madras Government to pause—and there would have been nothing amiss if they had done so. In the case of the Malabar Marriage Bill, there was a special Commission and a special local enquiry to ascertain public feeling. The present measure is of much larger concern. Yet one plausible argument urged by the Mover seems to have been sufficient to waive the necessity for public enquiry, *viz.*, that the Bill was long before the public and no opposition was evinced. Such an argument is simply hollow. The mass of the natives of India never stir themselves except when their pockets are directly touched. Their general ignorance and their implicit faith in the British Raj are well recognised facts. Had there been a fair representation of their interests in the Council, the Bill in question would hardly have become law. The non-official native element, poor as it is, does not yet own any individual absolutely unconnected with the administrative machinery. None of the purely independent sections—agricultural, mercantile, &c., who cherish orthodox traditions of the joint family system and live in peace and contentment have ever been taken in. It is the Bar that now supplies the non-official members, and it is a quasi-service class. There is election, but it imposes no definite responsibility to the public. In a constitution like this, there is the great danger of the weak non-official element being used in the name of the vast public, when measures of social changes are proposed and pressed forward.

The Hon. Mover would have it believed, and no doubt it is

his *bona fide* conviction, that the enactment in question does not effect any change in the Hindu Law, but merely removes the difficulties and conflict of views which beset the operation of the existing law. But these very difficulties and conflicts constitute a guarantee against rushing to litigation and against selfish and heartless propensities. Unfortunately for the Hindu society there has already been a growing tendency towards family disintegration,—and the present legislation will only stimulate and accelerate it and have a demoralising influence. It is worth while to quote here that reputed and experienced statesman—Mr. Seshia Sastri. He says: 'I would rather trust the established Courts of the land in each case as it comes up before them on its own merits as has been the course hitherto,—a course with leaves a wide door for generous proposals and sensible acceptance of compromises by members of a joint family—a door which will in most cases be shut against them if there was a law to back those who are ungrateful and ungenerous to the parent stock after fortune has singled them out for her favors.' In his opinion, 'a law of the kind will grate against the sense of the whole Nation.'

Even the Anglo-Indian Press is not free from misgivings as to the bearing of this piece of legislation. The *Madras Mail* shrewdly observes: 'A very strong incentive of higher education amongst Hindus will have been removed; and not only a strong incentive but a very powerful lever, for the joint family system and its joint fund give a chance to many a promising Hindu youth who would otherwise have to be content with only an ordinary and inexpensive education.'

All honour to Mr. Crole, who, as a member of the Council spoke his mind fully at an early discussion of the Bill. Though an outsider, as he called himself, and alien in thought and feeling, he was able to grasp the situation and point out in eloquent terms the gravity of the impending evil. It would seem as if he had an inspiration from Manu himself. His protest must command the gratitude and admiration of every true Hindu to whom the joint family system is a gospel of faith in which all his concerns, temporal and spiritual centre. Under ordinary Hindu law, he said in all sympathy and earnestness, the property as a whole belongs to the family; if anybody says, 'No, it belongs to me, it was acquired by me under special circumstances, he has to prove it. But the Advocate-General wants to say that such property, provided it is obtained by gains

of learning, is not to be supposed in the first place to be the family property, and in the second place the family has to prove, that it is the family property. In fact it surprises me that the Hon'ble gentleman should in his speech make the assertion that he is making no change in the Hindu law. My assertion is that he is making a very great change—that he is turning Hindu law upside down. Before the Council makes up its mind to adopt the principle of the Bill it should obtain from the people concerned their assent to the principles of this Bill of such a convincing character, that there can be no doubt as to what they understand, as to what is meant, and as to what they agree to." In another part he says: "A family stinting themselves, starving themselves, pledging the family property up to the hilt in order that some particular member whom they think promising and likely to be a success in life may have an opportunity of doing so, patiently bears the strain. And why? Not for themselves, but that the family may increase in importance, and that the family property may increase. Now the principle of this Bill, the way in which it is cast, will enable that boy to take away everything he can out of this poor family, and the moment he has got every thing out of them to say in effect, 'I want partition.'" He very properly characterises this as meanness and contemptible immorality, in which the law steps in to help him. Then in the instance of a boy sent to England to study for the Bar, for the Civil Service, or at a Mining College to become a Gold Mining Engineer, or from a village in Tanjore to Madras to enable him to take his B.L. Degree, Mr. Crole asks 'would he' the (Mover) 'consider it fair and just that he should encourage that boy, to chouse his family, cast himself adrift, take advantage of all that is spent upon him and give back nothing? That is what is provided for in Section 3 of this Bill, which proposes, in short, to shift from the individual to the legislature the responsibility for the doing of a mean thing which the unwritten laws of native society now appear to condemn.' Another telling remark of his is, 'a late Viceroy said that righteousness exalteth a nation, but I do not see how we can be proud of our righteousness if we pass this Bill in the present state of our knowledge of the feeling in the country.' In conclusion, he says, 'we run the risk of a verdict being passed against us of having injuriously affected the family life of millions of persons, who must lie on the bed that we will have made for them.'

According to the wording of the Act, the earnings of a Hindu shall absolutely form his separate and exclusive property even though his education which served as the means of those earnings was acquired with the aid of the joint family funds. Though a member of a joint family, he is, so far as his gains of learning are concerned, to be on the same footing as if a division had taken place, and as if he had separated from the family. The rule is rigid admitting of no exception. The investment of family funds in his education, whatever its extent, is to count for nothing. An exception, however, seems to be contemplated where the use of family funds is the proximate cause of acquisition coupled with the acquirer's skill and learning (*vide* the penultimate para of the statement of objects and reasons). This exception is far from reconcilable with the object stated in the preamble to remove an uncertainty and, to provide a uniform rule.

Now, what does proximate cause mean? Does it admit of degrees, and by what standard is it to be determined? It is difficult to conceive cases where the skill and learning of the acquirer and the use of family property concomitantly constitute the proximate cause. Both could not operate simultaneously. Ordinarily one receives one's education with the aid of family funds and then with the aid of that education begins to earn. Here one cause is, of course, remoter than the other. Sometimes a person, as he continues his scholastic career, obtains an appointment. His earning is too small and he has still to depend on the support of the family funds to complete his studies. Again, the full course is gone through. He takes his degree, say, in law. He seeks to be enrolled as a Vakil, but has no means of his own to meet the initial cost. He derives help from the joint family property and enters upon a career of earning. Which of these cases will fall under the exception contemplated? In the last instance, the use of family funds is a more proximate cause of earning than in the first two. In the second illustration, the earning commences at an intermediate stage, and it may be a nice point to determine whether the earnings at this stage form the exclusive property of the acquirer notwithstanding the fact that he still depends on the joint funds. Proximity and remoteness are relative terms, and the test to be applied must vary with the circumstances of each case. The distressing uncertainty and the conflict of views which it is the object of the measure to remove are likely to return in a new shape.

No system of law, however carefully devised, can bring within the scope of its letter all the problems which its practical working may give rise to. The independent judgment of tribunals charged with the adjudication of individual cases cannot well be dispensed with, however hard and just the rule may be and however clear and simple its dictum. This independent judgment obviously implies possible divergence of views. Following this line of thought, I can hardly see any substantial ground for legislative interference. The first and essential condition of legislation is absolute necessity. Has this been established? Have the people or the Courts ever moved for the change? No one can say 'yes.'

It strikes me whether a measure quite the reverse of what is now enacted may not be moved for, and adopted with equal, if not better, reason. Let there be a declaration that the earnings of a member of a joint family shall be partible so long as he continues as such, irrespective of other considerations. The mere fact of the family being undivided shall be the sole criterion. Such a measure would be more consonant with the genius and spirit of the Hindu Shastras, with immemorial usage, and with the cherished traditions of a Hindu home bearing on the temporal and spiritual concerns of an elevating character, and more on the side of social ethics. I would here refer to the case quoted in the statement of objects and reasons, in which that eminent Judge, Mr. Holloway, has wisely and unequivocally held 'that the gains, at all events, the ordinary gains of learning and science which have been taught at the expense of family funds or by any member of the family were divisible among all the members of the family.' This ruling was fully concurred in by the Chief Justice, who remarks that this is not bad law, having regard to the usage of native society. In short, the Hindu law has been here interpreted in the spirit in which it has been generally understood. The departure now made by the Legislature is at a great discount. It is heartless and has no moral core. It offers a high premium to selfishness, ministers to the baser nature, and tempts family disaffection. No more family cohesion and family allegiance! Family atheism will be the order, and this is worse than political and religious atheism.

The Hindu joint family system is centuries old and has stood its ground admirably well amidst various adverse influences of a foreign type and amidst changes wrought by the progress of time and events. The system is sufficiently elastic to satisfy

individual interests. It provides for partition. If a member of an undivided family elects to effect a severance he has full liberty to do so. This remedy is ample enough for all practical purposes. I note the remark of the Honorable Mover on this point. He holds that the remedy is not practically so simple as it sounds in theory. No doubt there arise considerable difficulties against a smooth partition. But it is not so in ordinary cases. If delicacy of feeling and the fear of displeasure operate so powerfully on an earning member as to deter him from asserting his legitimate rights, it is not reasonable to suppose that those sentiments would vanish under the new law. On the contrary his position would be more embarrassing than before. With other feelings, there would be jealousy at constant work, and no opportunity would be spared to use suasion and even pressure to incorporate his earnings with the family stock. There would be anything but peace in the family where he has to live a sort of double life, a position in common with his coparceners and another in relation to his self-acquisition, engendering a struggle between two forces. When, at last, matters are pushed to a crisis nothing short of litigation can afford an effectual remedy. Complications might be created so as to stagger all law and equity. Litigation would assume a new form and prove far more ruinous than ever, to say nothing of the bitterness of feeling that must leave a permanent taint, scandalous and disgraceful. The joint family system has not been known to have worked any public grievance. On the contrary, the feeling generally entertained towards it is one of reverence. To tinker with it in any way, therefore, a much stronger case should have been made out than what was before the Council. Society is not a plastic mass to be moulded as one fancies. It is an organic body, and when every day experience points to the difficulty of dealing with *individual* humanity, it is simply ridiculous that one should feel confident of one's ability to deal with embodied humanity. 'Citizens, not one-thousandth of whom he knows, not one-hundredth of whom he ever saw, and the great mass of whom belong to classes having habits and modes of thought of which he has but dim notions, he feels sure will act in certain ways he foresees and fulfil ends he wishes.'

Among the moral lessons written for children there is one—it will not be amiss for grown-up people too—which should be treasured up and practised like a creed by every member of

society in his daily life. The maxim laid down at the end is in these words—

Parents should seek their children's good,
And children show their gratitude.

The story itself is this: A professional joiner who was successful in his calling and was amassing much wealth, when questioned by a neighbour as to how he employed his large earnings, answered, 'with part of my money I pay my debt, and the other part I put out at interest.' 'Bah!' said his friend, 'I know you have no debts nor invested capital.' The joiner explained, 'all the money that my father and mother expended on me since I was born I regard as a debt and one which it behoves me to discharge. On the other hand, all the money I spend on my children, in order to educate them well and to place them in a respectable position, I consider as a capital which they will reimburse with interest when I become old. As my parents have spared nothing to give me a good education I will neglect nothing to secure the same for my children, and if I regard as a debt the pleasure I experience in rewarding my parents for their kindness, I hope that my children will discharge what they owe me with as much exactness as if they had entered into a legal contract. Nothing can be nobler and more elevating to humanity. It is the true basis of moral and social philosophy; no statesman or legislator, if he is worthy of his public trust, can treat it as an idle sentiment.

The reciprocity of benefits and obligations is the soul of the Hindu law of inheritance. What underlies the joint family system, fosters and sustains it, is a well-recognised principle of cohesion—a community of interest. The individual is sunk in the family and individual interest is held subordinate to the joint concern. Sentiments of religion and charity and all that has a humanising tendency are interwoven into the framework of the system. Within the family group all the individuals—drones as well as working members, the unfortunate as well as the successful, the weak as well as the strong, are cared for alike; gains and losses are matters of common concern and bear on the common stock. Self-interest and self-seeking find no toleration as against the organic whole. The bond of union is essentially altruistic and is swayed by an avowed spirit of generous protection to all within its sphere.

A Hindu family stands on a peculiar footing. Temporal and spiritual interests are so knit together as to create rights and obligations indissoluble in their nature. Their ordination lies in the higher and eternal purposes of life beyond the short pan of worldly existence. The law of joint property is an accentuation of this feature, and self-acquisition forms the nourishing element, as a matter of creed. Indeed, no joint stock can possibly be created and maintained without the contribution of individual earnings. It is its corporate character that constitutes the strength and excellence of the system. It is something like the physical system, in which all the members work to feed the body for their own support and strength. If any progress or development has been achieved by the Hindu community under the influence of Western civilization it is traceable mainly to the beautiful arrangement by which power is reposed and concentrated in the family for the equipment of its members. If industrial activity and material expansion have not proportionately advanced, it is due to other conditions which differentiate the Indian from European society. If I remember rightly, the Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court spoke, not long ago, in terms of admiration of the Hindu joint-family system, as an important factor in social economy. I felt the force of his observations when I read them in the newspapers. While all Europe is the scene of an ever-widening gulf between wealth and poverty, while wealth accumulates enormously in the hands of a comparatively few and pauperism is becoming rampant among the many, while the absorbing problem of the day which racks the brains of the philosopher and the statesman is how to remedy the growing evil, and to check the vast spreading epidemic of anarchical and socialistic spirit which desperate pauperism is rousing, while agitations are keen to have all idle wealth disgorged as the only feasible means of curing chronic pauperism, we have here in India a self-adjusting principle in the Hindu joint-family system which prevents extremes and preserves a healthy balance. Owing to the *inherent* rights of property which every member has by virtue of his birth and the corresponding obligations imposed on him to incorporate his earnings with the parent stock, while he remains undivided, a fair distribution of wealth is going on as a natural consequence. No poor law nor work-house is known, because it is not absolutely needed. The family saves the State to a palpable extent from

what the latter is ultimately called upon to do in the way of relieving starvation. The India of the Hindu is poor compared with England. But the poorest Hindu is better off than the poorest Englishman. On the other hand no Hindu, however successful in life and however much he may earn, can ever hope to reach the standard of wealth obtaining in England. The family system and the social functions in which religion and charity play a conspicuous part have their demands which leave no plethoric margin. The depression caused by famine in India would have been far worse and far more telling on public funds than now, had it not been for the distribution engendered by the family system and the initial protection it affords. But under Sir V. Bhashyam Iyengar's new law, this state of things must change. An era of regeneration for the Hindu society has dawned with a vengeance. The authors of the Hindu Shāstras are cast into the shade. The new Avatar tells you that he has introduced no change. Leave the joint-family system to itself. Your claims to the family property you still have—only you keep your own earnings yourself. The law fully arms you now for this purpose. This is the new gospel published. The love of money and the love of self form the dominant idea. Kith and kin, gratitude and self-denial are only secondary considerations. Can anything be more degrading and mischievous? No words can be too strong to condemn the innovation. It is an adulteration at which Hinduism must blush. It pollutes the pure and bracing air of the Hindu home.

As the Act in question comes to be widely known and applied, a reactionary spirit will set in. The base nature of man will be brought into play. I know how many poor families strain their limited means and spend the last cash on the education of their sons, which is now a costly item. They go to the length of borrowing and undergo all manner of self-denial. The mother sells her jewels, and the father even undertakes to carry his son's tiffin to school. They are of course spurred and fed by the hope that they would rise to fortune and honor through the success of the boy in life. Even in the scholastic career there is many a slip between the cup and the lip. The boy may prove an utter failure, in which case the investment brings the family to positive ruin and beggary. Add to this natural precariousness, the element of mistrust created by the *changed*

attitude or, as Sir V. Bhashyam Iyengar would have it, by the *assured* attitude of the law in regard to self-acquisition. The youth may be a full blown graduate and be fortunate enough to get a fat appointment with splendid emoluments. But what guarantee is there that gratitude and family affection will prevail over the influence of a law which provides a clear way for him, free from family entanglements. Public opinion falls into the shade of the law. The prospect to the parents is rendered gloomy and they must be more than human if they venture on so unreliable an investment. They would rather be content with their lot and allow their sons to be hewers of wood and drawers of water than reduce themselves to destitution, with the risk of not only reaping no benefit, but of being treated to ingratitude and insult.

Take the case of a family in the middle station of life. Say, there are two sons, the elder of whom is put on the management of the family estate, and the younger sent to school to go through a course of collegiate education. The latter goes on consuming a good portion of the income from the patrimony which, of course, could not be helped, while the former gets on well in his stewardship, improving and enlarging the property. He gets no special consideration for his work though done in *joint* interest. The law won't give him credit for his earnings, because they are not 'Gains of Learning.' On the other hand the younger brother would be entitled to an equal share of the family property without any reduction on account of what has been spent on his education. What is worse, his self-acquisition he can keep to himself as his exclusive property. There is no even justice. Yet such is the worship paid to "Gains of Learning." The elder brother might insist legitimately on partition as a preliminary step, and if this had been effected, the junior would have had little chance of any scholastic learning at all.

In the case of affluent families it is all the same whichever way the law is turned. These are but few, and it is seldom that the children of such families care to enter the portals of learning and win marked success. Owing to habits of ease and luxury, their mental powers suffer generally from chronic torpor. A careful study of statistics relating to public education in the Madras Presidency will show that it is not the plutocratic but the middle and the less fortunate classes that supply the best and

the largest quantity of material for higher education. It is a well recognised fact that education in India is not sought for its own sake, but for pecuniary gain, which, however, is far less alluring than before in spite of the greater stimulus offered by the State. The market is becoming overstocked, and a graduate would consider himself fortunate if he could obtain a footing in the service on 10 or 12 Rs. With such low profit for the investment on education and the divorce now declared between family property and gains of learning, the most sanguine optimist must hesitate to aver that it augurs well for higher education.

I see the apologists of the Act have appeared, who show more zeal than judgment in defending the measure. Their cartridges, however, are all empty. Their special pleading only exposes the weakness of their cause all the more. They condemn the joint-family system which implies a conscious belief that the measure in question is out of joint with it. They go into a wrong analogy with the English system. By all means recast Hindu society on the English model. Do away with the inherent rights of property so sacred to the Hindu. Introduce the law of primogeniture. Sweep off caste, marriage restrictions and other peculiarities of Hindu customs and usages. Unless our Anglicised brethren can do this, and as long as the social conditions remain in the main what they are clung to by the bulk with vested interests as complex as could be found in any society, it is anything but graceful to kick the ladder by which such would-be reformers have risen. Let them remember the extreme importance still attached to religion by the mass of Hindus. Every other thing gives way to this aspect of Hindu life. In religion the Hindu lives, moves and has his being. His whole action, his whole thought, all that he does day by day is tinged with religion. And the joint-family system is the heritage which has been handed down to him with the sanction of religion and under its sacred guarantees. It is his great national pride and honor.

PROSPECTS OF HINDUISM IN THE WEST.

NOW that Hindu Missionaries have gone to Europe and America to gain a hearing for our religion, it will be instructive for us Hindus to investigate how far their efforts are likely to be crowned with success; or in other words, what are the circumstances and tendencies of Western thought which will facilitate the task of Indianising the West?

During the last half a century, great changes have come over the intellectual atmosphere of Christendom. The progress of science by popularising the Reign of Law has produced an intense disinclination to believe anything except on irrefragable evidence, and by discrediting the miraculous element, which enters so largely in the framework of Christianity, undermined belief in the characteristic Christian doctrines. The doctrine of evolution slowly and surely began to change men's ideas of universe and gave birth to a new cosmogony entirely different from the old one fostered by the Bible, "containing within itself the seeds of a universal revolt against the dominance of all the old tyrannies along all the old lines of thought." The development of the science of religion reduced Christianity from the unique position of being the only true religion, as its adherents fondly imagined, to be one among several religions all putting forth equally extravagant claims. The so-called "Higher Criticism," especially very active in Germany, by dissecting book after book of the Bible, proved the latter to consist of a collection of books of different times, containing truth and falsehood alike, thus cutting at the root of the doctrine of Literal Inspiration. And last but not least, the progress of culture and ethical ideas brought into use new and powerful canons of criticism, and by fearlessly appealing to first principles, made it more and more difficult to rest satisfied with ideas and doctrines, however credible and beneficial in an earlier time.

From the above causes, the result has been that the ship of faith has been completely wrecked. While men still cling to religion as fervently as ever—for the religious spirit in man can be dulled

but never destroyed—there has become prevalent an aversion to pin one's faith to any dogma. The many distinctive Christian doctrines like those of Virgin Birth, the Ascension, and the Descent into Hell, which are the foundation of that faith and which hitherto held sway over millions, have been completely thrown overboard, religious men being content to simply contemplate the personality of Jesus, as though that can be the be-all and end-all of religion.

It may be asked how can these circumstances help the cause of Hinduism in the West. It is the fact that side by side with this vague religiosity there are also manifest efforts at criticism, which disclose a frame of mind peculiarly promising for the reception of Indian ideas. As an instance in point, let me take the Christian doctrine of future life.

According to christianity, all men after death lie in the grave till the day of Resurrection, when they are awakened, judged, and awarded eternal happiness in heaven or eternal misery in hell, according as they were good or bad while living. This doctrine, simple as it seems, is better than nothing at all, and operated most beneficially on the minds and morals of the people as long as it was implicitly believed, as all doctrines of future life do, and was, according to Gibbon, one of the most powerful recommendations for early christianity in its proselytising career in the Roman Empire. After holding sway over millions of people for good these many centuries, it has become the subject of criticism. The idea of an eternal hell holding forth the hope of no ultimate redemption has become repugnant to the highly refined moral feelings of the day, coming as it does sharply into conflict with the conception of a God whose prime attribute is love. Let me give the state of opinion on the subject at present, by quoting a few writers whose views may be said to be typical of those held by a large number of people,

Rev. Agar Bret, in an article intended for the edification of young men, says namely :—

"In view of the coming judgment, Christ divides all men into two classes, who will receive respectively eternal life and eternal ruin. To us this division seems insufficient. We seem to need a third lot for those not bad enough to be destroyed and not good enough for the company of the blessed. But for this third class no provision is made in the New Testament. The fate of such persons, if such there be, lies

hidden under the mystery which covers so much of the solemn subject before us."

Professor St. George Mivart,* a bigoted Christian and a Roman Catholic to boot, who from a docile follower of the Church of Rome bids † fair to become one of its most active opponents mainly on account of this dogma, says:—

"The mental agony of despair in addition to extreme physical torture was recognised as the inevitable lot of the multitude of lost souls. It was also of the essence of this belief that the agony should be eternal and known to be eternal by the wretched inmates the 'perduta gente' of that 'citta dolenti,' that city of despair. But the modern mind has come to feel an abhorrence for beliefs which were viewed with complacency or accepted without difficulty for so many ages. And not only the sentiment of our day, but what we take to be its more highly evolved moral perceptions are shocked beyond expression at the doctrine that countless multitudes of mankind will burn for ever in hell fire, out of which there is no possible redemption. Our experience shows that not a few persons have abandoned christianity on account of this dogma, which also constitutes the very greatest difficulty for many who desire to obtain a rational religious belief and to accept the church's teaching."

Annie Besant in her Adyar lecture on christianity said :

"With the loss of Reincarnation, came into existence another doctrine in which christianity is unique—the doctrine of an eternal hell. Heaven and hell equally eternal became the outcome of one's short life here. A man born into the world with his character already marked upon him, with vicious or virtuous tendencies, as the case may be brought with him from the womb and stamped upon him in the cradle, that man by living twenty, forty, sixty, one hundred years, was to fix the whole of his eternal destiny and go either to heaven or hell for evermore.

"Happily, this is a doctrine almost of the past; Christian after Christian is giving it up; teacher after teacher is proclaiming the opposite. Canon Farrar preaching in the pulpit of Westminster Abbey, pro-

* Vide "The nineteenth century December 1892," Mr. Mivart has, in an article in the January number of the Fortnightly Review, used still stronger expressions. He says "I still regard the representations as to Hell which have been commonly promulgated in sermons and meditations, as so horrible and revolting, that a deity capable of instituting such a place of torment would be a bad God, and therefore in the words of the late Dr. W. G. Ward, a God "we should be under the indefeasible obligation of disobeying, defying and abhorring."

† Mr. Mivart has since died and the Catholic Church forgetting his past services to it, began to take revenge upon him for his liberty of expression by refusing the sacrament to him while living and the burial in consecrated ground after his death,

claimed the doctrine of eternal hope, as against the doctrine of eternal hell, and only narrow and uncultured minds, who by the lack of the imaginative faculty are not able to realize the horrors of hell, only these continue to teach it and to make it part of christianity."

- The opinion cited above conclusively demonstrates that the doctrine in question is in a fair way of being discredited.
- Supposing it to be rejected, as every religion must have a doctrine dealing with the Divine punishment of sinners, without which no religion is worth its name, what will christianity and its adherents do for a complete doctrine of future life, the absence of which starves one of the most ennobling of human instincts and disables religion as a moral agency. The Hindu doctrine of
- Reincarnation, against which the objections brought against the Christian one will not hold good, must necessarily be adopted.
- For according to Hinduism, Divine punishment being meted out in the form of repeated births in this vale of tears, few or many as the case may be, Reincarnation provides an agency for making punishment proportional to the varying degrees of sinfulness. And neither is the punishment in any case eternal. In addition to these negative arguments, it has got many and varied positive arguments in its favor, which need not be detailed here. And if Heaven and Hell be regarded not as places but simply as states of consciousness, the Christian theory will be still further enfeebled. As it is, the latter theory has no leg to stand upon, and must give place to the Hindu doctrine of Reincarnation which is the only other doctrine of future life held by a large body of men (and having the sanction of religion. No doctrine of future life is more suggestive by its affinity to some of the tendencies of modern scientific thought and the readiness with which it solves some of the most puzzling problems of human life, and is less jarring on our ideas of Divine Love and Justice than the doctrine of Reincarnation together with its accessory Karma, without which the "ways of God to man" can never be justified even by a Milton. It cannot be denied that an ingenious mind can find several objections against it also; but I am sure that such objections are neither so fundamental nor so numerous as those urged against the Christian doctrines. Professor Max Müller who is a very difficult man to satisfy and who inherits to the full extent the aversion of the scientific mind to accept anything without the completest evidence, has some years ago in expressing his opinion on the "immortality of men" expressed his parti-

ality for the doctrines of Atma and Reincarnation. These constitute the greatest strength to Hinduism and must necessarily make their way in the West, as they are even now doing among a thinking few, who have been led to the study of the Indian scriptures.

In addition to the Doctrine of Reincarnation, Hinduism has got another doctrine which will have the greatest fascination for the modern European mind if presented properly. I mean the doctrine of Divine Incarnation. The latter is found in both Christianity and Hinduism with this difference, namely, that while the former regards Divine Incarnation as having taken place only once in the person of Jesus Christ, the latter regards it as having taken place many times and as likely to take place many times. The attitude of Hinduism towards this doctrine is unmistakable. Says Sri Krishna: "Whenever there is decay of Dharma, O Bharata; and there is exaltation of Adharma, then I myself come forth: for the protection of the good, for the destruction of evil-doers, for the sake of firmly establishing Dharma, I am born from age to age." The above utterance has become classical and ought to be cherished by the Hindus as their spiritual Magna Charta, the most priceless document vouchsafed by God to the human race. If we view incarnation as the outcome of God's mercy and love towards mankind and of his desire to be born among suffering humanity for its guidance, it stands to reason that the manifestation of that beneficence cannot be limited to an isolated instance, at a particular corner of the world, and at a particular occasion, as is the case with christianity, but should be many as is the Hindu view. Thus the Hindu view of incarnation is more logical. On this subject, Mrs. Annie Besant's brief but brilliant reply to Mr. Gladstone on the "True and false conception of Atonement," some years ago in the "Nineteenth Century" Review, an article which Mr. Stead said should be read in all churches, may be referred to for a fuller exposition. The Christian idea is one-sided, due to an imperfect apprehension of this doctrine, and having been made to fit with some crude Jewish ideas, has even become monstrous. Cardinal Newman says "the doctrine of the Divine word is Platonic, the doctrine of the Incarnation Indian, of a Divine Kingdom is Judaic; of angels and demons is Magian." From the above, there can be no doubt that the idea of Incarnation is essentially Indian in origin and consequently thrived in an atmosphere more

congenial to it and attained a logical development in Hinduism. This doctrine is foreign and obnoxious to the genius of semiticism, as is evident from the charge of blasphemy brought by Judaism and Muhammadanism against the Christian doctrine of Incarnation. None of the utterances of Jesus appeared to be so outrageous to the Jews of Jesus' time, and subsequently to the followers of Mahomet, as his claim to be the 'Son of God,' while this will be perfectly intelligible to the Hindu. Christianity must necessarily have borrowed it from Hinduism, excepting which there is no other religion to which it can be traced, and in being so borrowed, it has become mutilated. For the noble Aryan doctrine, which took a logical shape in India, necessarily became cramped in Christianity which was moulded chiefly by semitic influences. How was it that it was more congenial to the Aryan mind and foreign to semitic mind? This can be accounted for by the different ways in which the Aryan and the semitic minds conceive of God. The Aryan conception is eminently pantheistic, while the semitic one is essentially theistic, rather anthropomorphic. Neither the Jew nor the Muhammadan can conceive how there can be a Son to God, and the famous utterance of Jesus that he was the "Son of God" is apprehended by modern Christians quite literally, meaning that he was the son of God as no other man can be. The claim to divine sonship is alleged to be based upon some special relation between Jesus and God, as against all other men instead of being based "on the divinity which is inherent in the nature of man himself," which idea is purely Vedantic. The progress of thought, however, is favourable to the view that the divine sonship of Jesus is only typical and an ideal possible of attainment for all men, and in the words of Mr. Martineau "the symbol and sample of constant divine life with men, and of human sonship to God, disclosing relations which had for ever been and would for ever be." That the anthropomorphic view of God is inconsistent with the idea of incarnation is gradually becoming evident to thinking minds. As an instance in point, I shall quote the recently expressed opinion of a Review called the "Literary World" on the subject. In reviewing one Dr. Stalker's book on the Christology of Jesus, it says as follows:—

"When Dr. Stalker comes to speak of the sense in which Jesus was 'the Son of God,' he rightly protests against the assertion that the

sonship was ethical and not metaphysical. 'The ethical always rests on the metaphysical' and ethical unity becomes less possible, the farther any two beings are metaphysically separated from each other. This is clear enough, but we are not convinced by Dr. Stalker's application of it. He proceeds to point out that sympathy between man and beast is imperfect, because they are metaphysically apart, while sympathy between men and women is more complete, because each shares the same human nature. But he goes on to say 'the union between God and man is a distant one, not only for ethical reasons, but for the metaphysical reason that their natures are distinct.' This seems to us an unfortunate and dangerous conclusion against which at least two objections may be urged. First, what is the possible meaning of the Fatherhood of God, if the divine and human natures are distinct. There may be a difference of degree which is practically infinite, but to call it difference of kind is to empty the doctrine of genuine significance. Further if the union between God and man is 'distant,' the Christian teaching as to the possibility of intimate communion between them is *de facto* destroyed. To read the sayings of the New Testament on this point and to reconcile them with Dr. Stalker's idea of distinct natures is, we venture to think, impossible. It is in harmony alike with sound philosophy and with the genius of Christ's teaching to affirm the essential oneness of God and man, and until this is recognized, the problem of the incarnation must continue to be a fruitful source of misunderstanding."

The above utterance is significant. For the reviewer is not a philosopher whose mode of thinking must generally be different from that of the great mass of ordinary men; and in measuring the progress of opinion, the opinion of the average literate man is more telling and a more accurate gauge than that of the philosopher. In the simultaneous possession of the two doctrines, namely, Incarnation and Reincarnation together with its accessory karma, Hinduism has got an advantage not possessed by any other religion in the world, and lays one of the most powerful claims for universality.

There is everywhere a growing indication of Pantheistic tendencies of thought. Charles Johnston, the writer who illumined the pages of "the *Madrass Mail*" by his brief but brilliant articles on Hindu philosophy and who is even now working silently in the west for the dissemination of Indian ideas, calls a tendency among several of the recent English poets to a vague Pantheism by the significant name of "Indian Renaissance." The Bohlén lecturer of 1883, Professor Allen, says: "The tradi-

tional conception of God which has come down to us from the middle ages through the Latin Church is undergoing a profound transformation. The idea that God is transcendent not only exalted above the world by his moral perfection, but separated from it by the infinite reaches of space is yielding to the idea of Deity as immanent in his creation.* We have incontestable evidence to show that some of the greatest English and American men of letters who lived till very recently had all indulged in Pantheistic ideas. Chief among these are, Mr. Emerson than whom there was no pure man of letters who had more admiration for Indian thought and in whom traces of Indian influence are so plainly visible, and the late Lord Tennyson, who may be reckoned as typical of his age and who cannot be surpassed in the faculty to feel and reproduce contemporary phases of thought. His "Higher Pantheism" and his "Ancient sage" are instances in point. Let me quote a few lines from the latter :—

"For more than once when I
Sat all alone, revolving in myself
The word that is the symbol of myself
The mortal limit of the self was loosed
And past into the nameless, as a cloud
Melts into heaven. I touched my limbs,
The limbs were strange not mine—and yet no shade of doubt
But utter clearness, and through loss of self
The gain of such large life as matched with ours
Were seen to spark—unshadowable in words
Themselves but shadows of a shadow world."

I need hardly point out that there is nothing more characteristic in the above passage than its affinity to Vedantic thought, and many similar passages may be quoted from that poem, and yet Lord Tennyson was ignorant of the fundamentals of Vedanta. How much cannot be accomplished, if only Indian thought be made more familiar in the West? All the Pantheistic tendencies obtaining at present with their defects cured, may be easily merged in, and absorbed by, the Vedanta.

One characteristic feature which distinguishes the ethical side of Indian Religions, especially Hinduism, from that of Christianity and its congeners is the great stress laid by the former upon the sanctity of animal life. The much-boasted Christian ethics, even if they be said to recognize this point at all, do not lay as much

* Quoted by the "Literary world," dated January 26, 1890.

importance on it as it deserves; while in Indian ethical writings, say for instance, Manu, nothing is more repeatedly exhorted than the 'avoiding of all injury to sentient creatures.' It is Hinduism which by asserting the unity of life as science has since done and by postulating that living forms from the lowest organism to the highest man are all receptacles of divine life, enforces with the weight of religious sanction a tender humanity towards the dumb millions; and India was the first country which built hospitals for sick animals. Hinduism never lent its name to the base doctrine that the lower animals are created for the comfort and convenience of man, the lord of creation. Sir Henry Maine or somebody said without grasping the real significance of what he said that the effect of famines in India is aggravated by the aversion of the people to betake themselves to animal food. It never seems to have entered his mind that in passing this remark, he is paying a magnificent tribute to the nobility of Indian character. If what he said be true, Hindus are martyrs to Vegetarianism, unwilling to harm animal life even to satisfy the most insatiable demands, namely, of appetite. Now if Hinduism is to be introduced into the enlightened countries of the West, it will, by *raison d'être* for our love and kindness towards animal life, fall in with and be welcomed by, the humanitarian sentiment obtaining so largely in the present age.

The mode of disposing the dead, is intimately connected with the many doctrines of future life prevalent among men. The custom of burying the dead obtaining among those professing Christianity and its allied religions fosters ideas and doctrines quite different from those fostered by the practice of cremation which ever since the Vedic times has become almost universal among those professing Hinduism. As a matter of fact, Resurrection and similar doctrines found in Christianity are entirely absent, at least in their peculiar forms, from Hinduism, for which no explanation is more plausible than the one I have suggested above. Now cremation backed by its sanitary advantages is slowly gaining ground in the West, the opposition of the church notwithstanding. Is it too much to expect that with the progress of cremation there will be a progress *pari-passu* of ideas and doctrines, associated with cremation with a corresponding declension of those connected with burial till a time will be reached when Christian ideas of future life will

* Sir William Jones's translation of the Manava Dharma Sastra.

become so indistinct and nebulous as to lose all hold on the minds of men? The vacuum must, however, be filled up. What christianity loses, Hinduism must gain.

The subject can be dwelt at indefinitely; but enough has been said in the above to show that not only there will be no insuperable obstacles, but there will be every facility for the progress of Indian thought in the West. Providence is preparing the minds of a large section of humanity to be worthy recipients of Hindu ideas. With the occasion, there appeared the man. There is nothing more indicative of the sturdy common sense and insight into the capabilities of Indian thought possessed by Swami Vivekananda than his resolve to break through the tradition of hiding Indian spirituality under the bushel and be the pioneer Hindu Missionary in the West. He himself said while in India that if he died the next day, which God forbid, his work in Europe would not die. Thanks to his and his fellow-workers' efforts and to the independent activity of the Theosophical Society, a beginning has been made highly satisfactory. Hinduism has new victories to win and new fruitage to bear and that not among our jaded race but among the Teutons, a race whose capacity for religious fervor is unsurpassed and which by its mental and moral vigour is becoming the undoubted leader of mankind. It will be our own mistake, if we do not make India the teacher of the West as it has already been of the East.

R. A.

LEGENDS OF ANCIENT MADURA.

II.

VIRA PANDYA, who was now King, had one overwhelming sorrow, for though he had many sons by concubines not a single legitimate son was he blessed with. But by the practice of many austerities and after the offering to the Gods of prayers marked by their sincerity he obtained a legitimate successor to the throne; and five years after was killed in a jungle by a tiger. When the news of his death reached Madhurā several of his natural sons combined and carried away the crown and royal jewels. In consequence, when the coronation day of the new King came round, the Ministers were much perplexed as to how the ceremony could be performed. At this juncture Siva, taking the form of a young jeweller, appeared and, after giving a lecture on the nature, lustre and properties of various precious stones, gave a number of them to the Ministers and told them to make a new crown. He then named the prince Abhisheka Pandya, and vanished. While Abhisheka was worshipping the linga one day, Indra happened to come down from heaven for the same purpose. Being compelled to wait till the Pandya had finished he became excessively angry. So when he returned to heaven he commissioned Varuna to destroy Madhurā. That God caused the waters of the sea to flow up to the walls of the city which was thus threatened with destruction: but by the intervention of Siva four clouds issued from the locks of his head and drank up instantaneously the seas that threatened to overwhelm the city. Furious at being thus thwarted Varuna sent clouds to discharge tremendous showers of rain and hail upon Madhurā; but Siva again interfered, and the four clouds that drank up the seas formed themselves into a shield over the city, and warded off the attacks of the hostile clouds. Varuna now perceiving how unavailing was his enmity, came to the sacred tank, purified himself in it and craved forgiveness, which was not only granted him but a dropsy from which he had long suffered was also cured. After this, Siva amused himself by appearing as a prophet and performing a series of miracles in the Madhurā country. Old men were changed into young; men into

women; blockheads into scholars; trees of one kind into trees of another, and so forth. The Pandya had the country scoured to secure and bring the wonderful man before him; but the scouts were so struck at beholding the miracles that they were unable to perform their duty. Ministers were next sent, but they too failed and were contemptuously informed that "a prophet had no concern with kings." Thereupon the King himself went out to look for the illustrious stranger. Coming to the pagoda on the 1st of the month Pushya, he met the pretended prophet and asked him his name. The God replied "Agniya Sidd'ha," which means the Omnipotent spirit. Whereupon the King asked him sarcastically, whether he could make a stone elephant, which stood hard by, eat sugar cane, and stretched out a piece of cane towards the lifeless figure. To his amazement the stone Elephant lifted its trunk, and making for him with fierce gestures tore off from the royal neck a necklace of pearls and swallowed it together with the sugar-cane. Seeing this the King's attendants rushed at the prophet to chastise him for his violence; but he merely looked at them and they were turned into stone. The King then perceived that it was Siva *in persona propria*, so he threw himself at the God's feet and implored forgiveness, which was granted. Shortly afterwards the King crowned his son Vikrama as his successor and passed away.

During Vikrama's reign the Saiva religion flourished in Madhurā. At this time the Chola King of Kanchipura, having been converted to the religion of the Shapana heretics, in revenge for former defeats collected and led against the Pandya King a force of 3,000 chiefs of the Shapana sect. These heretics strove to destroy Madhurā by magic. They dug an immense pit ten miles long, and having performed in it a Yajna sacrifice, a monstrous Elephant arose out of it. In pursuance of the order of the Chola King the huge beast moved ponderously in the direction of Madhurā shaking the earth with every step and apparently half mad with rage. In this emergency the Pandya applied to the linga and the God heard his prayer. He bade the King build a sixteen-pillared hall on the East of the city and promised to remove the danger. Accordingly the hall was quickly built; and when he went to see it the Pandya observed the God standing in it disguised as a hero with a bow. Sundaralinga then recited the prayer called *Narasimha Japa* in order to secure the co-operation of the God of that name, and as the Elephant approached shot it

with an arrow. The carcass of the animal was forthwith turned into a rock which may be seen to this day. Now an extraordinary story is related of how the God rewarded the faith of a Saiva Brahman girl named Gauri. When eight years old, her father had married her to a Vaishnava Brahman, though she, her mother and her relatives generally were against the match. When she went to her new home she was sadly neglected and ill-used so much so that Siva took pity on her forlorn condition and resolved to rescue her therefrom. One day the family went to a Vaishnava feast leaving poor Gauri alone and all the rooms of the house locked up. Then the God visited her in the form of a decrepit old Saiva Brahman and begged alms of her. She treated him with kindness and hospitality; but expressed regret at her inability to give him food as the rooms were all locked. The old man then bade her put her hands on the locks, and when she did this, they all opened. She then brought and prepared food; and as the old man's hands trembled exceedingly, fed him with her own fair fingers. Immediately he finished his meal, the stranger turned himself into a handsome young gallant. Just then the girl heard to her horror the sound of her husband's friends approaching the house. Thereupon, the God as suddenly changed himself into a three month old baby with ashes rubbed on its forehead, and began to cry lustily. Great was the anger of Gauri's husband when he saw the baby; and still more so when he discovered that the locks of the rooms had been opened in his absence. Without more ado he pushed Gauri into the road and bade her take herself and the baby off. In agony of shame and grief the girl prayed to Siva and hardly was her prayer ended, when to the astonishment of the bystanders, the baby disappeared from her arms; and Sundaralinga and Minakshi presently appeared in their celestial vehicle, and translated her to the realms of bliss. Soon after this Vikrama had his son Raja Shekhara crowned King in his stead and then died.

The new King was both just and learned. Versed in no less than sixty-three of the arts and sciences, he was very proud of his knowledge. One day, however, a poet, who came before him and praised his accomplishments, informed him that the Chola King knew all the sixty-four arts. Annoyed thereat the Pandya set to work and learnt the art of dancing, the one art known to the Chola King and of which he himself was ignorant. While attaining perfection in this new kind of knowledge it

became apparent to him what trouble and exertion Sundaralinga must have undergone when he danced to please the Rishis, and had been undergoing from then till now, in balancing himself always on his right leg, with the left stretched up over his head. He felt sorry for the God, when he thought of this; and pondered how he might procure him some slight relief. Accordingly, while the feast of Siva was in progress, he entered the Silver Hall after worshipping the linga, and besought the God to change legs and stretch up the right in place of the left, asserting that if the God did not comply with his request he would then and there end his life by falling on his sword, which he rested with the point towards him on the ground. The God was pleased with his piety: and acted as he requested.

Raja Shekhara lived to a good old age: and when he died his son Kulothunga succeeded him. This King had 10,000 wives, each of whom bore him six sons. Whilst in the enjoyment of his prosperous reign the following incident occurred. A Brahman of Navapura was travelling with his wife and son towards Madhurâ; and while the latter were resting under a shady tree during the mid-day heat, the former went to find water. In his absence an arrow, that had accidentally lodged in the tree, fell and entering the woman's breast killed her on the spot. The Brahman returning shortly afterwards and seeing the arrow accused a hunter, who happened to be standing by with a bow and arrows in his hands, of having murdered his wife; and all his protestations of innocence notwithstanding, took the hunter and the corpse before the King of Madhurâ. The King examined the parties, and put the hunter to the torture; but all to no purpose. At last he ordered the corpse to be burnt and the prisoner to be kept in custody: and then went to the Pagoda and prayed the God to throw light upon the matter. In answer, a voice in the air directed him to attend that night at the wedding of a certain merchant, and observe what happened. Accordingly the king went to the wedding, taking with him the Brahman who had lost his wife, and after a while was permitted to hear two messengers of death deliberating how they might best kill the intended bridegroom. One of them remarked that the man was sound and healthy; but the other removed the difficulty by suggesting that an apparently fortuitous circumstance would easily bring about what was wanted, and then reminded his companion of the way in

which they had the day before disposed of the Brahman's wife. The king told the Brahman what he had overheard; and then awaited developments. Immediately afterward a cow broke loose frightened by the music, and gored the bridegroom to death. The king thus became convinced of the hunter's innocence, and discharged him after giving both him and the Brahman handsome presents. In the same reign, there lived in Madhurâ an old man who earned a livelihood by teaching the broadsword exercise. After a time one of his pupils was so ungrateful as to set up a rival school, and draw away the old man's pupils; and not content with this endeavoured to seduce his wife. One day he went so far as to offer the woman violence, but she effectually resisted him, and succeeded in locking him out of the house. Not being a babbler she kept the matter to herself; but she quietly prayed to Siva to avenge her, and the God heard her prayer. Disguising himself as the husband of the outraged woman, he sought out the wicked youth, and challenged him to single combat outside of the city walls. The challenge was accepted, and a scientific duel fought with swords. The God put forth his power after a time, and by well directed blows cut off first one and then another of his adversary's members, and lastly his head, loudly reviling him all the time for his wickedness. Kulothunga was so greatly pleased when he heard this that he honored the God with new ceremonies and additional worship. He died and was succeeded by his eldest son Anantaguna.

Anantaguna was a pious prince; and supported the Saiva faith with great zeal so much so that the Shapana heretics, the enemies of that faith, were obliged to perform a Yajna sacrifice in view to destroy him and establish themselves in Madhurâ. From the huge sacrificial pit they dug there arose a giant, who presently transformed himself into a monstrous serpent, and crawled along towards Madhurâ. His bulk was so prodigious as almost to reach the skies. And he hissed forth so poisonous a breath that such of the fowls of the air as flew through it fell to the earth poisoned, and died; and the trees sickened and withered away as he approached. The king thereupon went to the temple and prayed to Sundaralinga; and was promised victory. And going forth to meet the enemy, he prayed to the God of Madhurâ, and then shot many arrows at the monster. But as fast as he shot, the serpent destroyed

them; and he was compelled to pray to Siva once more. After this, he hurled the weapon, called Bhalla at the enemy and destroyed it. The God now caused it to be petrified into a huge rock, which is known to this day by the name of the "serpent hill." But even now the Pandya's troubles were not over: for the dying monster belched forth poisonous belchings, which struck down the people of Madhurâ like a plague. And they did not recover till Siva beneficently shook out some drops of nectar from his locks and thereby rendered the poison innocuous. The Shapana people thereupon retired discomfited; but soon afterwards they returned and performed another Yajna sacrifice, out of which was born a giant still more fierce and stupendous than the former. And thinking that the Pandya would shrink from the responsibility of killing a cow, they directed the giant to assume the form of an enormous animal of that species, and advance against Madhurâ. And he did as he was bidden. Prayers were then offered up to Siva; and the God ordered his celestial bull to increase enormously in bulk, and go out and meet and conquer the invading cow. The celestial bull approached the enemy, and appeared to be so fine and beautiful in her eyes that she was instantly attacked by paroxysms of erotic excitement, and at last fell dead on the ground. The cow's carcass became a rock, now known as the "cow-hill": and in order to keep alive the remembrance of his victory the bull turned his body into a hill called the "bull-hill." During this reign, the great Rama marched southwards to rescue his wife Sita from the power of her ravisher, the giant Ravana: and, having encamped near the "bull-hill" with his army of monkeys, was advised by the Rishi Asgastya to visit the holy city of Madhurâ. He did so: and worshipped Sundaralinga, who vouchsafed to him a gift by means of which he was enabled to conquer the ravisher. After this the Pandya died: and was succeeded by his son Kula Bhushana.

In this reign the king of a hunter caste that ruled in the Chedi country threatened to attack Madhurâ; and the Pandya hearing of it gave large sums of money to his general, and directed him to raise a sufficient body of cavalry, and drive the enemy away. But the general disobeyed his orders, and thinking that it was better to put his trust in Siva than in cavalry, spent all the money in charitable works. At the end of six

months no preparations had been made to meet the foe who was then within easy reach of the capital. Then the king called upon the general for the troops that ought to have been forthcoming: and the general pretended that they would be ready on the morrow. Having satisfied his master with this answer, the general went to the Pagoda and prayed devoutly of Siva, and in due time he received an assurance that on the morrow a large body of cavalry should come to his rescue. After he retired to his sleeping apartment, he passed the night in a state of nervous excitement: but jumping up with the first streak of dawn was delighted beyond measure to see the plain which stretched away in front of the palace covered with fine horsemen, and the God Siva himself leading them, seated on a white charger and magnificently attired. The king was soon informed of the arrival of the troops, and was pleased with their pre-eminently martial appearance. Whilst they awaited the arrival of the enemy, news came to the effect that the hunter king had been killed by a lion, and the Pandya at once gave the signal for the troops to disperse and return to their homes. Scarcely had he done so, when they all vanished in a moment from his sight; and he perceived that they were nothing but an unreal vision. He then learnt from his general what had happened: and caused the worship of Siva to be performed with more than usual splendour.

This king was not at all charitable. Indeed, he neglected the Brahmans so greatly that they were compelled to labor with their hands for their daily bread; and were quite unable to keep up their daily ablutions, prayers and offerings of incense. The consequence was, the Gods were angry and refused to send rain. Soon a terrible famine overtook the country: and the inhabitants were reduced to the greatest straits, and sought relief by emigrating in thousands to neighbouring countries. The king was grieved to see the misfortunes of his people, and prayed for help for a long time in the Pagoda; but to his mortification received no answer. He then returned to his palace, and passed the night on the floor, meditating upon the God Sundaralinga. His meditation ended in sleep; and the God appeared to him in a dream, and promised to give him a purse of money which should never become empty, as long as he applied its contents to the relief of Brahmans and the poor. Waking up, the king found the purse beside him; and soon set

to work to test the truth of Sundaralinga's promise. Endless donations were given to Brahmans and to the poor in general; and the purse remained as full as ever. Buildings were then erected in honor of Sundaralinga; the Brahmans returned to their prayers, ablutions and offerings; rain fell in abundance; and the country became more fertile than ever.

In the same reign the God amused himself with some young women in the following manner. They had in a previous life been the wives of some Rishis, who retired with them to the Daraka forest; whither Siva disguised as a beautiful monk went begging alms. The wives of the Rishis fell desperately in love with him; and surrounded, and tried to take him off each to her own house. The Rishis, when they saw this behaviour, were much displeased; and they pronounced a curse upon their wives, that they should be born as daughters, of merchants at Madhurâ. Accordingly they were so born, and lived at Madhurâ. And then Siva visited them one day in the form of a bangle-seller of superlatively handsome appearance. He excited their passions as violently as he had on a previous occasion by holding their hands and fitting bangles on their arms; and the women conceived thereby, and bore children to him.

After this came the restoration to life of the six celestial wet nurses of Siva's son, Subramanya. These ladies had one day, a thousand years before, asked Siva, while he was conversing with his wife Parvati under a banyan tree in his heaven Kailasa, to explain to them the meaning of the eight principal magical powers. He graciously did so: but his auditors were so inattentive that he cursed them, and caused them to be petrified into rocks placed in the Pathamangala country, for the space of a thousand years. The period of their punishment having expired, Siva now restored them to life; and he also explained to them anew, and with the happiest results, the subject which they had professed to be so anxious to understand. The eight principal magical arts or Ashta-Sidd'hi are described as being the following, viz.:—

1. *Animâ*, which is the art of entering into a foreign body.
2. *Mahimâ*, or the art of so increasing the bulk of one's body as to afford a resting place for all creation on its surface.
3. *Garimâ*, or the art of rendering small things infinitely ponderous.

4. *Laghimi*, or the art of lifting with ease the largest and heaviest substance.

5. *Prapti*, or the art of gaining access through a small hole to Brahma's heaven.

6. *Prakalîya*, or the art of transubstantiating oneself, entering into various worlds, procuring all things needful, and ascertaining the localities of different substances.

7. *Bhûta*, or the art of creating, destroying, and protecting the world and rendering the planets obedient to the will.

8. *Vasîta*, or the art of rendering subject to one all created beings, and the Gods together with Indra. Kulabhushana's reign was remarkable for yet another incident. The Chola king of Kanchipura, surnamed the clearer of the jungles, was a strict Saivite, and was very anxious to visit Madhurâ, and worship Sundaralinga. But he was not on good terms with the Pandya, and consequently was unable to do what he wanted. However, Sundaralinga appeared to him in a dream, and directed him to go to Madhurâ, without fear, in a disguise: and he set out at once in obedience to the God's direction. When he arrived at the north bank of the Madhurâ river, he found it in flood, and was in doubt what to do, when Sundaralinga came to his assistance, and taking him by the hand led him over the surface of the waters. The North gate of the Pagoda was then opened by the God, and the Chola king entered, and bathed in the golden-lily pool, and worshipped the linga. He was then taken across the river again, and returned to his country. The God then went back to the Pagoda, and fastened up the gate, substituting for the Pandya's seal, which was the representation of a fish, his own seal which was that of a bull. When the Pandya heard of this, he tried in vain to discover the person, who had broken his seal; but at night the God told him in a dream, and he afterwards made friends with the Chola king. Some time afterwards he died; and was succeeded by his son Rajendra. The friendship between the courts of Madhurâ and Kanchipura greatly increased. The Chola came frequently to Madhurâ and the Pandya asked for and was promised the hand of a Chola princess. But his younger brother Raja Simha went secretly to the Chola, and by some means induced him to throw over the Pandya, and give his daughter to him, Raja Simha. Moreover he induced the Chola to march against Madhurâ with a large army. The Pandya had not the power

of opposing a sufficiently numerous army to the invaders: but he collected what troops he had, and marched against the enemy, putting his trust in Siva and praying to him constantly for victory. A sanguinary battle was fought: and after a time both armies were completely exhausted. Then the god suddenly caused a booth furnished with inexhaustible supplies of water to appear on the ground occupied by the Madhurâ army, and distributed drink by means of many water-carriers. The soldiers all drank and recovered their lost strength, and charging the enemy completely routed him. Moreover the Chola and the Pandya's brother were both taken prisoners. The Pandya then asked the God what he should do with his captives; and was ordered to do as he pleased. Accordingly he acted with great generosity, released them both, sent the Chola home loaded with presents and granted a considerable fief to his brother.

During the same reign there flourished in Sri Pushpavana a very beautiful Dasi, or dancing girl, attached to the Pagoda, and named Hema. She was an ardent devotee of Siva and whatever she received from her lovers, she expended in largesses to Brahmans, and in other charitable acts. As she was extremely anxious but unable to make a golden image of Siva, the God took pity on her, and one night visited her in the form of a religious ascetic: and promised to grant her wish, if she would but follow his directions. He then explained to her, that she must place all the brass pots and iron utensils on the fire, after sprinkling them with holy ashes, and leave them there all night. She did so and next morning lo! and behold! she was possessed of a large lump of the precious metal. With this she immediately made an idol, and she was so delighted with it that she kissed it on the cheek, and embraced it. The idol was placed in the temple, and it still bears the mark of the dancing girl's kiss. Rajendra at length died. He was succeeded by his son, and he by his son who was in turn succeeded by his son, grandson, and great-grandson. Nothing noteworthy occurred during these five reigns: but when the last came to an end Varaguna ascended the throne. He was remarkable for his devotion to the God; but had the misfortune to kill a Brahman accidentally, by riding him down on a dark night when returning from hunting. In consequence of this he was perpetually tormented by the spirit which pursues slayers of Brahmans, and could not find rest. At last the God took pity on him, and directed him to

roul and pursue the Chola king, who was about to attack him, as far as a place called Maddhyarjuna, within the limits of the Chola Kingdom, and enter the Pagoda there. The Pandya did as he was bid: and as he entered the Pagoda by the East gate, the spirit was compelled to leave him, and remain in the tower above the gateway. After this he spent some time in Maddhyarjuna Pagoda, expending large sums in repairing and beautifying it; and then returned to Madhurâ, leaving his tormentor behind him. Subsequently the King was seized with an inextinguishable desire to see the heaven of Siva; and in order to please him Siva vouchsafed to him a vision of his heaven and all its glories in the Madhurâ temple. Everything was shown to him, even Siva seated on his throne, and surrounded by crowds of the blessed. So great was the splendour of the scene, that the Pandya swooned away, unable to endure it; and when he had recovered the vision had disappeared.

When the Rishi Agastya had finished his narration of this last incident, his auditors asked him, why it was that the Pandya could not get rid of the spirit in Madhurâ, if Madhurâ was indeed the holiest of holy places. And the Rishi explained that the God effected the King's relief in a holy place other than Madhurâ as a warning and example to men. For they might be led to imagine that all sins, however heinous, could be removed by a single visit to Madhurâ, and the results of such a belief would be very evil.

E. H. B.

THE ETHICS OF THE BHĀGAVAD GITA.

The Work.

THE Bhāgavad Gita or more briefly the Gita is reckoned as one of the Five Jewels (Pancharatnāni) of Sanskrit literature. A recent writer terms it 'the pearl of price in the ocean of Brahmanical teaching.' The word literally means the song sung by the Deity, or as Mr. Wilkins terms it 'the Divine lay.' It embodies the profoundest philosophy and the sublimest metaphysics of the ancients. Lofty in its declarations, sublime in its aspirations, pure and tender in its piety, it has literally charmed all into adoration who have read it, and tasted of its universal and sublime love. It is the most lovely flower of the bare and barren tree of metaphysical enquiry—a flower that grew into the fruit of self-sacrificing Love which gave the nectar of supreme bliss. It blends together the doctrines of Kapila, Patanjali, and the Vedas, and is purely vedantic in its teaching. "It is beyond all doubt" says Mr. Gough (Phil. of the Up., p. 209), "that the Bhāgavad Gita notwithstanding its Sankhya phrases and Sankhya references, is as purely vedantic as that of any vedantic work whatever." The Gita is at the same time a religion and a philosophy. "In India," says Prof. Max Müller (Lect. on the Vedānta, p. 13), "philosophy is looked upon as the natural outcome of religion, nay, as its most precious flower and fragrance." And this is true of the Gita.

Its place in the Mahābhārata.

The Gita forms a part of the Bhishma Parvan of the great Epic, the Mahābhārata—one of the two national Epics of India. It is a narrative by Sanjaya to the blind Dhṛitharashtra, of the philosophical dialogue between Krishna and Arjuna, on the eve of the great battle immortalised in the above Epic. Arjuna, seeing many of his kinsmen and relatives in both the hosts assembled at the holy field of Kurukshetra, to fight the fratricidal war to its bitter end, is overcome by pity, and his fortitude giving way, lets fall his bow and arrows and refuses to fight. Then commences this "wonderful and holy dialogue," and Krishna, who is the charioteer of Arjuna, discloses himself as the Supreme

spirit, and meets the objections of Arjuna by the exposition of a philosophical system, propounding therein the unity of existence, the immortality of the soul, the miseries of metempsychosis, the path to liberation and other dogmas. A question has been raised whether the Gita is a genuine part of the Mahābhārata. Various opinions are held with regard to this point, owing to the absence of all historical data in Indian literature. Some hold the Gita to have been existent prior to the national Epic and to have been worked into it by the author of the Mahābhārata, while others hold it to have been a later interpolation. Mr. Telang considers at some length (Sacred Book of the East, Vol. VIII., pp. 4-6) the *pros* and *cons* of these views and is inclined to think that "having regard to the fact, that the Gita fits in pretty well into the setting given to it in the Bhishma Parvan; to the fact that the feeling of Arjuna which gives occasion to it is not at all inconsistent, but is most consonant, with poetical justice; to the fact that there is not in the Gita any trace of a sectarian or 'Brahminizing spirit' such as Mr. Wheeler and the late Prof. Goldstucker hold to have animated the arrangers of the Mahābhārata" the Gita is genuine portion of the Mahābhārata. Even a cursory study of the Mahābhārata would convince one of the genuineness of the Gita as one of its integral parts, for the sentiments embodied in the Gita would be found thrilling throughout the whole of the Mahābhārata. Hence in my opinion the Gita cannot be a later interpolation. But as said before, this remains an unsettled question.

Its Author.

Taking the above view as to its genuineness, I venture to say that the question of its authorship becomes easy of solution. We may take for granted that the author of the Mahābhārata, *viz.*, Vyasa, *alias* Krishna Dwaipayana, is the author of the Gita.

Its Date.

A more difficult question on which there is a great divergence of opinion, is with regard to the time at which the Gita was composed. This point too, is tainted by the uncertainty which characterises all historical speculations in Indian literature. The importance of this question has been magnified both by pundits and missionaries who have approached it with an evident bias. The close and striking parallelism between the sublime

moral precepts inculcated and taught in the Gita and those of the New Testament, have led them into a long and perhaps forever insoluble controversy, as to whether the author of the Gita borrowed from christian sources, or the evangelists and apostles from him. Hence, while the pundits claim a pre-christian era for the poem, the missionaries assign it to a post-christian date. Mr. Telang, in his able and masterly introduction to his translation of the Gita (Sac. Bks. of the East, Vol. VIII), considers at some length the internal and external evidences in fixing its date. The unsystematic character of the work, the absence of all attempts at scientific arrangements, the use of words without any scientific precision, the contradictory and irreconcilable nature of passages with which the work is tainted here and there, and the absence of all attempts at their harmonization, the difficulty with which one has to follow the sequence of ideas throughout the verses of the Gita,—these are some of the points relied on by Mr. Telang as pointing to a date prior to the system-making era of Sanskrit philosophy. The archaic simplicity of its style and the nature of its versification show that the Gita is removed by a considerable linguistic and chronological distance from classical Sanskrit literature and that it is contemporaneous with the Upanishad literature. The way in which the Gita shelves the Vedas without totally rejecting them, the way in which it places the system of caste on a less untenable basis without uprooting the then existing system, the way in which it embodies the religious and historical upheaval against the stiff-backed ritualism into which the pure and simple nature-worship embodied in the Vedic hymns had deteriorated and settled, the fact that a Kshetriya instead of a Brahmin is availed of as a channel of communication for this most sacred religion of devotion, the fact that the Supreme Lord in identifying himself with the best of every species speaks of a Kshetriya as the best of men instead of a Brahmin (X. 27),—all these and numerous other minute but important points in the Gita, point to a date contemporaneous with that of the Upanishads and consequently prior to the christian era. The above points constitute the internal evidence. The external evidence, though meagre, points to the same conclusion (*Vide pp. 27-34*). “We may,” says Mr. Telang, “lay it down as more than probable that the latest date at which the Gita can have been composed, must be earlier than the third century B. C., though it is almost impossible to say

how much earlier.” Opposed to this view is that of Mr. Davies, Edwin Arnold and others. The former recognises the difficulty of coming to a definite conclusion, but says that it is probable that the Gita was composed somewhere in the 2nd or 3rd century after Christ. Mr. Edwin Arnold is also of the above opinion. But Mr. Dahlmann the German Jesuit, the pupil of Böhler, (who has himself translated the Dharmasutras, Manusmriti, etc., who has in fact traversed the whole field of the sacred laws of the Aryans) assigns the Mahabharata to a period not later than the 4th century before Christ. All modern researches tend to establish the pre-christian date of the Bhagavad Gita. But as already said, it is yet an open question. We shall lay aside the consideration of this point with the following remarks. Truth, in whatever religion it is embodied, is one and the same. History shows us that in every nation there have been teachers who have had some glimpse of the eternal Truth, and it is but idle to trace the origin of one religion to another.

The different Schools of the Gita.

There are three different schools of the Gita following the three great commentators Sankaracharya, Ramanujacharya, and Madhwacharya. These are known respectively as ‘Adwaita,’ (Monism) ‘Visishtadwaita’ (qualified Monism) and Dwaita, (Dualism). Every tenet, nay every verse of the Gita, has been interpreted in the light of these three teachers.

(1) Adwaita (Monism.)

Their main difference is this. Sankara holds that only the Self *i.e.*, the Universal Soul exists. The individual Souls or Egos, as something different and distinct from the Universal, do not exist. Nor does Matter exist. It is owing to ignorance or Avidya or Universal Nescience that the individual Soul or Jiva (chit), and Matter (jada) seem to exist apart and distinct from the Cosmic Soul or Iswara (sat). When this Avidya is removed by knowledge, their identity would become plain. The famous saying ‘*Tat tvam asi*’ (Thou art That) embodies the pith of the monistic teaching. It means that the individual Soul is one with the Universal Soul and the Universal Soul is one with the one and only Self. The Universal Soul (sat) is Brahman or Supreme Reality viewed as in union with Prakriti or the self.

feigned world-fiction. This is the theory of Universal unity, abstract identity or absolute idealism.

(2) *Visishtadvaita* (qualified monism.)

The Visishtadvaitins (or qualified monists) of the school of Ramanuja, hold that Iswara, or the Universal Soul (sat), the individual Soul (chit), and Matter (jada) have got separate existence in *abstraction* and are eternal. But their existence is always conjoined. You cannot catch any of them independent and separate. In every existence howsoever minute, these three are inseparably conjoined and exist together.

(3) *Dvaita* (Dualism).

The Dwaitins or Dualists of the school of Madhwa hold that Sat, Chit and Jada have got separate and independent existence. They are severally eternal. Among the Jivas, they distinguish between Nitya Mukthas and Nitya Badhas (ever-released and ever-bound). The Demiurgus or Iswara created both Soul and Matter and since creation they have been remaining and will remain eternally distinct and separate. But Iswara has omnipotence over both Souls and Matter. Though these diametrically opposed interpretations have been given by ingenious commentators, the teaching of the Gita is admittedly Vedantic and inquistic, and Sankara is the most renowned commentator of all and the best exponent of the Vedantic system.

The occasion for the teaching of Krishna.

The proximate cause for the exposition of this highly metaphysical system is, as would be seen from the first Chapter of the Gita, the despondency of Arjuna. Forgetting his various duties as a Kshetriya, as the leader of a party most wrongfully and cruelly persecuted by the scheming and deep-seated felony of his unrelenting foes, as again one who has espoused the just cause, Arjuna is moved to pity by the thought that he would have in the course of the day to send so many of his relatives to their last rest! And all this for what? For the satisfaction of that unhallowed craving for fleeting pleasures dull! Not for all the worlds would he wade through his kinsmen's blood to reach such a goal, for, thereby he would be committing a sin. It is then that Krishna comes to his aid as his spiritual guide and removes the film of ignorance which for the while blinded him to all sense of duty. This exposition begins with Ch. II. Ver. 11.

It is the ethical value of this teaching—its value as a system supplying criteria for the regulation of conduct—that we are to consider.

The metaphysics of the Gita.

For a proper understanding of the Ethics of the Gita, it is essential that one should know something of the metaphysical foundation on which the ethical superstructure is built. The proximate aim of the Gita is purely practical, *viz.*, the removal of obstructions (prathibandhas) which blind one to a proper sense of his duty. This is accomplished by rooting out the weeds of ignorance through the instrumentality of metaphysics and planting instead therein the evergreen palm of Knowledge.

The unity of existence.

The first thing to grasp in trying to understand the metaphysics of the Gita is the unity of Existence—existence noumenal and not phenomenal. The Self, the Brahman, is the one supreme real noumenal existence. What phenomenal existence is, we would come to know later on when we have comprehended something of the cosmology and the psychology of the Gita. The word Brahman which denotes the Supreme Reality comes from the root 'Brih'—to grow, and is expressive of growth and greatness. This Brahman is a vastness unlimited in space, in time and in content, for there is nothing known as a limit to Brahman. It is beyond time, space and causation. The term applies to a thing of transcendent greatness. Brahman *per se*, is neither God nor conscious God. It is attributeless. In the language of the western philosophers, Brahman may vaguely be rendered to be consciousness. But it should particularly be noted that Brahman *is* consciousness, *is* knowledge. We cannot say that Brahman *has* consciousness or *has* knowledge. This Brahman is overspread by Avidya or Maya or by Nescience, veiling from it its proper nature and projecting the world of semblances, the phantasmagory of metempsychosis. It is Maya that presents the manifold of experience. The world with its apparent duality of subject and object, internal and external orders, is the figment of this fiction,—the imagination of illusion. It is through this connection with Avidya and the consequent illusory duality and plurality, that the Self is seen to assume the shape of innumerable living things and passes through successive spheres of trans-migratory experience as through dream after dream. Hence the

world proceeds not from Brahman *per se*, but from Brahman reflected upon its counterfeit Maya, or fictitiously circumscribed, by the limitations of the world-fiction. To the soul that wakes to its own nature, all the stir of daily life, all the feverish pleasures and pains of life after life, cease to be, nay, what is more, have never so much as been. The Brahman so limited by Maya, is the Saguna Brahman or qualified Brahman as distinguished from the Nirguna Brahman or Brahman *per se*. It is the Logos, or in the language of old writers, Iswara or Pratyagatma or Sabda Brahman. It is called the *Verbum* or the Word, by the Christians, and it is the Divine *Christos* who is eternally in the bosom of His Father. It is the Avalokiteswara of the Buddhists. It is the Demiurgus or the world evolving Deity.

How this Avidya comes to affect Brahman.

A question may be raised in this connection, how this Avidya or Nescience comes to affect the Supreme Self, which is all in all, subject to nothing outside it, because there is nothing outside it, which is perfect in every way. To this no definite answer could be given except that it *is* so. But this answer has been considered to be unsatisfactory, because they do not answer *why* it is so. Here is the unbridgeable abyss of the monistic Vedantists—the rock which they cannot climb—the height beyond which no human reason perhaps can safely and calmly breathe. Says Prof. Max Müller (Lect. on the Vedanta II.), “There is a point in every system of philosophy where a confession of ignorance is inevitable, and all the greatest philosophers have had to confess that there are limits to our understanding the world; nay, this knowledge of the limits to our understanding has since Kant’s Criticism of Pure Reason, become the very foundation of Critical philosophy.”

The Nature of the Demiurgus.

Now what is the Nature of this Demiurgus? It is eternal both as to the past and the future, uncreated, and having in itself a potentiality of issuing forth and forming all material existences. It has three constituent qualities called gunas or threads. These are (1) Sattwa (Goodness), which is of a fine and elastic nature; (2) Rajas (Passion) the element of motion, active and restless, of which things animate are chiefly formed; and (3) Tamas (Darkness), the source of inanimate things, of stupi-

dity, of delusion. This Nature as undeveloped is called Avyakta (unmanifested); and Vyakta (manifested) when developed into the manifold forms of the existing world. This Avyaktha which may also be called the Mulaprakrithi is Parabrahman seen by the Logos with a veil thrown over it and that veil is the mighty expanse of cosmic matter. It is the basis of material manifestations in the cosmos. The nature and excellence of these forms depend on the nature of the guna that prevails in it and the manner in which each may be modified by the others.

Cosmic Evolution and Cosmic Pralaya.

At the end of every period of creation (kalpa), or at every cosmic Pralaya, Demiurgus through its Prakrithi (Nature), takes into itself the whole of the manifested or Vyakta, and at the beginning of creation or when cosmic evolution commences, leaves them out from itself, or evolves the whole world. Such is the idea of cosmic creation and cosmic destruction according to the Gita.

The two fundamental tenets of ancient Hindu philosophy.

Thus we see that all existences are but mutations of the Self, and all the individual Egos thus partaking of the nature of the Demiurgus are eternal. Consequently, the soul does not perish when it has shuffled off this mortal coil; but only the physical body (Stula sarira) perishes. The soul leaves the physical body with all the tendencies begotten by Karma and is born again through the agency of that unbending law of Retribution. Here is made plain the doctrine not only that of transmigration but also that of the immortality of the soul. These were two tenets of the ancient Hindus, which were subscribed to as above all doubt and question.

What is meant by Experience.

Let us next consider what the meaning of the word experience is to the Hindu philosopher. Every bit of experience, says he, presupposes three and *only* three things. These are (1) Gnatha (knower), (2) Gnanam (knowledge or consciousness) and (3) Gnayam (the object of knowledge). Every entity in the cosmos except Parabrahman, must come under one or the other of these three headings. Parabrahman itself seems to be the one source of which Gnatha, Gnanam and Gnayam are the manifestations or modes of existence. Such being the case, Gnatha

which is the individual cognizer or Ego and which in its essence is Parabrahman, has from its objective standpoint, certain cognitions or ideas generated by Mulaprakriti which is *itself* Parabrahman seen with a veil thrown over it. This Mulaprakriti it is, that presents the manifold of experience. The thing-in-itself (Parabrahman) which generates and presents to *itself* the manifold of experience is uncognizable. In the language of Kant, it is known only through certain *forms* or *moulds*. In every objective consciousness we know only what comes to us through these *forms* or *moulds* of thought.

Berkeley's idealism and Vedantic idealism.

Hence all knowledge is purely idealistic. There is a close resemblance between Bishop Berkeley's idealism and the Vedantic idealism. But the difference should also be noted. With Berkeley, the Universal Ego is said to present the manifold of experience to the individual Ego. Their identity is not asserted as a fact. But with the Vedantist, the cognizer and the manifold are both in their true nature Parabrahman, which is the one real entity and the essence of all existing things. This is the reason why pleasures and pains are described in the Gita as arising from the contacts of the senses. The Ego or the Soul has nothing to do with these contacts of the senses, for in his true nature the Ego is one with the true Essence and far removed from all these mind-projected illusions. "The senses are superior to the external objects which they perceive; and the *Manas* or the internal faculty of attention is superior to the senses; the co-ordinating Intellect is superior to the *Manas*, and the Self or the Atman is superior to the Intellect," (III-42), inasmuch as it gives unity to all that is made out by the Intellect, the Manas and the Senses. From this it could be seen, that the Self is simply the *conscious* basis or *unifying* principle of human experience, and thus need not necessarily be associated with the participation of pleasures and pains. This is why the Atman is said to be the *agent* or *witness* rather than the *enjoyer*.

The world my own representation.

Thus, it becomes very clear to the ancient Hindu author of the Gita, that the world, as we find it, is not at all a noumenal reality. He regarded the world as every one's own representation. It was nothing but the mind-projected figment of migrating souls. To him, all pleasures and pains affected the material

Manas and not the Soul, which is only a *witness* quite removed and free from all passions and emotions. It is owing to the idea that these pleasures and pains are one's own, that one takes this world, as he finds it, to be real. It is this egotistic regard for pleasures and pains and the consequent identification of the soul with the material body, in which it is chained by Karma, that tightens the bond of action the more, and involves one most inextricably in the wheel of metempsychosis. To him who rises superior to pleasures and pains, love and hatred, to him who overcomes the idea 'I do,' 'I love,' 'I desire,' 'I hate,' &c., in fact to him who has shattered the armament of egotism by the dynamite of knowledge, to such a one there is no bond of action. He is liberated and free from this Cycle of births and deaths and realising his identity with the supreme spiritual Reality, becomes one with Brahman, and enjoys the primal state of unconscious repose.

Self-realisation is the goal.

The root of evil is thus the false Self that hides the real Spirit within man and asserts itself in the vain conceit of its own sufficiency and the lust of possession. This false Self under the pretence of being the real Self which is immortal and perfectly pure, brings misery and affliction to man. To realise the true nature of the Self, to be free from all evils and sorrows, is to attain salvation. There is a striking resemblance between Spinoza's self-realization and this Vedantic self-realization.

The Substantial reality of the world is not denied.

We see thus from the cosmology of the Gita, that the substantial reality of the world is not denied, for that rests in Brahman; but all that we see and hear by our limited senses, all that we perceive, conceive, and name is purely phenomenal—is the result of Avidya. That which I call my real world is a world of my own making. Apart from me, nothing can be long or short, black or white, bitter or sweet. In fact all the pairs of opposites are my own creations, and I could, if I so will it, transcend these pairs of opposites which ultimately arise from contacts of the senses. But for all practical purposes, the phenomenal world is as real as the noumenal. The former in its objective or subjective character should be accepted as real. It is as real as anything can be to the ordinary mind. It is not mere emptiness as the Buddhist maintains.

Recapitulation.

Let us pause and consider the salient points which we have to keep in view in proceeding with our abstruse train of reasoning. Brahman or Supreme Spirit is the sole Reality. From its everlasting union with its counterfeit Maya, where it becomes the Demiurgus, proceed the phantasmagory of migrating souls. The souls, though they are in their proper nature one with the Universal Self, are on account of their union with Avidya or Nescience unable to recognize this unity. Consequently the mind-created pleasures and pains, likes and dislikes, desires and hatreds sway them, for they identify themselves with the false selves. As a necessary result of this identification, good and evil acts are done and merit and demerit accumulate. The accumulation of merit and demerit yokes men to the wheel of births and deaths "to whirl the round of false delights, and woes that are not false". The wheel of births and deaths turns high and low and they along with it. Thus do they turn round and round "the whirling wheel of strife and stress, which none can stay or stem."

Heaven a comparative evil.

Even the highest state, *viz.*, that of the Gods—the enjoyment of Heaven—does not release one from the meshes of Metempsychosis. The stock of merit which had been accumulated and stored up, and which had procured the highest state of the Gods in Heaven, would soon be exhausted, and when that stock is exhausted by enjoyment, begins anew for that bankrupt soul, the migratory existence:—

"Since, that which rises falls, and that which buys
Is spent; if you buy Heaven with your blood
In Hell's hard market, when the bargain is through
The toil begins again!"

It is interesting to note a striking parallel to this doctrine, in the teaching of the Quietist school of the church of Rome represented by Molinos and Madame Guyon, which taught that the incentive to a godly life should not be the hope of heaven, but the pure love of God.

Emancipation of the Soul the highest aim.

Thus we see that the summum bonum of life ought to be the extrication from the never-ending and ever-turning migra-

tory wheel and the consequent ecstatic union with the Supreme Self which can only be represented by silence.

Understanding thus far, we are now in a position to follow the teaching of Krishna which has not been immortalised in the Bhagavad Gita or the Divine Lay.

*The teaching of Krishna.**Grief and delusion the Cause of Samsara.*

We have seen that what swayed Arjuna from the performance of his duty as a Kshetriya was the reluctance which he felt to kill his relations on account of the sorrow at their death. This sorrow is caused by the false Self which identifying itself with the true one, says "I have done this," "these are mine," etc. This is the enemy to be overcome to attain the eternal life. For, it is grief and delusion which overcome discrimination, and swerve one from the path of duty. Moreover, even when engaged in duties, egoism and the hope of reward bring about an accumulation of merit and demerit (Dharma and Adharma), and on account of this, the Samsara becomes endless, involving good and bad births, happiness and misery. Grief and delusion are thus the cause of Samsara. And seeing that their cessation could not be brought about except by a knowledge of the Self together with a clear conception of right and wrong, Krishna begins by teaching that knowledge to Arjuna with Ch. II. Ve. II.

The summum bonum of the teaching of the Gita.

The *summum bonum* of the teaching of the Gita is the emancipation of the soul from the miseries of metempsychosis. Proceeding from the data of the immortality of the souls, their migration from body to body through the instrumentality of Karma (Action), the Gita has laid down as its fundamental dogma, its prime key note, the miseries of metempsychosis. The greatest aim, the supreme bliss for the soul is to be perfectly in its proper nature, in the enjoyment of unconscious repose through ecstatic union with the supreme reality, unfettered by the bonds of sense. Keeping this in view, and finding that Arjuna swerves from his duty as a true Kshetriya at the thought that he would have to kill his kinsmen and relatives, Krishna wishes to rescue him from this grave error and bring him round to a proper performance of his duty.

Paths to liberation are three,

To gain this end, Lord Vasudeva shows him certain paths, to liberation. These paths may for convenience sake be divided into three (1) The Gnana Yoga—The path or devotion of knowledge, (2) The Karma Yoga—The path or devotion of works, (3) The Bhakti Yoga—The path or devotion of love.

(1) The Gnana Yoga.

The Gnana Yoga is the path to liberation through knowledge, through the knowledge and the realisation of the immortality of the Soul, of its identity with the one and Supreme Self, of its changeless, actionless and indestructible natures and of its difference from the false Self. One who has thus realised the true nature of the Self and thus follows the path called Gnana Yoga, would have no element of selfishness in him. He would not do actions for the sake of the fruit which they bear, for, he has no desires to fulfil and no pleasures to gain. His one solicitude would be to do duty for duty's sake and thereby set an example to the erring mass of mankind. Self-sacrifice is in his very nature and he lives only for that. Here, he does actions with the full knowledge that his Self is inactive. He is not swayed by inclinations or motives to action, because it is the same to him if he is, or is not engaged in actions. If the former part of Ch. II begins an exposition of Gnana Yoga.

The changeless nature of the Soul.

The changeless, immortal and indestructible nature of the Self is expounded in Ch. II, V. 11-13; 16-21; 23-25; 30, &c. At death, the Soul only passes from its old and rotten house to its new one, just as one doffs off old and worn out garments and dons on new ones (II-22). So in fighting, or as he calls it in killing, the Self does not kill, nor is the Self destroyed. Cold and heat, pleasure and pain and other pairs of opposites are only the result of contacts of the senses. These are ever coming and going and are impermanent and one should rise superior to them (II-14), for only he whom they afflict not is fit for immortality (II-15).

Krishna's refutation of Arjuna's position.

If Arjuna questions the validity of the above truth and holds that the Soul is capable of birth and death and is amen-

able to pleasure and pain, even in that case, there is no reason why he should refrain from doing his duty. Death is an inevitable consequent of birth; and so is birth of death. And since sorrow about the inevitable is useless, he should do his duty as a Kshetriya (II. 26 and 27). If on the other hand he holds that he is ignorant of the nature of the Self, then, why on earth should he be sorry about something of which he is totally in the dark? Justice is on his side and he and his party have tried their best to bring about an amicable settlement of affairs. The first three of the four Upayas, viz., Sama, Dana and Bheda have successively and repeatedly been tried and have failed owing to the wickedness of the Kauravas. Driven to the last resort of Danda—battle, why should he not do his duty as a Kshetriya in fighting out a righteous battle? If he still persists in his present attitude, his conduct would be condemned by the wise as proceeding from ignorance, would debar him from heaven as a consequence of a non-performance of his duty, and would entail dishonor, for he would be regarded as a base coward by the very persons whose terror he was. The Kshetriya in testifying his readiness to fight out a just battle, establishes his purely unselfish nature thereby proving that he loves justice more than he does his own life. Hence it is that Arjuna is exhorted to behave like a true Kshetriya.

The impracticability of Gnana Yoga.

An exposition of Gnana Yoga might lead one to infer, that perfect inaction is the best way to emancipation because it was said that Karma (action) it was that brought about the endlessness of migration. But perfect inaction is a very difficult if not an impossible feat. On the one hand there are the qualities of Nature which constrain every-body to some action or other. On the other hand this perfect inaction stands in the way of pulling on even one's own bodily existence. (III. 5 and 8). Considerations like these, coupled with the want of universality for this path of knowledge—because all are unable to be inactive—move Krishna to the path of works or Karma Yoga. The very theory of Karma requires the performance of works in the present life, so as to counteract the bondage-producing effects of works performed in previous lives, intimating thereby that the work of life altogether selflessly performed, can alone lead to liberation and salvation.

The Karma Yoga.

Actions are of two kinds—those done for the attainment of ends, and those done without any reference whatever to ends, *i.e.*, duties done for duty's sake. It is only the former kinds that lead to the migratory bond. The latter having no reference to their fruits, are perfectly harmless so far as this bond is concerned. Hence only the latter kind of actions should be done. Neither inclinations nor desires for the fruits of actions should move one to do them. So he says, "your business is only with action and not with the fruit of actions. Let not the fruit of actions be your motive to action (II-47)." He is the wise among men who keeps the above distinction always before his mind's eye. Actions are the result of the three qualities of Nature and as such, the Self has nothing to do with them or their fruits. This is taught in the latter part of Chapter II and in Chapter III. Arjuna is exhorted to be a Yogi, one who knows the truth about actions. Gain or loss and the resultant happiness or misery should not sway him. He should follow duty for the sake of duty, without the least care for consequences. Here is the famous doctrine afterwards enunciated and elaborated by Kant. It was preached and developed and made part and parcel of the teachings of early Hindus, many many centuries before Kant saw the light of day and formulated the doctrine.

The attitude of the Gita towards the Vedas.

It is in this connection that the Vedas are condemned as not only useless but positively mischievous and misleading. The Vedas deal with the three qualities of Nature and treat of the fruits of action and the means of attaining them. If one follows these principles of action as formulated in the Vedas, the transmigratory life would become endless; for, the highest pedestal attainable through the Vedic ceremonies is the highest Heaven and as we have seen Heaven is comparatively an evil, not being free from the migratory law. The flowery language of the Vedas should not beguile one out of his self-control. Here is embodied the stern attitude of the Gita towards Ritualism.

Distinction between duties prescribed in the Vedas.

The above distinction between actions should be made in following the actions prescribed in the Scriptures. Else would he be bound by the bonds of action to the migratory wheel.

He should distinguish between duties that are *absolute* and duties that are *relative*. Absolute duties (Nityakarma) are those which have no reference whatever to ends. They are prescribed as duties because they are duties.

The wise Karma-Yogin.

Relative duties (Naimithika and kamya Karmas) are those which have either proximate or remote reference to ends. These duties being relative, have no binding force on those who rise superior to the desires of those ends. To them, the Vedas as far as their relative duties are concerned, have no binding force. These principles are treated in Ch. II. 41-45, 52-53; Ch. IV. 9; Ch. IX. 20-21; &c. Knowing this that there is in the Vedas only as much utility as there is in a reservoir of water when all around there is a flood of water, and that man is to determine for which particular purpose—ultimately good or bad—he is to use the water; the wise man should follow only the absolute duties prescribed therein. Here is the important rule of conduct 'Duty for duty's sake.' Realising the truth that "this is a sense-world, plays with the senses," the wise Karma-Yogin rises superior to the temptations and objects of the senses and freeing himself from all inclinations, leads a life of pure Reason. He casts off all desires as something contrary to his nature and being convinced that "Nought of myself I do," stands a veritable rock unmoved alike by the summer sunshine or the winter showers.

Which is better—Gnana Yoga or Karma Yoga?

Now we have considered Gnana Yoga and Karma Yoga and come to the conclusion that both these paths lead to one and the same goal, *viz.*, the emancipation of the soul. Next, let us consider which of these paths is the better and the smoother one. Testing it first by the principle of universality, we have found that while only very few are fit to follow the path of renunciation and inaction, a larger number could safely resort to the path of works. Even for him who has realised the Self and is able to renounce all actions, it is not at all wise that he should do so. Not to speak of the great probability of such a one being hurled down from the 'high pedestal' of renunciation into the abyss of works by the most potent nature—perhaps to be lost for ever therein—there is another and a more vital consideration which should always keep him engaged in works. And that is this: whatever a great man does, that other men also do (III. 20). One

might be mentally ripe for total renunciation: and, if he does renounce, the ignorant might also try to do the same, without however realising the Self or being ripe for it. This would surely lead them to utter misery for;

" the light
Of Truth's high noon is not for tender leaves,
Which must spread abroad in other suns and lift
In later lives a crowned head to the sky."

So it is that Arjuna is exhorted not to mislead those who are attached to actions by setting an example of renunciation. A wise man should not shake the convictions of the ignorant who are attached to action for they are men of imperfect knowledge (III. 26 and 29). So it was that Janaka (a famous Rajarishi or philosopher-king) and others of old, who had realised the Self, were yet following the path of works. So it is, says Sree Krishna, that he himself is engaged in action, even though he has no desire to do and nothing to gain. He does so, because he wants to set an example to the masses and not to mislead them. If he were not to do actions the whole world would be destroyed and would be in perfect misery (III. 20-24; IV. 15, etc.) As the ignorant man attached to the fruits of action, does actions to gain their fruits, so the wise man does actions unattached, for the sake of setting an example to the masses (III. 25). There is yet another reason why the path of works should be preferred to the path of renunciation. Even if one holds the view—as some do hold—that liberation is only to be got through the realisation of the Self coupled with the renunciation of all works, and that it cannot be had through Karma Yoga, even then, the wise man would follow Karma Yoga, as a first step in the ladder of ascent towards salvation. It is an admitted fact that actions are not so soon conquerable. Therefore strike at the very root. Actions are the result of motives. Motives are generally the securing of a pleasure or the avoiding of a pain. If you rise superior to pleasures and pains, if you discard all desires for the fruits of actions, if you overcome all inclinations and do actions simply and purely because they are prescribed duties, then, you can by slow but sure strides attain the very high pedestal of renunciation. Thus we see that in every way Karma Yoga is more feasible than, and so preferable to, Gnana Yoga.

Karmā Yoga and Gnana Yoga are really identical.

Thus preferring Karma Yoga to Gnana Yoga, Krishna goes on to say that the seeming antagonism between these two paths, the bond which actions are said to create and tighten, and the consequent preference given to inaction, is due to the want of discrimination between action, inaction and prohibited action. It is ignorance, the hideous hag Avidya "whose footsteps left the midnight darker," that creates this antagonism and thus supplies the propelling force to the migratory wheel. Sound discrimination would overcome all confusion, for, the wise man would see action in inaction and inaction in action. It is not the objective attitude that lends colouring and weight to actions but the subjective. Motives, not acts, are the objects of ethical judgment. Keeping these in view a Gnana Yogi can at the same time be a Karma Yogi. So Arjuna is exhorted to destroy with the sword of knowledge these misgivings of his which fill his mind, and to engage in the path of works, for he is the wise man who sees Sankhya and Yoga as one.

The meaning of Renunciation.

Renunciation should be understood to mean the renunciation of the fruits of action—of fancies—and that is what is wanted to cut asunder the bonds of action. Inaction even if possible, is perfectly useless without a knowledge of the Self. The perfect Yogi is liberated even in this life—is a Jivanmuktha, has attained Arahatsip. To him his happiness is within himself, his recreation is within himself and his light of knowledge is within himself. In him:—

" The aching craze to live ends, and life glides—
Lifeless—to nameless quiet, nameless joy,
Blessed Nirvana—sinless stirless rest—
That change which never changes."

Self-control essential.

Now that the subjective attitude of the mind is made so much of and the objective discarded, it is plain that a proper control over the mind is an essential requisite for a Yogi, "since soul (mind) that is Self's friend may grow Self's foe." But how to get a control over the mind. The mind is active and unsteady. It is fickle, hoisterous, strong, obstinate and as uncontrollable as the wind. Krishna says that the mind may be restrained by constant practice and by indifference to worldly objects. Then he

gives certain directions which smack more or less of occultism; but these do not directly concern us here.

The pure-souled devotee.

The highest happiness comes to the devotee whose mind is fully tranquil, in whom the quality of passion has been suppressed. The veil is rent which blinded him. Such an high-souled devotee sees in everything an image of the eternal Self; compares the pleasures and pains of all the creatures with his own pleasures and pains; and subjecting the little wheel of his individuality to the complex machinery around and its great fly-wheel, is purely altruistic in all that he does.

The Yogabhrashṭa's destiny.

Now, it is not all that attain the consummation of devotion in one life. As a matter of everyday experience we see that circumstances or at least our wayward nature shake us from our firm, well-meant resolves. What then is the fate of a *Yogabhrashṭa*—of one who through some reason or other has gone astray from the Noble Path. Has he who has hopelessly stumbled through some cause or other in the path of knowledge and works, and dashed his head against the granite pavement of ignorance, no hope of liberation? Is he for ever “to whirl round the migratory wheel and hug and kiss its spokes of agony?” No, says Krishna, he is not lost; for, none who perform good deeds come to an evil end. If not in this life, at least in another, he is sure to reach the Supreme Goal, led away by the same former practice. So even *he*, is not without hopes. And thus there need be no doubt at all in choosing this Noble Path.

(3) *Why Bhakti Yoga is preached.*

The impracticability of Gnana Yoga as a universal path led Krishna to expound the path of works. But the path of works was found to be defective in certain respects. The fickle and uncontrollable nature of the human mind, its propensity to follow the strongest motive to the exclusion of all the rest, the fact that such motives are in most cases supplied by the pleasure-bound senses and not by Reason, the elimination of all element of feeling which vitiated the otherwise-unparalleled Categorical Imperative ‘Duty for duty’s sake,’ the remote and uncertain nature of the hope extended to a *Yogabhrashṭa* coupled with the fact that even the best of men are more or less *Yogabhrashṭas*—these considerations moved Krishna to point out a

smoother and more facile path to him who aspired. While in Karma Yoga all common motives of action in the way of enjoyment of pleasures and pains have to be killed and duty done for duty’s sake, in Bhakti Yoga the motives themselves are ennobled by being based on a universal and an all comprehending love directed to the Person who forms the life and soul of the universe. The Gnana Yogin is unselfish because he sees that selfishness leads to bondage; the Karma Yogin is unselfish because all motives are killed in him; the Bhakti Yogin is unselfish because he *loves* all creatures and his motive is purely an altruistic love. The first two paths were only for him who had a mastery over his senses. He indeed can lead a pure and saintly life. But we do not, as a matter of fact, see such embodiments of purity and saintliness in this world. Though one wishes to be all rectitude, all purity, all saintliness, all charity in this world, yet one stumbles perhaps at the very first step, swayed by the strong current of desires and aversions which are the very enemies which drag him away from and off the goal. How then is he to get himself clear of these enemies of mankind? What would supply him with an adequate and strong motive to righteous conduct? Is he to be left alone weak and helpless, amidst his wicked enemies—the fiery passions—who unrelentingly yoke him to the migratory wheel and make him fashion miserable lives through all eternity? Is there to be no hope? no single ray of divine compassion? no beneficent Father who with a benign smile of heavenly pity would stretch out a helping hand to guide him out of the intricacies and pitfalls of this evanescent sense-existence? It is this craving after a higher power, that is the origin of all religious sentiment in man—his utter impotence in this mysterious life of sense. This craving after a higher Being, an all-powerful self-sufficient existence, could be satisfied, says Krishna, through the devotion of love. Through this path would the aspiring devotee come to recognise the divine Godhead capable of extending the necessary helping hand. Hence it is that he says, ‘Place your mind on me only; fix your understanding on me. In me (*i.e.*, assimilated with me) you will dwell hereafter. There is no doubt’ (XII. 8; IX. 34, etc.) Sankara commenting on Ch. XI. Ve. 55 [He who performs act for (propitiating) me, to whom I am the highest object, who is my devotee, who is free from attachment, and who has no enmity towards any being, *he*, O! son of Pandu, comes to me, *says*,

that in that sloka is to be found the essence of the teaching of the Gita. Thus we see that the Bhakti Yoga is the most appropriate for all mankind.

How to conceive God.

For the purpose of worshipping the divine Godhead through the devotion of love, it is necessary that one should have a conception of God. As conditioned beings, men cannot possibly deal with the Supreme Truth, except through the symbolism of words, which without defining, indicates it. From this, it is clear that the value of these symbols depend on the response which they receive from the human mind. Hence as the characteristics of men differ, the symbols must differ also in order to be of the same service to all. This most important fact, that all are not equally ripe in their mental culture to receive the same spiritual relations, was recognized by the Hindus from the very earliest days: while this fundamental and necessary distinction was ignored by every other religion. Says Prof. Max Müller (Lect. on the Vedānta, pp. 17-19), "It was recognized in India from very early times that the religion of man cannot be and ought not to be the same as that of a child, and again with the growth of mind, the religious ideas of an old man must differ from those of an active man of the world. . . . It is hardly credible how completely all other religions have overlooked these simple facts, how they have tried to force on the old and the wise the food that was meant for the babes, and how they have thereby alienated and lost their best and strongest friends." Krishna had kept this distinction, and he divides men into three classes according to their spiritual culture.

Three grades of spiritual culture. (1) High spirituality.

First come those who are most highly spiritual. These persons can realise the Deity through verbal symbols. These recognize Him to be identical with the true Self within them (*Vide* Ch. VII). The spirit of God is supreme consciousness. This is the Supreme Deity as He is Himself. By His mysterious Will, He unites consciousness without causing any alteration in its nature, with the objective which is His power and no substance in itself. Whoever knows that the Spirit of God as present in the ant is the same as in the highest celestial being and also in Himself is liberated.

(2) Moderate spirituality.

Next in order of spirituality come those who through impurity of their nature cannot realise like the former and higher class, but have got faith and can concentrate. These *believe*, but do not *realise*. These persons are of moderate spirituality and the adequate conceptions of God for them is dealt with in Ch. VIII. The result of their striving is said to be gradual emancipation along the path of the Gods.

(3) Immature spirituality.

Thirdly come those who are lower still, who through carnality of their nature cannot even concentrate their minds on truth. These persons of immature spirituality are counselled to worship God in the way chalked out in Ch. IX & X, which is followed in Ch. XI by the Vision of Arjuna. In reality, however, the Deity has no form. What prophets and pure-souled devotees see, is the reflection, so to speak, of the incomprehensibly Divine Majesty on the spiritual perception of man.

The relation between man and God.

Next Krishna goes on to lay out the relation between man and God. The connection is one of identity. This identity is nothing more or less than a participation in the real nature of God and identity with him in will and design. The supremely real nature of God is the Spirit of God and nothing else. The consciousness in man when disconnected with everything else, is the same as the consciousness which is called Deity. There is not the least difference in that. But this identity is of no use to him unless he realises it, and this he can never attain except by the grace of God. Hence there should be practice of divine love or devotion. The power of God works in three characters usually called the qualities of Nature, *viz.*, Sattwa, Rajas and Tamas (Purity, Passion and Darkness). These qualities are in every man, and his striving should be to become most Satwic (Pure) and least Rajasic and Tamasic (Passionate and dark). It is the preponderance of the last two that lead to misery and migration. To enable one to follow the Satwic to the exclusion of Rajasic and Tamasic, the different kinds of knowledge, acts, piety, devotion, charity, duties, etc., etc., are described according to the three qualities above mentioned. The aspiring devotee should follow, or at least strive hard to follow, those which are purely Satwic. Thus would he participate in the divine nature

and attain liberation, for the divine Godhead is purely Satwic in His Nature.

The Lord Sree Krishna then concludes thus his most divine and sacred revelations: This forms the key to the whole teaching of the Gita. "On me place your mind, become my devotee, sacrifice to me, and you will certainly come to me. Forsaking all duties (of caste or order) come to me as your sole refuge. I will release you from all sins. Be not grieved" (XVIII. 65 and 66.)

Faith as a path to salvation.

Here is preached the great sanctity of faith as a path to salvation. All things done in perfect faith in the supreme God can only be pure. It should be clearly understood here, that what is meant is not the sanctification of sin: but simply the recognition of the impossibility, of a genuine devotee committing a sin in an atmosphere filled with divine devotion. To the ordinary man, association with sinners, for instance, might be productive of much harm by inducing him also to commit sin. Therefore the general prohibition of such association is not without meaning and value. But in the case of Jesus, for example, His great glory is to be found in His ready association with Publicans and sinners. By mixing with them, He certainly did not sanctify sin, and His association with them was nothing wrong in His case, because He had so realised the purity of His own spiritual nature, that sin itself had become quite incompatible with it. The Sattwika of the Gita is one who has realised his spiritual nature thus. And when it is said, that he can do nothing wrong, it is not meant to express that the wrong he does is no wrong at all, but that nothing wrong is compatible with his inner spiritual nature. For him whose actions are all prompted by divine love and by no other motive, actions cannot weave the pleasure-baited net which catcheth the unwary soul, to be plunged hopelessly into its meshes.

Love of God a sufficient motive to action.

Thus we see how the love of God supplies a sufficient motive to disinterested action. This would duty be done for the love of God, and the love of God being the doing of one's duty without any regard whatever to the ends of actions, duty is ultimately done for the sake of duty. Having reached this peak, it becomes easy to climb to the next, viz., that of Renun-

ciation—in the sense of inaction, if one holds that salvation could be got only through perfect inaction. Thus human nature is one, God is but one, and the path of salvation, though many in appearance, is really but one.

The Ethical bearing of Krishna's teaching.

Let us next proceed to a consideration of the ethics of the Bhagavad Gita, and examine a little more closely, to what extent the principles inculcated in it have a moral value, and how far they supply us with rules of strict moral conduct. The field of metaphysics which we have traversed, and the teachings of Krishna, clearly point out to us what its idea of moral conduct is. The Gita teaches us transcendental ethics, or in other words, its teachings are entirely based on metaphysical principles. Metaphysics forms the groundwork of its ethics as it is its crown. Socrates is said to have brought Philosophy from heaven to earth. The Gita may truly be said to have elevated morality from earth to heaven. The immortality of the Soul is a datum beyond dispute, denied only by ignorant worldlings. No wise man denies that. The one real existence is the Supreme Self, without beginning, without end. We have also seen how the doctrine of transmigration based on the law of Retribution has been deduced from the above data.

The Summum Bonum of the Gita.

The soul of man is not in its proper nature, when chained in this town which hath nine gateways, bound by the bonds of Karma to pass from body to body through aeon after aeon enshrouded by Avidya. The miseries of this state of migration follow from this as a matter of inference. The sooner one shirks off this misery—this bondage—and realises the true nature of the eternal Self within him, the better it is for him. Perfection is to be had only when the soul is in the enjoyment of its true nature—free from the shackles of the senses and their dire temptations. Thus the emancipation of the soul from the miseries of eternal migration is the highest aim of man. This is the summum bonum of existence, the highest and the most supreme good. This may also be termed to be Perfection or Self-realisation.

The Standard of Ethical conduct derived from the Summum bonum.

Like the ancient Greeks, the ancient Hindu Standard of ethical conduct was one derived from his notion of the summum

bonum of existence. To him the question of the summum bonum and not the question of the Standard was of paramount importance. In this respect he differs from the modern moralist, to whom the question of the standard is all in all. Thus, his test of right conduct is conformity to the summum bonum. All actions are right which lead to the emancipation of the soul—which lead to the goal of eternal Brahmanic bliss: and all actions are wrong which tighten the bonds of Karma and lead away from the goal, to be lost in the darkness of egotism—a slave to the most potent enemies of man, *viz.*, desires and aversions (Kama and Krodhā). Thus, do such actions only which do not lead to the migratory bond. This is the sum and substance of the Gitaic teaching.

The law of Retribution.

We shall next consider what these actions are, which lead to the migratory bond, and which are consequently to be shunned as evils. Here an understanding of the doctrine of Karma—the law of Retribution is necessary. Those actions which come under the sway of that supreme and immutable law are to be avoided as dangerous enemies by the wise man. What then is this unbending law? A famous writer has immortalised the Law in verse: as:—

"The fixed Arithmetic of the universe,
Which meteth good for good, and ill for ill,
Measure for measure, unto deeds, words, thoughts,
Watchful, aware, implacable, unmoved;
Making all futures fruits of all the pasts."

In other words, happiness follows virtue and misery follows vice. This supreme law "knows not wrath nor pardon." Its faultless balance weighs both good and evil deeds and "measures mete" both happiness and misery according to individual deserts. The two main principles of this law may be said to be these. (1) "That which ye sow, ye reap," (2) "Act maketh joy, and woe."

The origin of this law.

Wherefrom, it might be asked, does this great law originate? Is it independent of the Demiurgus who is said to create in deference to this law? It is in one sense independent, *viz.*, that the Demiurgus cannot act in violation of this moral law of action. Yet in another sense it is not independent and that is this. The law of Retribution is latent in the world-fiction through

union with which the Demiurgus creates the world. Says Mr. Gough, (Phil. of the Up. p. 208) "The world fiction becomes the source of these inequalities of creation, (*viz.*, some being extremely miserable, others happy, etc.) only by reason of this law of Retribution which is latent in it, owing to the residue of good and evil acts as yet unrecompensed." So we may ultimately say that the law of Retribution is in the very nature of the foundation-principle of the universe itself. This law of Retribution has its source in the principle of justice which underlies the universe, and is derived from the nature of the Ontological entity on which all ethical aims are based. When—as they sometimes do—they speak of God being moral, it cannot have any other rational meaning but this: that absolute and unalloyed justice forms the very foundation of the essential nature of that entity. Thus we can explain the origin of the law of Karma or the law of Retribution.

The scope of this law.

Let us next consider what the scope of this law is. We have already seen that the law of Retribution comprises within its compass both good and evil deeds. Hence "both good works and evil works are, from the higher point of view, evils to be shunned as they protract the migrations of the Soul. It is not exertion, but a perfect inertia that is the path to liberation." It was this that led a particular School of thinkers to point out "total renunciation coupled with knowledge," as the only way leading to the emancipation of the soul. From them Krishna differs. He says that there are three paths to liberation. These are. (1) The Path of Knowledge (Gnana Yoga). (2) The Path of Works (Karma Yoga). (3) The Path of Love or devotion (Bhakti Yoga).

We have seen that what makes Krishna proceed from one to the other, is the difficulty which one has to overcome in following that particular path. Thus the non-feasibility of the path of knowledge being universally followed; the impracticability of total renunciation, and other important considerations already pointed out, led him to widen the meaning of Renunciation.

The elastic meaning of Renunciation.

It is taken to mean the renunciation of all desires for the fruits of action. He then postulates the Karma Yoga, as leading

first to a purification of the Self and ultimately to the path of knowledge. He thus provides a lower step in the ladder for the aspiring soul who wishes to ascend, but yet is incapable of clearing the height by one masterly effort.

The ethical bearing of Karma Yoga.

Here it is that Krishna asks such devotees to do duty for duty's sake. All duties are good which are done for the sake of duty. But what are the criteria for duty? What are one's duties? How is one to determine what one's duties are so that he might do them merely for their sake? It is said that these are to be found in the Scriptures and the sacred Law books, which enumerate the duties of man. Men are divided into four classes according to their inherited tendencies, inherent capacities and inborn tastes. They are divided into Bramana, Kshetriya, Vysia and Sudra. Different duties are laid down for these different classes in the shastras. And these shastras should guide one in discriminating what one's duties are.

Vindication of the Gitaic conception of caste.

These rules have naturally been considered to be very defective as they supply only a relative standard and are to a very large extent guided solely by considerations of heredity. Heredity indeed forms a large factor in the determination of the natural endowments of individuals. But it is not all in all. Nor does the Gita hold that it is all in all. The general characteristics of the nature of the duties that devolve upon different castes are also mentioned in the Gita (XVIII. v-41-44). Therefore the duty of individuals to make out for themselves under what circumstances they can transcend the limitations of heredity and what particular functions in society belong to them in consequence of their own special endowments and fitness, this duty is not lost sight of in the Gita, for, the necessity of the effort to rise from lower planes of ethical existence steadily to higher ones, is imposed upon all. Whoever is in the Tamasa condition is called upon to rise to the Rajasa condition and thence to the Satwika condition. The highest ideal is the Satwika ideal—of Brahminhood, and all are not only entitled to aim at it, but are also enjoined to realise it as far as possible in their own lives. It is only in this way that the duties of individuals living in society, can be made to depend harmlessly upon the conception of caste. Otherwise, the Gita would be contradicting

itself. If in this way, a person finds out his place and function in society, then he is bound to perform the duties of his own station in life, without casting longing glances at the positions and functions of others. The reason for this consists in the fact that for the attainment of salvation and final release, all duties are equally good when they are unselfishly performed. But, so far as the good of society as a whole is concerned, it cannot be said that all persons are fit for the performance of all duties. When duties have all to be discharged unselfishly, the notion of higher and lower in regard to them is untenable. But that there must be the distinction of higher and lower in regard to the position and privileges of men in society, is inevitable, inasmuch as that distinction is based upon natural causes and conditions. This is why the Gita says, "Better one's own duty though imperfect, than the duty of another well discharged. Better death in one's own duty, the duty another brings on danger" (III-35). This sentiment is repeated again in XVIII-47 & 48, etc.

Caution in following the Scriptures.

But in appealing to the scriptures, says Krishna, a distinction should be made between the imperatives laid down by them. As already noticed, imperatives are of three sorts, viz., Nitya, Naimithika and Kamya. In the language of Kantian ethics we may divide them according to their purport into two classes.

Kantian ethics and Gitaic ethics.

(1). Hypothetical imperatives (Naimithika and Kamya duties).

(2). Categorical imperatives (Nitya duties). Only, the categorical imperatives, distinguished as such on account of their having no reference whatever to ends, are binding and not the hypothetical. The categorical imperatives or the Apodictic principles, do not lead to migration, because they have nothing to do with ends. They involve no acts which come under the comprehension of the law of Retribution, and are therefore to be rewarded or punished. Here we see the close and striking similarity between the ancient Gitaic ethics as taught in the Karma Yoga, and the later Kantian ethics. From this principle of duty for duty's sake—the rule of the Categorical imperative—could be deduced and elaborated the many ethical principles of Kant, which have most deservedly won for him, the name of the great transcendental moralist.

The elimination of Feeling remedied.

Though the above rule of the Categorical imperative has got all the glow of perfection, this is only in theory. The total extirpation of the element of feeling vitiated the Karma Yoga. There was found to be no sufficient motive for conforming to the above precept. To remedy this vital defect, and to supply a strong motive to good conduct by appealing to the feelings and sentiments of man, Krishna passes on to Bhakti Yoga and preaches the doctrine of universal love.

The third Noble Path.

This brings us to the third path, the path of love. Do everything for the love of God. This is the peculiar teaching and tenet of Krishna, when any action is done whether it has or has not a proximate or remote reference to ends, do it for the love of God, for the love of that Supreme Self which pervades all existences.

The ethical import of this Path.

This principle of action, as will be seen from a little reflection, embodies an ethics which is purely altruistic in its nature. All element of egoism is swept away by the one Supreme Self which is seen and recognised, loved and worshipped in all sentient existences. Injuring another man would be injuring the Supreme Self that is within him. Injury done to a fellow creature, is an injury done to that Supreme Ego which is alike in the subject and object of such injury. Charity and good works done in love by you, are only the means of propitiating the Self that is alike within you and within the creatures thereby benefited. The purity and sublimity of this path of divine love, of this most easy path to liberation, is beyond all description. It gives a reason why you should love your neighbour. In one of the Upanishads, the sage Yagnavalkya questioned by Maitreyi about immortality, answered thus: Husbands, wives, sons, daughters, friends, neighbours, nay, even the Gods and all the creatures are to be loved and regarded as dear, not for themselves as they appear, but for the Self that is in them, for that eternal Self in which we all share, in which we all live and move and have our being. "Like many other sublime truths in Eastern religion" says Prof. Max Müller, "this shows an enormous amount of intellectual labour, to have reasoned out, that we should love our neighbour, because in loving him, we love God, and in loving

God we love ourselves. The deep truth that lies hidden in this, was certainly not elaborated by any other nation so far as I know." Such a noble compliment from such a high authority cannot at all be slighted. This excellent doctrine embraces all living creatures in one loving brotherhood, roots out the weeds of egoism from where its benign rays have been shed, grows in their place the evergreen creeper of disinterested love, and leads him who follows it to a safe asylum, beyond the reach of that vile demon of metempsychosis. Such in brief is the ethical system which could be worked out from the teaching of Krishna as embodied in the Bhagavad Gita.

Practically the Standard comes to that of Universalistic happiness.

We see then, that, keeping in view the universal love preached in this path of devotion, the moral ideal would be quite divine in its nature. In theory, in practice, in the high ideals kept in view, in the religious devotion with which all moral conduct is permeated, limb and tissue, it stands quite unrivalled in its sublimity. It is transcendental in theory, but most easy of being followed in practice. The pure-souled devotee who practises this divine love would see in all persons, nay, in all sentient existence, an image of his own Self. The practical result of this system of morality would be altruistic and universalistic. In all creatures, there is the Self that is to be loved. In seeking the happiness of another, in loving your neighbour, you would be loving the Self that is within him. Such a one can well say "I love thee best, because I love so well all living souls." Carrying this further on, his actions would ultimately be guided by principles of universalistic happiness. He seeks the greatest happiness of the greatest number because he would thereby be loving the Self that permeates all existences in the best and fittest way. Only, in his casuistic calculation—if he really wants one—he would ignore his own Self: else, he would miss his goal. Herein consists his altruism. Love your neighbour as your own self is the fundamental tenet of this doctrine. The pure and divine love embodied in this most sublime rule of conduct, speaks for itself, and is so resplendent in its divine glory, that no praise need be bestowed on it by us.

The freedom of the will.

One point more shall we consider before we conclude, and that is the question of the Freedom of the Will. This has not

received special treatment at the hands of Krishna. But it is clear from his teachings that perfect freedom is given to the Will of every individual. It is entirely left to him to choose either the path of salvation or that of damnation. The very fact that he can stop the karmic fly-wheel of the migratory machine, shows that he has liberty to choose between two alternatives. But the Freedom of the Will allowed by Krishna is like Kant's, the Freedom to choose between sense and reason—to follow the sensitive nature, rather than the rational,—and not the power to choose between two motives. The famous saying of Kant "Aught implies can" was presupposed as an unquestionable datum throughout the whole of the Gita.

The Law of Karma not fatalistic.

The law of Karma has been misunderstood to be a fatalistic law and thus to contravene the Freedom of the Will. No doubt, one's destinies in this life are according to this law largely those fashioned by him in a previous life. But the very fact that *he* of all others has been able to fashion it in *that* particular way, rather than in another, recognises the Freedom of his Will. But more than this, there is the fact of his ability to mould his own future lives, either in the way of a gradual ascent upwards or a descent downwards. It is even granted, that, in any life, it is possible for men to become ethically so perfect as to reach the condition of the Jivamuktha. Karma counts for much of our environments as we start in our lives. But it does not determine what is to be evolved out of that environment, by our own moral effort. It must be therefore clear that the Law of Karma is not at all fatalistic, and does not deny the Freedom of the Will.

The wise man of the Gita.

The wise man of the Gita is the Yogi who follows the path of love preached by Sree Krishna. He is a walking embodiment of virtue, ever seeking the happiness of all creatures that he comes across, and ever solicitous of doing good. Personality as creating selfishness, is annihilated in him. He is "free from earth's cheats"

"He hath wrought the purpose through
Of what did make him man."

He is one who worships God in loving service, through self-sacrificing self-devotion—through disinterested good. He is one who ultimately takes shelter in the most Supreme Being.

He measures the joys and pains of all sentient creatures as if they were his own, laughing with the happy and weeping with the miserable. No living creature need entertain the slightest fear of his meek self, for, he has recognised his own Self in them. He is one who has realised that "that love is false which clings to love, for selfish sweets of love." He has conquered the world and can well say. "All earth is mine, *mine* by chief service, *mine* by love." His is a mission of love and service. Him, Kama "King of all passions, Lord of all loves, Ruler of pleasures' Realm," ails not. Him, the arrows of desire sharper than poisoned barbs, smite not. He sits serene, with perfect virtue walled, and moves about radiant with heavenly pity and love. Such is the wise man—the moral ideal of the Gita—"one who has learned the law of love and ordered life."

- "Him the Gods envy from their lower seats ;
- "Him the three worlds in ruin would not shake ;
- "All life is lived for him, all deaths are dead ;
- "Karma will no more make
- "New houses seeking nothing, he gains all ;
- "Foregoing Self, the Universe (to him) grows "I."

M. KUNJUNNI NAYAR.

JOHN RUSKIN.

THE death of John Ruskin has caused in the English world of Art and Literature a gap which it will be impossible to fill and the poor have lost a sympathetic friend whom it will be hard to replace. Of all men who have dominated the Art-world of England during the Nineteenth Century, Ruskin is undoubtedly the greatest. It is not my purpose to say what his exact position is as a critic and preacher of Art and what his rank as a scientist and a leader of thought, but by common consent he has been considered a distinguished figure in the arena of Art-philosophy for half a century and more; and a man who has moulded the taste of the public to a great extent in æsthetic affairs and created a powerful influence on the practice of painting and architecture. The English literature has not sustained since the days of Tennyson a heavier blow than by the death of John Ruskin. No one except Gladstone—his political *bête noire*, could boast so vast a number of friends amongst the great mass of the public. No one has so multifariously worked for the good of the poor and to better purposes, nor has loved his country so dearly and so loyally and sacrificed so much for the public good. His death has given cause for mourning not only in his own country but also on the other side of the Atlantic where his teachings have taken deep root in the minds of many.

As regards Ruskin's life and teachings, many essays and books have been published from time to time, but none of them has given a complete account of the author; and not until all the valuable material has been collected which is found in the "Life" by Mr. W. G. Collingwood, in the "Principles of Art" compiled by Mr. Wm. White, in the "Studies" by Mr. E. T. Cook, and in the most important of them all, the incomplete "Præterita" by Ruskin himself, will it be possible to produce a complete and satisfactory account of the life of a man who has startled the world during the latter half of the Nineteenth Century.

John Ruskin occupied the foremost place among the men of

letters in England. Perhaps his books are not very often to be seen on our shelves, but this is because it is difficult to obtain them. Some are scarce, for their publication ceased long ago, and the peculiar theory of the author has made the others dear.

Parentage, Youth, Manhood.

A writer remarks: "Ancestry, disposition, and education are the three cardinal points determining the course and the consequence of human existence. Ancestry ranks first, for intellectual and moral greatness are hereditary; and though all great sons may not have had great fathers, the germ of their greatness lies somewhere in their families' past. In the quality and quantity of this inherited greatness, or, in other words, in disposition, the possibilities and attainments of the man are foreshadowed, for no one can rise above himself, nor become truly great in any other orbit save the one fixed for him at birth. As for education, it is an instrument only, and limited by the potentiality of the material upon which it is brought to bear." Thus man is a product of the past as well as a factor in the future. So in order to gauge a man's life and labors we should not only know what the man has himself done, but what others have done for him and in him, for, apart from the interpretative light of antecedents, the simplest and most uneventful life is obscure and unknown.

Fortunately, John Ruskin has given us in the pages of "Fors Clavigera" and "Præterita," a detailed account of those forces which went to make up his character. From this it is clearly seen that the child's destiny was fixed for him long before his birth, and that from his earliest years the boy became the father of the man.

On account of certain calamities in the family, Ruskin's father John James Ruskin was obliged to leave Perth for London very early in life and became the head clerk of the firm of Messrs. Gordon Murphy & Co., in which Mr. Peter Domecq held an important position. After nine years, when the establishment broke up, Mr. Domecq started an agency in England under the style of Ruskin, Telford, and Domecq, and asked Mr. Ruskin, whom he had watched closely during the nine years' service, in the former firm, to be his agent. This famous house is still remembered by some of the older city houses, as carrying on their business in a small counting house on the first floor of the narrow premises, in a thoroughfare of East

London, Billiter Street. Mr. Domecq should have been the senior, as the other two were only agents of his in London. He was the sole proprietor of the estate of Macharnullo—the most precious vineyard in the whole of the Spanish peninsula. The second partner, Mr. Henry Telford, brought into the business what capital was necessary for the London branch. The premises of the firm in London belonged to him. He was a perfect type of an English gentleman of moderate fortune. He always lived in his favourite house at Widmore, near Bromley, except during the two months in Midsummer when Mr. Ruskin had his holiday, and sometimes for a month at the beginning of a year when he travelled for orders.

Such is the short account of the firm in which Ruskin the senior exercised all his energies during his life time and retired with a handsome property in cash to the extent of £1,57,000 besides a large amount of property and a good many pictures to be bequeathed to his son, the hero of this sketch.

Thus Ruskin's father began business with no capital and a considerable amount of debts bequeathed to him by his grandfather. He accepted the bequest, and cleared all debts before he began to lay by anything for himself—for which his friends called him a fool, and his son had the expression "an entirely honest merchant" written on the granite slab over his grave, to show the wisdom his father possessed. As Ruskin's father grew richer, he was able to take a house in Hunter Street, Brunswick Square, No. 54, in which premises, John Ruskin, the only child, was born on February 8, 1819. Ruskin writes that he knew very little of his ancestry but that his maternal grandmother was the landlady of the Old King's Head in Market Street, Croyden. His maternal grandfather was a sailor, and he believes that he had something to do with the herring business, although he is not quite sure about it, as his mother had not been very communicative concerning it. He died while his children were young, and Ruskin's mother after being educated with her sister at a Croydon day school, Mrs. Rice's, where his mother was taught evangelical principles, was sent to Scotland to take charge of the house of her reckless old uncle—the father of the industrious London merchant—who was gradually ruining himself, and at last eventually ruined and killed himself. Here she moved in a higher sphere of society, "a tall, handsome, finely-made girl, with a beautiful mild firmness of expression; a faultless and

accomplished housekeeper, and a natural, essential, unassailable, yet inoffensive prude." Margaret, now twenty years of age, not only fulfilled the work of a housewife, but became, in part, the governess and confidante of her "dark eyed, brilliantly active and sensitive" cousin, who was four years her junior, assisting and sympathising with him in all his sorrows. This relation was prolonged for a long time without the slightest idea of marriage on either side, and when he determined to remove to London to begin a fresh business career, he asked if her attachment was such as to warrant the promise of wedlock and whether she would have sufficient patience to wait for a time to earn for her an independency. She giving her consent to both these, a nine years' engagement was continued, finally, they were married in Perth one evening after supper and formed what proved to be a most fitting union, and began a long life of domestic calm, culture and happiness. One of his aunts was a baker's wife and the other a tanner's, besides there being a greengrocer of the name in a small shop near the Crystal Palace.

The mother had something, though nothing very distinctive, of a literary turn. Ruskin's education from his early age was conducted under her own superintendence. Her principles of treatment were to guard the son with steady watchfulness from all avoidable pain or danger, and, for the rest, to let him amuse himself as he liked, provided he was neither fretful nor troublesome, and her law was that he should find his own amusement. No toys of any kind were at first allowed, all that he had to play with was a bunch of keys as long as he was capable of pleasure in what glittered and jingled; as he grew older, he had a cart and a ball, and when six years old, two boxes of well-cut wooden bricks. Ruskin remarks that "with these modest, but, I still think, entirely sufficient possessions, and being always summarily whipped if I cried, did not do as I was bid, or tumbled on the stairs, I soon attained serene and secure methods of life and motion."

As very good women are remarkably apt to make away their sons for the devotion of God, Ruskin's mother devoted him to God, which meant that she would send him to College, and make him a clergyman, and accordingly bred for 'the Church.' So, the mother was careful enough from the very beginning to commence a course of Bible work with him, which never ceased till

he went to Oxford. She began with the first verse of Genesis, and went through to the last verse of the Apocalypse: hard names, numbers, Levitical Law, and all; and began again at Genesis the next day. If a name was hard, Ruskin remarks, "the better the exercise in pronunciation—if a chapter was tiresome, the better lesson in patience,—if loathsome, the better lesson in faith that there was some use in its being so outspoken." As an example of her patience displayed in Ruskin's education, I quote below the verse in which Ruskin showed his childish obstinacy in reciting with an accented *of* and her labor spent for three weeks in getting the accent lightened on the 'of' and laid on the ashes.

"Shall any following spring revive,
The ashes of the urn?"—

With such care and trouble did the mother model her son's education.

When Ruskin was about four years old, his father was in a position to purchase the lease of a house on Herne Hill. More beautiful or healthier domestic environment cannot be seen than that enjoyed by him in his days spent at Herne Hill. The estate stood accurately on the top or dome of the hill, and four miles distant from the heart of the city life. The house was fronted by a garden of old evergreens and well-grown lilacs and laburnums, and a large plot of beneficent ground ran out from the rear, rich in fruit trees and gay with flowers. Ruskin's remark of this garden was that "the little domain answered every purpose of Paradise to me; and the climate, in that cycle of years, allowed me to pass most of my life in it."

In the further development of Ruskin's character we may find three great formulative influences—the influence of home surroundings and parents, the influence of literature, and the influence of nature and art. As a boy he was a close observer of things, and his recollections are dated from his fourth year. At the age of five he was a voracious reader, sending to the circulating library for his favourite books. His early readings were Pope's translation of Homer, and the novels of Sir Walter Scott; these were for week day instruction; for the Sabbath were reserved "Robinson Crusoe" and "Pilgrim's Progress." In addition to these he daily read aloud and committed to memory, portions of the Bible. From Walter Scott, he says, he should

have passed to other people's novels, and Pope might have led him to Johnson's English or Gibbon's, as types of language, but once knowing the XXXII of Deuteronomy, CXIX Psalm, XIII of 1st Corinthians, the Sermon on the Mount and most of the Apocalypse, every syllable by heart, and possessing a way of thinking for himself what words meant, it was impossible for him, even in the foolishlest time of youth, to write entirely superficial or formal English.

A few words regarding the respect John Ruskin had for Scott's Novels may not be out of place here. Until the later years of his life he loved to read Scott in the evening, and the family was expected to sit round and listen while he rendered one or other of the Waverley Novels with that completeness of realization that few could equal. He would modify his voice for the various characters, and would revel in Scottish accent, which he gave to perfection. As age began to tell upon him he would sometimes drop asleep for a moment or two in the middle of a chapter; but on awakening with a guilty start he would nevertheless continue the appointed reading just as if nothing had happened. Ruskin possessed all the original manuscripts of several of the Waverley Novels—of "The Fortunes of Nigel," "The Black Dwarf," "Woodstock," "St. Ronan's Well," and "Peveril of the Peak." For these manuscripts Ruskin had the profoundest reverence and love, and he was ever on the watch to increase his collections. As an instance of the uneasiness he felt when his bookseller, Mr. F. S. Ellis, missed the chance of purchasing some of the MSS., he wrote to him "I've been speechless with indignation, since you let go that Guy Mannering MS." And again, later on: "What on earth do you go missing chance after chance like that for? I'd rather have lost a catch at cricket than that St. Ronan's. . . . Seriously, my dear Ellis, I do want you to secure every Scott manuscript, that comes into the market. *Carte blanche* as to price.—I can trust your honour; and you may trust, believe me, *my* solvency." In *Fors* I Ruskin writes thus of the study of Scott's Novels; "Scott, in his Scottish novels only and of those only, the cheerful ones; with the 'Heart of Midlothian' but not the 'Bride of Lammermoore,' nor the 'Legend of Montrose' nor the 'Pirate.' Here is a right list of 'Waverley,' 'Guy Mannering,' 'The Antiquary,' 'Rob Roy,' 'Old Mortality,' 'The Monastery,' 'The Abbot,' 'Red Gauntlet,' 'Heart of Midlothian.' Get any of them you can in the old

large-print edition when you have a chance, and study every sentence in them. They are models, of every virtue in their order of literature and exhaustive codes of Christian wisdom and ethics."

His early tutor, while he was eight or nine, was Dr. Andrews, who was engaged to teach him Greek and he began with him the *Odes* of Anacreon. In 1831 Ruskin was put in charge of Mr. Runciman to teach drawing. At this time, above all these, he took extreme delight in going to the sea shore and watching the sea for four or five hours a day, an occupation which he never failed to fulfil till he was forty. He stays and stays there looking to the waves, hearing, pursuing and flying from it. In 1832, an important fact of the presentation of a copy of Roger's *Italy*, as soon as published, by Mr. Henry Telford, by the advice of his sisters, had an important influence on his education and determined the main tenor of his life, and poor Mr. Telford was always held by Mr. and Mrs. Ruskin responsible for their son's Turner insanities. At that time Ruskin had never heard of Turner except from his drawing master, Mr. Runciman, 'that the world had lately been much dazzled and led away by some splendid ideas thrown out by Turner.' The years 1833 and 1834 were spent by Ruskin in drawing some of the scenes he saw on his tour in the continent with his father. By this time, it having been perceived that Dr. Andrews could neither prepare him for the University, nor for the duties of a bishopric, he was sent to a day school kept by the Rev. Thomas Dale, within the walking distance of Horne Hill. Mr. Rowbotham, an extremely industrious and fairly well-informed person, was appointed to teach him Mathematics.

Besides all these, more magnificent results issued out of his cousin Charles' (the son of his Croydon aunt) connection with Messrs. Smith Elder & Co., the famous publishers, where Charles was admitted as an apprentice, who to satisfy Ruskin, knowing that he always took a delight in seeing a book, containing good engravings, used to bring home on Sundays one or two of their publications. In this way Ruskin became familiar with Stanfield and Harding; and still greater important effects produced on him were on account of the presentation of a copy of *Forget-me-not* by his Croydon aunt, from which time commenced his respect and admiration of Prout by the beautiful engraving of

Sépulchral monument at Verona contained in it and also by his introduction to Mr. S. Rogers by Mr. Thomas Pringle.

Such were the chances Ruskin had during his childhood to increase his thirst for knowledge. A few words regarding the events which happened in his boyhood which brought him under the influences of Nature, his delight and admiration for inanimate objects, will give this sketch a perfection with respect to his education before he was sent to the University. The "salutary pleasures of Horne Hill" and the beautiful surroundings, coupled with his frequent visits to his aunt's to the "Stony bed of the Crystal Wandle at Croydon" and 'the shallow pools of the pausing Tay at Perth,' left an everlasting impression upon his mind. His stay at the above places gave a start to his future mineralogical studies. His love of nature was intense and overmastering. His love for the green of the field, the blue sky, the gold of the sun, the pebbles beneath, the flowers and foliage around was inestimable. As a boy, his heart leapt within him as he looked upon the Alps, "beautiful in their snow and humanity," and he remarks in his *Præterita* that his destiny in all that was sacred and useful was fixed in an evening walk from the garden terrace of Schaffhausen, which description always constitutes a pleasant reading for any one who loves nature. As with nature, so with art: the facilities for the study of both these were greatly increased by the constant tours he made with his father. He found in his father a wise teacher and sympathetic companion, whose taste and love for pictures were overwhelming. When father and son, in their travels came near any gentleman's house, famed for its collection of pictures, they stopped for a day or two, for their inspection. He says in these years "I had in my little clay pitcher vialsful, as it were, of Wordsworth's reverence, Shelley's sensitiveness, Turner's accuracy,"—all rolled in one. As early as 1834, Ruskin, when about fifteen years of age, mapped out for him the following course of work for the future: "Expression of genuine sentiment in rhyme, engraving, study of architecture, and the gratification of early geological instinct."

In connection with Ruskin's work as an Artist it is interesting to read what he wrote in 1867 to a correspondent whom he advised to copy Turner:—

"I think you ought to fix your mind on this Turner work quite as the thing you *have to do*. You know me well enough to

trust me that I do not say this to keep you captive for my own purposes. If I thought you could be a successful artist, I would not let you copy. But I think your art gifts are very like mine: perfect sense of color, great fineness of general perception, and hardly any invention. You *might* succeed in catching the public with some mean fineness of imitation, and live a useless, though pecuniarily successful, life; but even that would be little likely. Whereas, in rendering Turner, you will live a useful life; and I think very probably, a prosperous one."

The first manuscript "Does the perusal of works of fiction act favourably on the moral character," written about this time was unearthed at Sheffield a few years ago.

I may mention that this sketch intended for a Magazine does not permit me to say more than that his life between the years 1834 to 1836, previous to the year he entered Oxford, was spent in his travels on the Continent, and there have been, altogether, three centres of his life's thought:—Rome, Geneva, and Pisa, to which he attributes all the knowledge he acquired in Art and Painting.

His Oxford days.

As it is impossible, whether in the biography of a nation or of an individual, to narrate the events of successive years, I merely pass on to say that, in accordance with a letter received by Ruskin's father, stating that there was room in Christ Church for his residence in the January term of 1837, and that he should be sent up to matriculate in October 1836, Ruskin was immediately admitted there as a Gentleman-Commoner, out of two orders of under-graduates of Christ Church, *viz.*, Gentlemen-Commoners being styled fashionable, and the other Commoners, the unfashionable. I believe no such order is at the present day observed in the Reformed University. Ruskin in his days was proof against all temptations; for, he says: "There was not the slightest fear of my gambling, for I had never touched a card, and looked upon dice as people now do on dynamite. No fear of my being tempted by the strange woman, for was not I in love? and besides, never allowed to be out after half-past nine. No fear of my running in debt, for there were no Turners to be had in Oxford, and I cared for nothing else in the world of material possession." Here he made the friendship of his contemporaries, Sir Henry (formerly Dr.) Acland, and late Frederick William Robertson, of Brighton,

a man who attained eminence in theology as Ruskin in Art. From Dr. Buckland he acquired that deep and profound knowledge of geology which has always been one of the mainstays of Ruskin's writings on Art and Science.

Ruskin's mother's influence over her son's intellectual and moral development continued while he was even at Oxford, for she took rooms near the University and remained with him during the whole of his stay at Oxford.

On June 12, 1839, he came out successful in the competition for the Newdigate Prize Poem, entitled "Salsette and Elephanta." It describes the dawn of Christianity in Hindustan and closes with the following description:—

"Yes—he shall fall, though once his throne was set
Where the high heaven and crested mountains met;
Though distant shone with many an azure gem
The glacier glory of his diadem;
Though sheets of sulphurous cloud and wreathed storm
Cast veil of terror round his shadowy form.
All, all are vain! It comes, the hallowed day,
Whose dawn shall rend that robe of fear away;
Then shall the torturing spells that midnight knew
Far in the cloven dells of Mount Meru,
Then shall the moan of frenzied hymns, that sighed
Down the dark vale where Gunga's waters glide,
Then shall the idol chariots' thunder cease
Before the steps of them that publish peace.
Already are they heard,—how fair, how fleet!
Along the mountains flash their bounding feet!
Disease and death before their presence fly;
Truth calls, and gladdened India hears the cry,
Deserts the darkened path her fathers trod,
And seeks redemption from the Incarnate God."

About this time he was ordered by physicians to go away from Oxford as he was attacked by a sort of brain disease, and consequently his pass for the degree was delayed. Immediately his father took him on another occasion to the continent for a change. During this tour Ruskin collected all the materials for the first volume of his "Modern Painters." Space allows me only to state that arrangements having been completed for taking his degree in the spring of 1841 after his return from the continental

tour his name was entered on November 16th, and he at once set to work reading methodically, but not hard, and in May, 1842, he went up merely for a pass and doubted whether he would succeed as he wrote Latin badly, but the examiners forgave it, as for the divinity, philosophy, and mathematics were all above the average; and they gave him a complimentary double fourth.

The year 1842 dawned for Ruskin with many things in its morning cloud. He took his degree. His father purchased for him the lovely drawings of Turner—Ehrenbreitstien and Lucerne. This year the family was removed from Herne Hill to Deumark Hill to have a larger garden, and it was also arranged for a stay in the summer in Switzerland for the enjoyment of mountain air and for a study of the Mont Blanc rocks accurately.

His writings.

Leaving college, he fell into the great battle-plain of life, finding himself at twenty-four in the thickest of the fray. It was in 1835, that Ruskin first made his appearance in the public press by contributing a series of geological articles, to the *Magazine of Natural History*. Later on, under the pseudonym of 'Kata Plusin' ("According to Nature"), he contributed other articles on Art and Literature in London's *Architectural Magazine* which in 1892 were republished under the title of "The Poetry of Architecture." It was in the same year in which Ruskin took his degree that he wrote in defence of Turner, to whom he was introduced by Mr. Griffith, at Norwood dinner, June 22nd, 1840, and then made the following observations in his diary: "Introduced to-day to the man who beyond all doubt is the greatest of the age; greatest in every faculty of the imagination, in every branch of scenic knowledge; at once the painter and poet of the day, J. M. W. Turner. Everybody had described him to me as coarse, boorish, un-intellectual, vulgar. This I knew to be impossible. I found in him a somewhat eccentric, keen-mannered, matter-of-fact, English-minded—gentleman: good-natured evidently, bad-tempered evidently; hating humbug of all sorts, shrewd, perhaps a little selfish, highly intellectual, the powers of the mind not brought out with any delight in their manifestation, or intention of display, but flashing out occasionally in a word or a look."

Turner was at that time eight-and-sixty years of age, old and alone, misunderstood and not cared-for by the public, and

had been severely criticised by all who could not either appreciate his beauties or excuse his faults. In order to establish the same and high culture of Turner, Ruskin penned "in the height of black anger" what is known as the first volume of "Modern Painters: By a graduate of Oxford." This no doubt was the commencement of Ruskin's turn of life, to acknowledge him as the greatest master of Art and Painting. But he was not free from the perils which beset young authors at every step. The Murrays never ceased to regret their refusal of "Modern Painters." One day an old gentleman, with a bundle of manuscripts under his arm, entered Mr. Murray's shop, and offered them for publication as the work of his son. "What are they about?" asked Mr. Murray. "About pictures and such things" said the old man. "We have good many of such things"—said Mr. Murray, "and the public won't buy them," and the old gentleman had to return home with the greatest disappointment. So Ruskin became his own publisher. Everybody laughed when he informed his intention to publish his own books, and the publishing house planted in the middle of a country field was for years an object of ridicule. But it became a success and Ruskin was the head of the works at Orpington in Kent for years. In 1887 his publisher, Mr. George Allen, informed a reporter that he had £27,000 worth of goods stored in a shed in his back garden. As regards circulation of his books, an estimate made in 1893 gave the number of bound volumes, issued by Messrs. Smith and Elder, and Mr. George Allen, exclusive of parts and pamphlets, as about 300,000.

The reader will kindly excuse this digression. The immediate effect of the publication of the first volume of *Modern Painters* was to establish Turner's reputation permanently as the greatest landscape-painter the world has ever seen, and his own as the greatest of modern English prose-writers. The second volume followed after an interval of two years. Three more volumes completed the work, but the last was not published until 1860—after twenty years of hard labour spent in the preparation, study, and travel for collecting materials in Switzerland, Italy and France. Meanwhile Ruskin did not remain idle. His writings began to astonish the public. In 1847 he contributed his first review to the *Quarterly*, his text being Lord Lindsay's "History of Christian Art." In 1849, he brought out his "Seven Lamps of Architecture," in which he sets forth the theory how in a nation's dominant style of architecture may be seen reflected its life and man-

ners, and even its passions and its religion. Following on the lines thus laid down, Ruskin proceeded, in the "Stones of Venice," issued in 1851 and 1853, to tell the history of the rise and fall of Venice, as displayed by her buildings, and to show how the prosperity and art of a nation are synchronous and interdependent, and how the purity of national art and of the national conscience and morals act and re-act each upon the other.

While Ruskin was thus surprising the world with his originality and sincerity, the Society known as the "Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood," came into existence. This band consisting of John Everett Millais; W. Holman Hunt, W. M. Rossetti, Frederick G. Stephens, James Collinson, Thomas Woolner, and Dante Gabriel Rossetti—all earnest and devoted men of genius, led a revolt against the tea-trays gone wrong of the Royal Academy. Their object was to establish a school of painting with the fundamental principle of observing absolute truth to nature in all things, especially in respect to detail. John Ruskin immediately joined the movement, and fought their battle as best as he could fight, first by his celebrated letter to the *Times*, and afterwards by his "Pre-Raphaelitism," and other writings, whereby he not only succeeded in getting a fair hearing and judgment for the harassed and persecuted exponents of the creed, but in educating the public into an appreciation of their works. I shall here quote Ruskin's own definition of Pre-Raphaelitism. "Pre-Raphaelitism has but one principle, that of absolute, uncompromising truth in all that it does, obtained by working everything, down to the most minute detail, from nature and from nature only or where imagination is necessarily trusted to, always endeavouring to conceive a fact as it really was likely to have happened. Every Pre-Raphaelite background is painted, to the last touch, in the open air from the thing itself. Every Pre-Raphaelite figure, however studied in expression, is a true portrait of some living person. Every minute accessory is painted in the same manner. This is the main Pre-Raphaelite principle."

By 1860 Ruskin became a power in the land, and he had thousands of disciples and admirers who called themselves "Ruskinites." Ruskin in this year commenced to contribute a series of papers styled "Unto this last" to the "*Cornhill Magazine*," the principles and views of which being based upon quite the highest interpretation and application of an ethical morality,

and so strongly did the public reject his Utopian philosophy, that the editor (who at that time was Thackeray) fearing the fate of his Magazine, stopped the publication of his articles in further issues.

In 1865 and 1866, he published "Sesame and Lilies" and "Crown of Wild Olive" his most popular and, perhaps, the master pieces of his prose-writings. In 1867 he was elected Rede Lecturer at Cambridge, with the honorary degree of LL.D; but this was not the first occasion on which he appeared before the public, as his debut as a lecturer had already been made before the Edinburgh students on "Gothic Architecture" so far back as 1853. Moreover, he had delivered a course of lectures in 1865 in the working Men's College, established in 1854, with the late Rev. F. D. Maurice as Principal, and Thomas Hughes, J. M. Ludlow, and Dante Rossetti prominent among the council of teachers. In 1870, he was appointed Professor of Fine Art at Oxford, to the chair founded in the previous year by Mr. Felix Slade, but he retired from his position in 1878, in consequence of illness. He again accepted the chair in 1883, and finally vacated it in 1885, owing to the action of the University on the question of vivisection.

Ruskin's famous periodical, "*Fors Clavigera*" ("Fortune, the Club bearer"), was begun in 1871, in the form of a series of letters to the working men and labourers of England. These letters were not advertised, and no arrangements were made for their sale with the book-sellers; it was sold by Mr. George Allen at Heathfield Cottage, Keston, Kent, at 7d. a copy, carriage paid, no discount and no abatement on taking a quantity, and yet it was sold, and sold in considerable numbers. Ruskin thus writes to a friend of his, in reply to a letter received from him *re Fors*:—Denmark Hill, 17 May 1871. "I am glad you like *Fors*. People will find it a very intrusive 'dream,' in a little while, if I live." Two or three weeks earlier than the date of this letter Carlyle had written to Ruskin "This *Fors Clavigera*, letter 5th which I have just finished reading, is incomparable; a quasi-sacred consolation to me which almost brings tears into my eyes! . . . Continue while you have such utterances in you, to give them voice. They will find and force entrance into human hearts." It was in its pages he announced his intention of founding the "St. George's Guild" on which institution he settled £7,000, the tenth of what he then had, and strongly recommended his adherents to contribute their mite.

The newspapers, and people generally, could not understand a man who practised what he preached at the cost of self-interest, and it is likely that one of the many false reports about John Ruskin occasioned the letter quoted below, a characteristic reply:—

"Dear Mr. Talling—Never believe anything you hear about me—nobody knows anything about me....." This was dated 20th September 1871.

His other principal publications are "Harbours of England" (1856), "Political Economy of Art" (1857), "Munera Pulveris" (1862-3), "Ethics of the Dust" (1866), "Time and Tide" (1867), "The Queen of the Air: a Study of the Greek Myths of Cloud and Storm" (1869), "Ariadne Florentina" (1873), "Val D'Arno" (1874), "Mornings in Florence" (1875-7), "Proserpina" (1875-86) and "Præterita" (1885-89).

The Ruskin Society.

As Ruskin's admirers and disciples, who called themselves "Ruskinites," perceived that if their master's doctrines were to bear good fruit, it would be necessary that an organisation should be formed for the dissemination of his writings and the carrying out of his theories into practical effect. The result was the beginning of the foundation of the "Ruskin Societies of the Rose" in 1879, in London, Manchester, Sheffield, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Birmingham and other centres—bodies collectively known as "The Ruskin Society." Ruskin has given many valuable gifts, both artistic and mineralogical, to various institutions, and at last crowned his work in this direction by the establishment and stocking of the St. George's Museum at Walkley, near Sheffield.

There is also an institution known as "The Ruskin Hall" established at Oxford in furtherance of the labor movement. The 50 delegates, who assembled at its opening, in the same month in which Ruskin attained his 80th birthday, represented Trades Unions, with a membership of more than 250,000. Residence at Ruskin Hall costs 10s. a week, including board, lodging and plain laundry, whilst tuition fees amount to 10s. a month. No alcohol is allowed on the premises on the score of expense. The students limited at present amount to twenty, five ranging in age from 18 to 50, and come from various trades.

a carpenter, a miner, an iron-monger, a glass factory worker, a printer, and a news-boy.

A few words respecting Ruskin as a poet may be of interest to my readers. His facility in verse-making was amazing, and from those tender years when, still a baby, he wrote the imaginative lines beginning

"Papa, how pretty those icicles are,"
That are seen so near, that are seen so far."

and in a very short time he developed such fluency that few writers of verse could excel him in the direction of fatal "facility." But poetry was not the weapon with which he was destined to attain his recognition in the world.

Some of his theories on Commerce and Economics might appear to be strange and queer, although his superiority in prose writing may be acknowledged, beyond comparison. One of his theories is that *a man should die poor*. How strangely and uncertainly the words must sound in ears nearly deafened by advice of the very opposite kind! The whole practice of this world now-a-days is bitterly opposed to such a doctrine. Let a man's station be high or low, it matters not, his great aim in life is to grow rich or richer. Commerce has been turned upside down, the old and more honest methods of business have been pushed aside by new and more rushing devices, and competition and false contrivances of trade have flooded the world with a mass of produce as cheap as it is nasty. The Mania for cheapness has, in fact, been carried to such a pitch that scarcely anything we buy can be absolutely relied upon. Tricks of modern trade have become a byword among us.

Ruskin has written four essays upon Political Economy dealing with Commercial matters in a kindred spirit. Some of the cardinal points insisted upon are that the merchant's calling, rightly understood, is the most honorable one; that there should be fixed wages for good and bad workmen alike; that wealth and morality are inseparable; and that the only true definition of wealth is, that it is life.

Space will not permit me more than to say that, nearly twenty years ago, Ruskin retired from this world of activity to enjoy perfect rest, after his hard intellectual labour of nearly 55 years. In 1875, he purchased the Brantwood estate, at Conistoun, in the Lake country, from William J. Linton, the great wood-engraver, for a sum of £1,500, and spent £4,000 more in altera-

tions, additions and other improvements before it was fit for habitation. At Brantwood his life was of a tranquil order, and, perhaps in accordance with the habits of a country squire. Early morning he goes for a walk and he would ramble for hours together as he was a tireless walker, attended by his valet, Baxter. His household affairs were looked after by his cousin and adopted daughter Mrs. Arthur Severn, known as 'the angel in the house.'

Ruskin had been in failing health for a long time and had not left his room for many weeks. With the customary reticence of the Brantwood household, the fact of a serious change in his condition had not been made public, and the announcement of the death by influenza of the "Sage of Coniston" on the 20th January, 1900, was quite unexpected.

One who was present while Ruskin was dying gave the following account of the state of events: "He sank painlessly into unconsciousness, and faded away while holding the hands of two loving friends at his side. The sun was setting beyond the lake, and the brilliant gorgeous light, illumined the hills with splendour, and the spectators felt as if Heaven's gate itself had been flung open to receive the teacher into everlasting peace."

C. GOPAL MENON, F. I. P. S., M. I. B.

THE TAMILS: EIGHTEEN HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

(Continued).

IN the *Vinoda-rasa-manjari*, which is a collection of amusing stories and anecdotes, composed by the late Virasami Chettiar, Tamil Pandit of the Presidency College, Madras, Auvaiyar is frequently mentioned as a contemporary of the Chola king Kulottunga, who lived in the ninth or tenth century A.D., and was the patron of the famous poets Oddaik-Kuttar, Kambar and Pukalenti.⁽¹⁾ In other recent works of Tamil Pandits, she is spoken of as having lived during the time of Sundarar the devotee of Siva, and of his friend and patron Cheraman Perumal, the last of the Chera kings. These stories appear to be of very recent origin and are not supported by any authority in classical works, or in the old commentaries: and should therefore be rejected as entirely groundless. It is clear from her poems which are preserved in the *Puranânu* and *Akanânuru* that she flourished during the reign of the Pandyan king Ugraperu-valuti in the beginning of the second century A.D.⁽²⁾ and could not have therefore been a contemporary of the mediæval kings Kulottunga Chola or Cheraman Perumal. But Tamil Pandits, who love the marvellous, assert with a show of wisdom, that Auvaiyar lived to the extraordinary age of six or seven hundred years, and that in her youth she was a contemporary of Ugra-Pandya, and in her old age of Kulottunga-Chola, whose reign commenced seven centuries later! Two poems entitled *Panthan-antati* and *Asatik-kovai* are attributed to Auvaiyar; but their modern language betrays that they are the works of a much later poet.⁽³⁾

Idaik-kidânir, (A.D. 90-120) was the author of the *Oosimuri*, a poem which is not now extant, but which is quoted in Gunasâgara's commentary to the *Yâpp-arunk-kalam*.⁽⁴⁾ He visited the camp of the Chola king Killi-valavan, when he was besieging Karûr, the Chera capital.

(1) *Vinoda-rasa-manjari*, p. 57.

(2) *Pura-nâ-nûru*.

(3) *Vinoda-rasa-manjari*.

(4) *Yâpp-arun-kalak-kârikai*.

Cheettalaich-chittanār (A.D. 100-130) was the son of a corn dealer of Mādura. He professed Buddhism, and was eminent as a logician, theologian and poet. A stanza composed by him in praise of the Pandyan king Nān-māraṇ is as follows⁽⁵⁾ :—

“Thou august Valuti, whose arms are long and powerful, and whose breast is resplendent with strings of precious gems! a perfect master art thou of courteous and gracious acts. Never wouldst thou tolerate what is false. To thy enemies, thou art like the burning sun, which rises above the ocean: but to thy subjects like myself, thou art like the pleasant moon.”

His fame rests on his great work the *Mani-mekalai*, which is the earliest of the five epic poems in Tamil. It is a most finished piece of writing and contains many passages of great beauty. The style is simple and elegant; and the phrases used are well turned and full of deep meaning. He excels most in his descriptions of natural scenery, which are exquisite. He portrays beautifully the character of the heroine *Mani-mekalai*, who, though young and beautiful and the daughter of an actress, devotes herself to a religious life and becomes a Buddhist nun. She is courted by a handsome prince, the son of the reigning king, but remains faithful to her vow, and far from acting the prude, she seeks for her lover like a true woman, and tries to wean his heart from the lusts of the flesh and to lead him to a holy and spiritual life. In the last four chapters of the epic, where the author describes the six schools of philosophy that were then popular, he shows himself to be a master of the logical subtleties, and metaphysical cobwebs which formed the constant theme of argument among the learned men of his time. After completing the *Mani-mekalai*, he visited Karur, the capital of the Chera kingdom, and remained there for a long time as the guest of the king *Chenk-kudduvan*, and of his accomplished brother, *Ilanko-adikal*.

Ilanko-adikal (A.D. 100-130) was the second son of the Chera king, Athan, and grandson of the Chola king *Karikāl*, by his daughter *Sonai*. In his youth he renounced the world and became a monk of the Nigrantha sect, under the following circumstances: He and his elder brother *Chenk-kudduvan*, were seated one day at the foot of their father's throne in the audience hall at Karur, when a seer appeared before the king

(5) Para-nā-aura.

Cheral Athan, and after gazing for a while at the king and his two sons, declared that the younger son had all the personal marks of becoming a great monarch. Finding that *Chenk-kudduvan* was enraged at this prediction, his younger brother immediately laid aside his princely dress and ornaments, and took the vows of a Nigrantha monk, to prevent all possibility of his succeeding to the throne. Thenceforth he resided in a temple outside the Eastern gate of the city. Relieved of all the cares of royalty he appears to have employed his leisure in cultivating his taste for music and literature. Many years afterwards when the poet *Cheettalaich-chittanār* visited the Chera court, and recited to the prince, the epic *Mani-mekalai* which he had composed, the royal monk conceived the idea of writing another epic poem to commemorate the lives of *Mani-mekalai*'s parents, *Kovilan* and *Kannaki*. Accordingly he composed the *Chilapp-athikāram*, in the presence of the poet *Cheettalaich-chittanār*. In elegance of style, the poem approaches the *Mani-mekalai*: but in the varied scenes it describes, in the wealth of information it contains regarding the different classes of society, it is far more interesting to the student and the general reader. The author displays all his knowledge of the science of music and dancing: and has embellished his work with ditties of love and play and sacred hymns, in various metres. The characters of the hero and heroine are well depicted. *Kovilan*, the son of a wealthy merchant, is a gay and foolish young man. He is married at an early age to an amiable and virtuous girl: but being fond of music and dance he frequents the public theatres, and falls in love with the most beautiful actress of his day: lavishes all his wealth upon her: then ashamed of his conduct he flees from his native city with his young wife to Mādura where, instead of seeking the help of the merchants who knew his father, he lodges in the house of a shepherdess; and going out alone to sell one of his wife's jewels, is accused of having stolen the jewel from the palace, and is killed by one of the royal guards. *Kannaki* is a model wife, who loves and adores her husband although he is faithless to her. So sweet is her temper, that she never reproaches him, but studies his slightest wish and devotes herself to his service. After he had squandered all his wealth she follows him in his flight to a strange city: and when he is killed there accused of theft, she appears boldly before the king of that city and proves that her

husband was not a thief. Then she gives way to despair; and wandering along the road leading into the Chera country dies broken-hearted on the fourteenth day after her husband's death.

Arisil-kilar (A.D. 110-140) is the author of ten stanzas in praise of the Chera king Perum-cheral-Irum-Porai, who captured Thakadūr, the capital of Atiyamān Elini. Several of his stanzas occur also in the Thakadūr Yāthirai (6).

Pon-mudiyār (A. D. 110-140) a war bard who accompanied the army of the Chera king Perum-cheral-Irum-Porai, when it marched against Thakadūr. His verses are full of martial spirit and describe vividly and graphically stirring scenes on the battle-field (7).

Perunk-kunrur-kilar (A. D. 120-150) Ten stanzas composed by him in praise of (8) Perum-cheral-Irum-Porai are preserved in the Patirrup-pattu.

The following list shows the names of the Tamil poems composed between the years A. D. 50 and 150, and the number of lines contained in each poem :—

Myppāl or Kural	...	...	2,660 lines.
Mani-mekalai	...	...	4,857 "
Chillap-adikaram	...	...	4,957 "
Kalith-thokai	...	...	4,304 "
Innā-nārpattu	...	...	160 "
Perunk-kurinci	...	...	261 "
Kuriuchi (by Kapilar in Ainkuru-miru)	...	...	
about	...	...	400 "
Tiru-murukārrup-padai	...	...	317 "
Nedu-nal-vā dai	...	...	188 "
Porumar-arrup-padai	...	...	248 "
Perum-pān-ārūp-padai	...	...	500 "
Paddinap-pālai	...	...	301 "
Maduraik-kānchi	...	...	782 "
Malai-padu-kadam	...	...	583 "
Patirrup-pattu (41-50)	...	about	150 "
do (61-70)	...	about	150 "
do (71-80)	...	about	150 "
do (81-90)	...	about	150 "

About 300 stanzas composed by the poets of this period which are found in the Pura-nānūru, Akā-nānuru Kuruntokai and Narrivai about 4,000 ..

Total... 25,118..

(6) Tol-kāppiyam, Poru-atthikaram Nachchinarkk-iniyar's commentary.

(7) Ibid.

(8) Patirrup-pattu 11.

It will be seen from the above list that more than 25,000 lines of verse written by poets who flourished between the years A. D. 50 and 150 are still extant, and furnish ample material for studying the history and civilization of the ancient Tamils. Embalmed in this literature we find a faithful picture of their habits and manners and of their social and political condition, in a form which is far more enduring than if it had been engraved on brass or stone. There are several allusions in this literature to Ancient Aryan works which throw considerable light on the history and religion of the Aryan races which inhabited Northern India. The four Vedas were generally known as the "Nān Marai" or the four Secret Books, which brings out clearly the fact that the Brahmins jealously concealed all knowledge of the Vedas from the Tamils. The Brahmins were described as "the owners of the four Secret Books" and as "the learned in the six sciences" that is the six Angas: viz., Kalpa Nirukta, Chhandas, Jyotish, Siksha and Vyākarna. The ancient grammar Indra Vyākarna which is not now extant, was then studied by the Brahmins, and proficiency in the Indra Vyākarna was considered as evidence of superior scholarship. The Tamils were familiar with the stories of the Ramayana and Mahabharata. They knew the Buddhist Pitakas, the Nigrantha Agamas, and the sacred books of Markali, the founder of the Ajivaka sect. They knew too the six schools of philosophy. It is remarkable that there is no allusion to Pānini's Vyākarna or Patanjali's Yoga philosophy, which were evidently unknown in Southern India, and had not become popular in Northern India.

The following is a brief summary of the six systems of philosophy as given in the Tamil epic poem Mani-mekalai, which I trust will be found very interesting, as it is the earliest comparative account we have of the ancient schools of Hindu philosophy: and differs in many respects from the current accounts of the six systems (9).

"She (Mani-mekalai) approached the professors of philosophy, eager to know the true nature of things, and going up to the Vedic philosopher requested him to explain his tenets. (He stated that) an accurate knowledge of things may be obtained by ten means: Perception, Inference, Comparison, Authority, Implication, Propriety, Rumour, Impossibility, Reversion, and Association. The authors Veda-Vyasa, Krutakōdi and Jainini

(9) Mani-mekalai canto xxvii.

recognised ten, eight and six of these means respectively. Correct *perception* is of five kinds. It is to know colour by the eye; sound by the ear; smell by the nose; taste by the tongue; and touch by the body. To see, hear, smell, taste and touch with feelings of pain or pleasure, with life and sense and mind in perfect health, and in light and space free from any defect, and to ascertain the place, name, class, quality and action of a thing, without the faults of prejudice, incongruity or doubt is Perception.

"*Inference* is the mental process by which we understand the nature of an object, and it is of three kinds: by co-existence; by the effect or by the cause. (Inference by) co-existence is to know the presence of an elephant on hearing its trumpeting in a forest. (Inference by) effect is to say that it has been raining on seeing floods. (Inference by) cause is to say that it will rain on seeing a dark cloud. Whether the cause and effect be past, present or future, to know the existence of a thing that is not seen by a thing that is seen, without the faults of prejudice (incongruity and doubt) is Inference.

"*Comparison* is to know a thing by similarity, for instance, to imagine that a bison is like a cow.

"*Authority* is to believe that heaven and hell exist because they are mentioned in the writings of the wise.

"*Implication* is to understand that a shepherd's village stands on the banks of the Gangai, when we are told that it is on the Gangai.

"*Propriety* is when a man mounted on an elephant asks for a thing (to know that he asks for a goad) and to give a goad and nothing else.

"*Rumour* is what people generally say: for instance to believe that an evil spirit had taken its residence on a certain tree.

"*Impossibility* is the denying of an object where it cannot possibly be.

"*Reversion* is to infer that the wicked Ravana was defeated, when we hear that Rama was victorious.

"*Association* is to know that iron changes into magnet by a peculiar alteration in its properties.

"Of fallacious mediums there are eight kinds: Prejudice, Misconception, Doubt, Decision without examination, Failure of perception, False Belief, Belief in what is felt and Imagination. *Prejudice* is to decide the nature of everything (by first

impressions). *Misconception* is to suppose one thing to be another; for example, mistaking the shining shell of an oyster to be silver. *Doubt* is to be uncertain of the nature of an object; for instance to remain undecided whether a certain figure (seen in the dusk) is a man or the stump of the tree. *Decision without examination* is to mistake the stump fixed on the polo ground for a man. *Failure of perception* is not to know (the danger in) the approach of a ferocious tiger, although seeing it coming. *False belief* is to believe in the horn of a hare, which is imagined on hearsay. *Belief in what is felt* is for example to fancy that sitting near a fire will cure fever. *Imagination* is (for instance) to believe on the assertion of others that a man and woman are your parents.

"The different systems of philosophy are Lokâyatam, Banddham, Sâṅkhyam, Naiyâyikam, Vaiśeshikam and Mimāṇsakam: and the authors of these systems are Brihaspati, Jina, Kapila, Akshapâtha, Kanâda, and Jaimini respectively. Only six of the above mediums of knowledge are recognised in the above systems.

"She then met the Saiva-vâti who holds that Isa is the Lord (of the universe) and asked him to explain the nature of his deity. 'He governs the two luminaries (Sun and Moon) life, and the five elements; He unites the soul and body: and created this world as a pastime. His form is made of rays of light. Mighty is he to remove all sorrows by death. There is nothing else beside him. He is our God' said he. The Brahmvâti said that the whole universe was an egg laid by a God. The earnest believer in Vishnu said that Nârâyana preserves the whole world. The Vedic Brahmin said that the Veda had the Kalpa as its hands, the Chhandas as its legs, Jyotish as its eyes, Nirukta as its ears, Siksha as its nose and Vyākarna as its face: and that it is self existent and has neither beginning nor end.

"Finding that those statements were neither true nor accepted as such by the world, she went to the Professor of the Ajivaka religion, and asked him to state who was his God and what was taught by his Sacred Books. The supreme Intelligence which is found associated with everything and for ever, through the boundless universe, is God. Our Book teaches of five things, that is, the soul and the four kinds of eternal atoms. These atoms will collect and separate, so that the soul may mix with it, and see and feel it. The atoms are of four kinds: those of the

earth, water, fire and wind. They may collect and form mountains, trees or bodies, or they may separate and expand through space: and what recognises these is called the soul. The atoms of earth collect and become hard and form the ground. The atoms of water are heavy and cool and rest on the earth, and can be tasted. The atoms of fire are hot and ascend: and the atoms of wind spread and move. Under special conditions they may exhibit other phenomena. The eternal atoms never cease to exist, nor do they newly come into existence: nor can one atom enter another. An atom of water cannot change into an atom of earth: nor can one atom be split into two: nor flattened out of its shape. They may move and fall or rise. They may collect and form a mountain, or disperse and resume their shape as atoms. They may become very hard as diamonds, or hollow as bamboo, or appear as other objects. When they appear in large masses as the elements, they may be more or less or equal (to each other) or appear as a whole, or three quarters, or half or quarter, and each mass will be named according to the kind of atoms which are excessive in it. If they do not possess these properties they cannot be hard as earth, or flow as water, or burn as fire, or blow as wind. Only those who have divine eyes can see a single atom. Others in their physical bodies cannot discern it, just as in the twilight men cannot see a mass of hair. Souls are born in bodies of six different colours, *viz.*, black, blue, green, red, yellow and white. When born in pure white bodies souls attain release and happiness. If they fail to attain release, they would again descend in the scale of births and rise up like the turning of a wheel. To gain, to lose, to meet reverses, or successes, to feel pain or pleasure, to part from associations, to be born and to die are destined when the body is conceived in the womb. Pain and pleasure may be also considered eternal atoms. It is the effect of former deeds that is felt afterwards. The book of Markali explains in this manner.

"Leaving this confusion of words she asked the Niganta (Nigranta) to state who was his God, and what was taught in his sacred books, and to explain correctly how things exist and are formed or dissolved. He said that his God is worshipped by Indras: and that the books revealed by him describe the following:—The wheel of Law, the axle of Law, Time, Ether, Soul, Eternal atoms, good deeds, bad deeds, the bonds created by those deeds and the way to obtain release from those bonds. Things

by their own nature, or by the nature of other objects to which they are attached are temporary or everlasting. Within the short period of a Kshana (second) they may pass through the three unavoidable stages, appearance, existence and dissolution. That a margosa tree sprouts and grows is eternal: that it does not possess that property is temporary. Green gram when made into a sweetmeat with other ingredients does not lose its nature, but loses its form. The wheel of Law (Dharma) pervades everywhere and moves all things in order and for ever. In the same way the Axle of the Law retains everything (and prevents dissolution). Time may be divided into seconds or extend to Eons. Ether expands and gives room for everything. The soul entering a body will, through the five senses, taste, smell, touch, hear and see. An atom may become a body or assume other forms. To stop the origin of good and evil deeds, and to enjoy the effect of past deeds, and to cut off all bonds is release (salvation.)"

(To be continued).

V. KANAKASABHAI PILLAJ.

NOTHING brings out more clearly the chief points of difference between Hindu and Christian civilization than the origin and progress of this Transvaal War. The Boers and the British have long lived side by side under a common Government and have enjoyed common and equal rights. To these artificial ties must be added the natural ties of a common native land, a common racial origin and a common religion. Moreover, within recent times, the British nation has, under the inspiration of the genius of the greatest Englishman of this century, given the Boers unquestionable indications of their magnanimous desire to see them develop into a prosperous, independent, strong and at the same time friendly community in the Transvaal state. The Boers living directly under British rule in South Africa form a majority of the population and exercise a good deal of influence—in fact their influence is said to be predominant—in determining the political and administrative conditions of that region, and the Schreiner Ministry now in power is strongly pro-Boer and maintained in office by the Boer vote. British enterprise and British capital have largely contributed to the prosperity of the Transvaal state, and the Uitlander adventurers whose thoughtless violence—now known as the Jameson Raid—has been the proximate cause of the present troubles had apparently become permanent settlers in that state and therefore become entitled to receive the blessing of good fellowship and equal rights of citizenship from the Boers, just as the brethren of the latter freely share these with the men of British race in Cape Colony and Natal. In spite of all these circumstances, this cruel and desolating war—this fratricidal strife, as it may well be styled—has happened, and it is beyond human power to predict all the disagreeable complications to which it might lead in the future, even after the two Boer republics shall have ceased to exist as independent states, and the British supremacy established over the territories and populations now under their sway.

Why should such a state of things have arisen? What has led to all this unnecessary bloodshed and desolation? Why have men who ought to have lived in amity plunged their swords into each other's hearts with demoniacal hatred and unrelenting ferocity? Why has this war been such a disgrace to humanity, notorious as it has become, beyond all former wars for its innumerable stories of barefaced treachery on the part of one of the parties and for the charges of heartlessness made on one side or the other, and that, too, at the close of a century which has proclaimed itself to the world, *ad nauseam*, as "The Age of Progress"?

The answer to these questions is not far to seek. Did not the Boers know that England's right arm is both long enough and mighty enough to strike with deadly effect, as it has now done? What else could have been the meaning of Kruger's message to America about the Boer's resolve, before submitting, of paying a price that would "stagger humanity"? Was not the European world aware that this foolish and conceited community of rustics and farmers was deliberately seeking to commit suicide in entering upon a war of unprovoked aggression against the mightiest empire and people that have borne sway among men in the world's history? And yet why did they not interpose and prevent their Quixotic attempt to bring upon themselves the dire consequences of this unequal strife? The only answer that can be given is that to which Count Tolstoy long ago pointed when he said that "God makes no distinction among peoples, and lavishes his gifts upon all men; men ought to act exactly in the same way towards one another, without distinction of nationality, and not like the heathen who divide themselves into distinct nationalities," and, again:—"When I think of all the evil that I have done, that I have endured and that I have seen about me, arising from national calamities, I see clearly that it is all due to that gross imposture called patriotism—love for one's native land." Patriotism and national sentiment,—these are the true products of Christian heathenism in the world, and they are at the bottom of the miserable record of wanton aggressiveness, treachery and brutality that this war has been the means of unmasking in all their horrible reality before an astonished world.

It will be easy to see, when we understand the Boer point of view, why this war could not have really been avoided. The

Boers are like all other products of European and Christian civilisation, a people animated by patriotic purpose and narrow national sentiment, and so they can have no parleying with the feeling, however noble and catholic, of friendly and brotherly co-operation even with those who are aliens in race, which flows from that larger patriotism which regards all the world as the pathway to the City of God and all the men in it as fellow-travellers wending their way to the same goal. The Boers, therefore, cannot be expected to weigh considerations of justice, social welfare, or even morality when once they begin to feel that honourable national existence is at stake. To every European community, independence of all outside and alien control in internal matters, constantly increasing scope for expansion, commercial and territorial, wherever possible; the admission to, or acquisition of an honourable place in the comity of nations in all concerns affecting the interests of civilisation within a sphere of influence varying with the conditions of time and circumstance,—these are essential to national existence; and where these are denied, every community will fight to the death and resign, if necessary, a life which cannot be lived with national honor. A duty, however fatal, is a duty, and must be performed. No community, in their view, ought to be tempted by the offer of worldly advantages, such as peace, security of person and property, economic or intellectual advantages, &c., to make a voluntary submission to a foreigner. Even total ruin and extinction, as in the case of Carthage, is far worthier than an inglorious career of enslaved ease. Often in history communities thus situated have been reduced to desperate straits, but in the end an honourable revival has been found possible though only after efforts of heroic self-sacrifice,—witness, for example, the rise of the Dutch republic under William the Silent, or of Italy in recent times under Victor Immanuel.

Such being the temperamental condition of communities inheriting, or trained in, Christian and European civilisation, it is most natural, however unpleasant it has proved, that the Boers should have adopted their present course. If they had yielded to the demands of Mr. Chamberlain, intelligible enough as they are from the national point of view of Great Britain, and given the franchise to the Uitlander population and permitted the use of the English language in the Transvaal Volksraad, surely they must have done so with the full know-

ledge that they must soon be swamped by the numerically larger Uitlander population and, losing their political preponderance, must have sooner or later become reduced in affluence and social solidarity and inevitably mingle their blood with the Uitlanders', and thus lose their separate existence as a nationality. To posterity the Boer name in the Transvaal must then surely become a memory and a tradition of ignoble import, indicative of national and social impotence and loss of vitality. Under these circumstances, the only course open to the Boers was to walk by the light of history and, trusting to the God of Battles, to take their chance, as they have done. If they are effaced, as they must be, after the efforts they have made, if they perish sword in hand, their name will remain untarnished in history. It is evident that they cannot have peace with independence. No British statesman, worthy of the name, can, after the experience of the past, accept any such conditions. The Boers have shown that they cannot be trusted to remain peaceful and allied subjects or neighbours, and they must henceforth be treated as conquered subjects in the true sense of the term.

We have advisedly used this expression, *conquered subjects in the true sense of the term*. For they have fought with the British and have been conquered; and they can have *no manner of claim* for equal rights with the men of British race in South Africa, for they have been guilty of base treachery in deliberately disregarding the terms of the treaties under which they were guaranteed internal independence under British suzerainty and secretly preparing during all these years for the overthrow of the British Empire in South Africa and the establishment of their own in its stead. Even the Boers in Cape Colony have rebelled in many places, and it is certain that, even where there has been no actual rebellion, a spirit of dissaffection has long been abroad and may long continue, fomented by the insidious tactics of the notorious Afrikaner Bond. If the Colonial and Imperial authorities are to continue unmolested, they must maintain martial law in operation for a fairly long period and resolutely proceed to disarm the entire Boer population and restrict the concession of the franchise so that their influence on the internal politics of South Africa may be limited to the extent that is absolutely necessary for securing to them the blessing of impartial government.

It will help to make the position of the Boers under British

rule clearer, if we contrast it with our own in our dealings with the British in the past. We cannot justly be called a conquered people. Some Hindu chiefs were indeed overthrown and lost their power, but they were overthrown by methods and instruments absolutely without parallel in the history of conquest, properly so called. Of course we know that it is now usual enough to speak of the British conquest of India. But what is conquest? Sir J. R. Seeley, the late eminent Professor of History at Cambridge University, explains the process as follows:—"Surely the word is only applicable at all when it refers to some action done to one state by another. There is war between two states; the army of one state invades the other and overturns the Government of it, or at least forces the Government to such humiliating terms that it is practically deprived of its independence; this is conquest in the proper sense." In this proper sense there has been no conquest here. Did the English state ever declare war against any Indian chief or send out an English army, like the one which Lord Roberts now commands against the enemies of the Empire in South Africa? Not at all. What was the composition of the army by which the victories which secured India for the British East India Company were gained? Sir J. R. Seeley says:—"Four-fifths of this army was always composed of native troops." He proceeds to mention various other facts which are here worth noting. From the time of the Regulating Act to the time of the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, the proportion of Englishmen to Natives in the Indian army was less than a fifth; before 1773, the proportion was less than a seventh, and even now it is less than a third. And what about the fighting capacity of the Natives? James Mill, the historian of British India, says:—"The two important discoveries for conquering India were: 1st, the weakness of the Native armies against European discipline, 2ndly, the facility of imparting that discipline to Natives in the European service." The historian adds, "Both discoveries were made by the French." It must be also remembered that no less a man than Lord Roberts has spoken of the Indian military officers as his "Comrades," and he recently started the "Indian Heroes' Fund," which proves conclusively that Lord Salisbury's reference to this "age of heroes" applies no less to India than to England. Sir John Seeley writes in well-chosen language:—"India can hardly be said to have been conquered by foreigners; *she has rather conquer-*

ed herself." These words which we have put in italics are the words of a true and brave Englishman, and it is because England has in abundance men like Seeley and Roberts that it exercises so great and so beneficent an influence in the world. The people of India have really placed themselves under British rule and intend to remain loyal to that rule, for it is so beneficent and so progressive that there has been nothing to compare with it in this country for two thousand years at least. Such being our position in regard to the British people in the past and in the present, we have every right to demand that, sooner or later, we should be afforded every possible opportunity to show ourselves worthy of being the citizens of this great Empire. This hope glows in every true Hindu heart and buoys up even those of us who have been disposed, with or without proper grounds, to complain that there have been, hours of trial, affliction or suspicion. The power of patience is, equally with the power of imitation, a dominant characteristic of the Hindu mind, and every Hindu feels himself the truly destined heir of all the ages. For instance, when India was accorded a treaty at different from that of the Colonies on the occasion of the Jubilee, many felt that such a thing need not have been. But none for a moment believed, as none now believes, that India will always in the future be assigned the same position, for the spirit of Imperialism is abroad and no man on earth can retard the growth of Imperial Federation. When the Maharaja of Durbhunga declared the other day that he would consider it the mission of his life to promote Imperial Federation, Englishmen throughout India came forward to hail his pronouncement on the subject as a welcome manifestation of loyal India's spirit of co-operation for all worthy purposes of Imperial welfare. How different is the position of the Boers to-day in South Africa, where even in Cape Colony and Natal they have manifested a spirit of rebellion and thereby lost all claim to be treated on a footing of equality with the men of British race; even though England is sure to be generous enough to extend to them, as it has done till now, the blessing of British citizenship in its entirety?

How does it come to pass that India and the Indians are placed in their present position? We have heard some people say that it is due to national cowardice and to the supreme anxiety of every one to save his skin at any cost. This is nonsense, pure and simple. India can furnish even to-day as good a

body of fighting men as any other country in the world, and every part of India possesses sound fighting material in sufficient quantity and ready to obey England's call to enlist in her service. What, then, is the true explanation of the phenomenon above referred to, *viz.*, that, unlike the Boers, the people of India are, and will continue to be, loyal British subjects? The answer is that they, alone among the world's communities, have no national and racial feeling. To what is this due? It is needless to dwell here at length on the subject. Our religion alone has taught the world the Supreme Secret, the *Paramanna Ghyam* (Bhagavadgita, XVIII., 68), *Gnana-yajna* (ibid 70) the truth which underlies the great doctrines of "the omni-penetrativeness of God" and "the solidarity of man." The Christian Missionary in India has at last had to acknowledge this and thereby to recognise India's place in the providential order and the insufficiency of Christianity as the religion of humanity. The Vedanta is thus *the only absolute religion* for the whole world. As the destined teachers of humanity, the Rishis have enjoined on us to accept all men as our other selves, to put into practice the *Tattvamasi* of the Sruti, to bear no ill-will to any one, simply because he enjoys political supremacy on earth. "It matters not who rules, Rama or Ravana," says the Indian proverbial wisdom. As the men of British race have by Indian aid established their political ascendancy in this country, they shall have for ever our loyal co-operation in all that is noble, virtuous and useful for humanity, and none can deserve it better, as we know from ample past experience. India cannot and will not become a nation, and the rival or enemy of any other community of men.

K. SUNDARARAMAN.



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THE
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THE CRISIS IN CHINA.

It is impossible to find a parallel in the history of the world to what is taking place in China at present. Empires have fallen; dynasties have decayed; but never in the way that China is drifting at present. An ancient and extensive empire, with one-fifth the population of the globe, is deemed to be tottering to decay and extinction; and all who are hoping to get a share of the dismembered empire are at its gate. From the point of view of the Chinese, the situation is pathetic; from that of the world at large it is alarming. China has, to use Lord Salisbury's expression, sought no gold fields and sought no territory. She has been content to be let alone without the embarrassing attentions and the irritating interference of foreign nations. Nevertheless she is now virtually at war with all the sovereign states in the world; and strangely enough those who menace her and claim her territory are, with one exception, Christian nations. It is impossible to see what rights these foreign peoples have to force themselves upon China. The Chinese do not want their religion; they do not seek their civilization; nor do they covet their territory. But the Christian nations would carry the gospel of Christ to them; and if the mission fails or is resisted, they would wage war. The "Boxer Rebellion," as it was called, is not a rebellion against the constituted authority of the empire; but a national rising against foreigners who covet their territory and their gold. On the face of it, it is absurd that foreigners should send their armies to suppress this "Rebellion." If the Chinese rise against their Emperor and the Government, it is a

matter entirely between themselves, in which the foreigners have no business to interfere. They have however created what they call "spheres" of interest or influence in China, and they claim to protect their interests and maintain their influence. The Chinese are attached to their religion, to their civilization and to their country; but the Christian nations of Europe thought that the religion of the Chinese was not sufficiently good for them; and missionaries from European countries began accordingly to settle in China to civilize the Chinese. The advent of missionaries naturally caused excitement among the Chinese; and as usual among all people, the missionary propaganda provoked opposition and sometimes violence. This is a necessary preliminary which every European intruder in the East has to go through before he can claim new rights over which he may dispute afterwards, can obtain spheres of interest and finally secure slices of territory. Having once secured a footing, it is impossible to give it up, and when resistance is offered, it is met by counter-resistance, for which the material resources are brought from the West. This is, exactly what is being done in regard to China; and it is difficult not to sympathise with the Chinese in their present predicament. It was not with the concurrence of the Chinese nation that foreigners settled in their country; and probably if they had been consulted when foreign settlements were first permitted, and been made aware of the motives of the settlers, they would have forthwith objected. But their government, acting on their behalf, allowed themselves into making concession after concession; and now they are suddenly awakened to the fact that they are no longer their own masters in their own country, but on the other hand a sort of tenants-at-will who have to agree to any kind of arrangement that the superior partner makes for them. Such a situation has evidently become intolerable to the more active spirits of the nation; and the Boxer movement, we believe, is the exhibition of national feeling against foreign aggression on their country. The Boxers have been described as the members of a secret society designed to destroy the foreigners. Such secret societies must exist in every country where political freedom is non-existent. They are merely substitutes for those modern instruments of constitutional agitation which are found in all countries governed on principles of freedom and justice. If the Chinese had been trained to those modern methods, their

anti-foreign propaganda would have probably taken a less dangerous shape. But long forced to tolerate the presence of the foreigner and to submit to foreign dictation in matters of national interests, they have reached the highest limit of patience and have taken the inevitable step under the impulse of despair.

It remains to be seen how the war will drift and what course events will take. The foremost nations of Europe have all their stake in the country, and Japan as the nearest neighbour has naturally the greatest interest in the issue of the conflict. Russia, France, Germany, England, and America have all separate and distinct interests in the Chinese Empire. All of them have their missionaries, their commerce, their own subjects and their respective spheres of influence to be protected; and no delay has been made, no indifference has been shown, by any of them in sending out their own troops to join the conflict. So far as the rescuing of the foreigners in China is concerned they have all a common aim; but beyond that their interests are divergent. It is therefore difficult to say how far they will agree to common concerted action. At a certain point in the course of the war, the divergence must begin, and then it will be that the world will witness a conflagration. God forbid that this should happen. But unless something hitherto unexpected happens there seems no hope of averting the catastrophe.

The eyes of Europe are always turned to regions where there is territory to be partitioned. Before the Chino-Japanese war, it was Turkey that engaged the attention of Europe. Till then everybody was talking and writing of the partition of the "Sick-man's" Empire. Indeed, there were the same difficulties of international jealousies and conflict of international interests to be got over before an agreement was come to as to the division of the spoils as there are now in regard to the Chinese Empire. But all had taken it for granted that Turkey was doomed and that the Powers of Europe would have soon to effect a division of it among themselves. But the Greeco-Turkish war, in which the Sultan's troops fought valiantly and crushed the Greeks, convinced Europe that the "Sickman" had after all some vitality and power of resistance, and that the attempt to break up Turkey would prove a premature step. Indeed, it would be said, as it has been said, that it was Russia's aim to sieze and hold Constantinople against the rest of Europe; and that it was the check given to her movement by England and the new Triple Alliance

that averted complications in Turkey. But as a matter of fact no nation in Europe which feels its power is indifferent to the importance of acquiring foreign territory wherever possible. And the vultures of Europe would have been still hovering round Turkey had not Turkish arms triumphed in Crète and the Japanese victory over China exposed the weakness and rottenness of the Celestial Empire. It had not been perceived before either that Turkey was still so strong or that China was so weak. But the wars having demonstrated the fact, Europe had no difficulty in determining her future course. The lesson to be deduced from this is that empires and kingdoms are not free from the greed of nations unless they are capable of protecting themselves by the strength of their arms.

The European Powers which now so readily seek the armed intervention of Japan in China did not, with the honorable exception of England, scruple to deprive her of the legitimate fruits of her victory. Russia was foremost in forcing Japan to waive the territorial rights which she had acquired on the mainland of China as the result of the war; and in this unjustifiable step she was supported both by France and Germany. Nor did Russia stop with depriving Japan of the territory ceded to her by China; but actually extended her influence in Korea by supporting it against the domination of Japan, and acquired a hold on China by helping her to pay the indemnity exacted by Japan. Russia therefore has the most predominant interest at present, although it will take at least a couple of years more to accomplish her Railway programme through Manchuria to Port Arthur and thus facilitate the transport of troops. In the meantime Japan is in a position to resist any single European Power, and although she has been invited to initiate the quarrel with China, she is sure to reflect on her recent experience at the hands of the European Powers and calculate the consequences of hasty action on their behalf. There is no doubt that although the powers desire immediate Japanese intervention, none of them, except perhaps England, have any idea of allowing her to obtain any undue advantage as a reward for her services; and the declaration made at St. Petersburg, while it sets no limit on the number of troops that Japan may send to China, insists that her sending troops shall in no wise constitute a mandate placing her in a privileged position. It is not likely that Japan will mistake the significance of this announce-

ment although we are sure she will not refrain from doing her best to protect the lives of foreigners in China till their respective Governments are in a position to send reinforcements. But before she does this, she will require an assurance from the Powers as to the conditions upon which assistance is to be rendered. It is clear that Japan alone can save the situation; she alone can send forth immediately the required number of troops for the relief of Peking. But she is not likely to entangle herself in a war with China and be prepared to make the sacrifice it requires merely for the asking. The Powers are anxious to have her help; they have even desired it; they however seem to have withheld the diplomatic assurances which alone will induce Japan to set her army in motion. There is neither grace nor sense in this attitude of the Powers; and it would be to give her little credit for common sense or prudence to suppose that she will be led into the mistake of acting on their behalf without a guarantee as to her future position in China. She is sure to demand and, we have no doubt, has demanded certain undertakings on the part of the Powers as the condition precedent for her advancing to the relief of the Legations; she will have to be compensated for her losses and expenses and will have further to be admitted to her legitimate share of the results. She cannot help insisting on this undertaking after the inequitable treatment she received, after her last war with China, at the hands of Russia, Germany and France who combined to wrest from her the Liaotung Peninsula ceded to her, as the result of the war, by China. The Powers, it is apparent, are hesitating to give the undertaking; for although the movement of Japanese troops was desired several weeks ago and although repeated reports have been flashed throughout the world that Japan was sending troops, so far we have not known anything of the negotiations that have been proceeding behind the curtain. Great Britain recognises and has admitted the reasonableness of the claims which Japan advances as a condition for her interference, but other Powers, notably Russia, are apparently holding back. Great Britain has already requested Germany to intercede with Russia; but so far there appears to have been no satisfactory response.

The truth is that Russia is intensely jealous of Japan who is her most powerful rival in the Far East. She is unwilling, and knows that it is injurious to her interests, that Japan should acquire any new rights in China so as to defeat the grand

purpose she has in view and for the prosecution of which she is hastening the extension of her Railway scheme ; and France and Germany will, in all probability, stand by her. If all had agreed to the Japanese terms, the Legations would have been, by this time, relieved by Japan and the lives of Foreigners placed above danger. But Russian selfishness and Russian jealousy are standing between the foreign Legations and the Chinese army. Telegraphic report has it that Japan has decided to send nearly 50,000 troops to China. We hope this report is true, and if it is true, the Powers must have by this time given the necessary undertaking to Japan.

The real cause of Russia's jealousy towards Japan is Korea. Russia has obtained considerable influence in the Korean kingdom by supporting its ruler against the influence of Japan ; and the extension of this influence is viewed with consternation by Japan. The occupation of Korea by any rival Power must, in the long run, prove disastrous to the very existence of the Mikado's Empire. In the first place it is of inestimable importance in the matter of food and raw material supply ; in the next place it is the chief and only outlet for the surplus Japanese population ; and lastly the existence of a great Power so near Japan would prove a menace to her safety. Korea is near Japan ; her soil is fertile ; and her population is sparse. These are circumstances extremely favourable for the industrial activity of the spare Japanese population. Japan accordingly looks upon Korea as her proper sphere of influence, and is deeply interested in preserving her predominance there. She has accordingly been trying to obtain the consent of the Korean government to a system of Japanese colonising on Korean soil. Already there are said to be about 14,000 Japanese living on Korean soil, most of them as traders ; and she also depends upon Korea for a very large portion of her supply of rice. The loss of Korea would, therefore, be to Japan the loss of her food supply, her raw material supply and one of her chief foreign markets. And with Russia firmly established in the Peninsula, Japan will have always to be on her guard with a large navy at her back to protect her merchant marine and guard her homeshores. But if the occupation of Korea by Russia would be fatal to Japan, the Japanese occupation of Korea would be equally fatal to Russia. This is the real basis of Russia's jealousy towards Japan. There is however a treaty

between the two, entered into in 1898, whereby their respective relations as regards Korea have been settled as follows :—

“Article I.—The Imperial Governments of Japan and Russia definitively recognise the sovereignty and entire independence of Korea, and mutually engage to refrain from all direct interference in the internal affairs of that country.

“Article II.—Desiring to avoid every possible cause of misunderstanding in the future, the Imperial Governments of Japan and Russia mutually engage, in case Korea should apply to Japan or to Russia for advice and assistance, not to take any measure in the nomination of military instructors and financial advisers, without having previously come to a mutual agreement on the subject.

“Article III.—In view of the large development of Japanese commercial and industrial enterprise in Korea, as well as the considerable number of Japanese subjects resident in that country, the Imperial Russian Government will not impede the development of the commercial and industrial relations between Japan and Korea.”

If this treaty is maintained in its integrity, no trouble is likely to arise about Korea which will then retain its independence. But Russia's policy of absorption is in the ascendant ; she has already dominated Manchuria and made it virtually a Russian province, and with the completion of the Great Siberian Railway she hopes to dominate the whole of China. If she obtains this ascendancy she will menace not only Japan, but the whole of Europe. It is not therefore likely that European Powers, if they are wide awake, will allow Russia to occupy Korea so as to disturb the tranquillity of the Pacific and to endanger the peace of the world in the East.

The present situation in China, however, has rendered some sort of complication inevitable. The allies have not so far determined upon a common action, although all of them have sent out a certain number of troops for the relief of the foreigners. If all join together, or if all of them authorise Japan to act on their behalf on the conditions which Japan insists, the situation may perhaps be easily saved. But even at a time of the utmost danger such as the present, we find Russia hesitating to give a most necessary assurance, and Germany and France apparently exhibiting the same hesitation. Even granting that all the Powers agree upon concerted action for the common object of

relieving the Legations and protecting the lives of foreigners, there will still remain the question as to how they are to act after the relief is effected. They will, indeed, require an indemnity from China in case they easily succeed in crushing the rising against the foreigners; and if China is convinced of her powerlessness against the combined might of the foreigners, she may perhaps easily agree to the terms which the Powers prescribe. In which case the trouble will be transferred from the shoulders of China to those of the Powers. They will have to agree among themselves if they are to avoid a conflict; otherwise they will fight among themselves over a huge carcase. But even when they begin to quarrel among themselves, it is a question whether they will be divided into two opposite camps or whether they will carry on a sort of triangular or quadrangular war; and China is sure to be benefited by such a course of events.

As far as the crushing of China is concerned, all seem to be extremely hopeful; for none credits the Celestial Empire with much vitality or power of continued resistance. Nevertheless we hesitate to believe that the task of subjugating China will be so easy as is generally supposed. Of course, her crushing defeat by Japan has been taken as establishing the utter incompetence of China and her helplessness against foreign aggression; but those who take this view seem to have overlooked two important points which have considerably changed the aspect of affairs in China as they viewed it at the time of the war with Japan. We have said in the beginning of this article that the so-called Rebellion is not a rebellion at all, but a national rising against those whom they regard as their enemies; but the war with Japan was not a war undertaken by the Chinese nation, but only by the Chinese Government. It further concerned only a small portion of the Empire. But the present rising is not only a national rising, but is prompted by the common idea that the Chinese religion, the Chinese nationality, and the Chinese Empire are in danger and that unless the foreigner is entirely annihilated or driven off, there is no means of preserving their country and their religion against the aggressive avarice of the militant foreigners. The next point that is ignored in calculating the resisting power of China has reference to the state of military training and discipline as it existed at the time of the war with Japan and as it exists at the present time. Japan had to face an army, ill-organised, ill-equipped and incapable of using

modern weapons with precision, while herself put into the field a most efficient army well versed in all the modern arts of war and furnished with the latest instruments of destruction. But the Chinese army has ceased to be what it was at that time. If the war exposed the weakness of China to the outside world, China discovered her weakness herself and set about remedying it. Since that time there has been witnessed in China an unusual intellectual activity, and a desire to acquire Western learning and Western enlightenment. Side by side with these there has also been a persistent endeavour on their part to improve their army, to give it a better training after the European method and to make it an efficient fighting force. Accordingly, in the present trouble, we have been having reports that the Chinese used their guns and rifles with precision and effect. Indeed the Chinese army does not seem to have received at the hands of the reformer the fullest improvement and development that it is capable of; still there is no doubt that it is much more efficient and powerful than it was at the time of the war.

According to the latest computation, the total land-army in China on a peace footing is 300,000 men and on a war footing 1,000,000. Of course, the general impression is that the army as a whole has no unity or decision nor is it well-drilled and disciplined. But in the light of what we have observed above, this opinion has, to some extent, if not considerably, to be modified; and what is more, modern arms have been purchased and are now being manufactured in China; and the Chinese have been taught to use them by European military officers. There is no doubt that it will be some time before they can offer much effective resistance to the European and Japanese army; but that they will offer strenuous resistance is certain; and before it is overcome much blood will have been shed and many lives sacrificed. And there seems no way of averting it.

INTERPELLATION IN INDIAN LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS.

THE privilege of asking questions along with that of discussing the annual financial statement in Indian Legislative Councils was created for the first time by the Indian Councils Act of 1892. Section 2 of that Act authorised the making of rules by the respective governments concerned; for authorising the asking of questions as well as the discussion of the annual financial statement at any meeting of their respective Legislative Councils, subject to such conditions and restrictions as to subject or otherwise as shall in those rules be prescribed or declared. It further provided that any rule made under this section by a Governor in Council or by a Lieutenant-Governor shall be subject to the sanction of the Governor-General in Council and any rule made by the Governor-General in Council shall be subject to the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council. In giving effect to this provision of the Act affecting the right of asking questions, the Government of India, with the concurrence of the Secretary of State, prescribed the conditions and restrictions under which the new privilege should be exercised. It was laid down among other things that questions must be so framed as to be merely requests for information and must not be put in an argumentative or hypothetical form or in defamatory language; and that no discussion should be permitted in respect of an answer given to a question. These two restrictions are, as Lord Landsdowne, the then Viceroy, declared from his place in the Council, substantially identical with those under which questions may be put to Her Majesty's Government in the British House of Commons. And as respects the nature of the subjects, in regard to which questions might be admitted; Lord Landsdowne instanced such matters as military preparations at a time when hostilities are in progress or in contemplation and matters of financial policy involving the premature disclosure of information affecting the market, as falling beyond the sphere of admissibility. As, however, the Government of India resolved

not to commit themselves to any specification of subjects, they thought it would be sufficient to take power for the President to disallow a question upon the ground that it cannot be answered consistently with public interests. In making this announcement, Lord Landsdowne said: "the reformed Councils will, I have no doubt, show a proper appreciation of the limits within which the right of interpellation can be exercised without injury to public interests, and I have every hope that it will very rarely be found necessary to resort to the veto of the President. I may add that in this case also, the rule adopted is similar to that in force in the House of Commons." A further condition to which the questions asked in the Local Legislative Councils are subject is, that no questions should be asked with regard to matters or branches of the administration other than those under the control of the Local Government or with regard to matters which are or have been the subject of controversy between the Governor-General in Council or the Secretary of State and the Local Government except as to matters of fact.

For every Legislative Council in India, the above are the conditions and restrictions in the matter of asking questions; and we shall see how far they have been observed in practice in admitting questions as well as in answering them. Lord Landsdowne said that a resort to the veto of the President would very rarely be found necessary; but in our experience the exercise of the President's veto has by no means been very rare. Questions have very frequently been disallowed by the President of the Legislative Council in the entire absence of any of the grounds mentioned by Lord Landsdowne and embodied in the rules framed under the Councils Act. Numerous instances might be quoted of the wrong and entirely unjustifiable exercise of the veto; but the following will, we trust, be sufficient to show how arbitrary the procedure has been in shutting out legitimate requests for information. At the meeting of the Madras Legislative Council held on 30th March 1900, the Hon'ble C. Vijayaraghava Chari, submitted these questions:

- I. Will the Government be pleased to state whether, before appointing a successor to act for the Hon'ble Justice Sir S. Subramania Iyer on leave, the Government considered the desirability of continuing the practice of appointing a native of India to the office?
- II. Will the Government be pleased to state the circumstances

- under which an officer, who is not a native of India, has been appointed to act in the place of Sir S. Subramania Iyer?
- III. Prior to filling up the acting vacancy in question, did the Government put itself in communication with the High Court in view to its suggesting names of persons competent to fill the office? Did it suggest any names of Natives of India, in the Government Service or in the Bar?
- IV. What is the latest despatch of the Secretary of State for India on the subject of the Government filling up acting vacancies in the office of a Judge of the High Court? Will the Government be pleased to lay it on the table?
- V. Has the despatch from the Secretary of State for India in connection with the acting appointment of Mr. Justice Dillon, of the Allahabad High Court, been communicated to the Government? Is it a fact that in this despatch the Secretary of State says that it is undesirable to appoint practising Barristers to short vacancies in the office of the Judge of the High Court.
- VI. Will the Government be pleased to state whether, in filling up the temporary vacancy caused by the absence of Sir S. Subramania Iyer, its decision was in any way influenced by this despatch?
- VII. Will the Government be pleased to state whether it is in a position to say why the Secretary of State has excluded Vakils from the operation of such despatch?
- VIII. Is it a fact that, in practice, the nominations or recommendations of persons in the Government Service and of Vakils for permanent judgeships in the High Court rest with the Government, and such appointments of Barristers are made on the nomination or recommendation of the Secretary of State? Is it also a fact that, in view to the exercise of this patronage by him, the Secretary of State sent the said despatch lest claims might arise on the part of Local Barristers, who may have been appointed by the Government as acting judges of the High Court?

Now this was a matter in regard to which the public had a right to be informed of the reasons which influenced the Government in making a departure from the uniform practice of over twenty-two years. And there was no grave military or political issue involved in it; nor was there any public interest to be sacrificed in giving the required information. This typical

instance will show that the present rules allow scope to the President of the Legislative Council to defeat the very purpose of interpellation even in matters of the very deepest interest to the public.

Nor is this the only means whereby the executive manages to render the privilege of interpellation practically inoperative. It not unfrequently happens that questions are admitted and are asked in the Council, but the Government, without assigning any reason, decline to answer them. Of this class of questions the following will furnish very striking examples.

At the Meeting of the Madras Legislative Council, held on the 14th November 1899, the following questions were asked:—
(The Hon'ble Mr. E. Norton).

Q. Will the Government state the circumstances which have led to the change in the Madras Educational Rules forbidding Managers and teachers of aided institutions from taking part, directly or indirectly, in political movements or agitation without the previous sanction of the Director of Public Instruction.

A. (The Hon'ble Mr. Arundel).—The Government is not prepared to do so.

Q. (The Hon'ble Mr. Norton).—Will the Government lay on the table all the correspondence on the subject?

A. (The Hon'ble Mr. Arundel).—The Government is not prepared to do so.

Q. (The Hon'ble Mr. C. Jumbulinga Mudaliar).—Has anything transpired in this Presidency which necessitates the enforcement of this rule as a condition precedent to recognition for grant? If so, will the Government be pleased to state such facts?

A. (The Hon'ble Mr. Arundel).—The Government is not prepared to make a statement on the subject.

Those who read the above will wonder how there can be anything in the rules, under which the above answers were given, that is common with the rules relating to the answering of questions in the House of Commons. So far as our knowledge extends we think we can safely say that such answers given to questions asked in the House of Commons would have been regarded as monstrous and would have evoked no small amount of public indignation. But here public opinion is utterly impotent against the unreasoning and thoroughly inexplicable attitude that is indicated in the above answers.

A third method equally frequently adopted is to give imperfect, unsatisfactory and sometimes disingenuous answers. Very

often the only reply that an interpellating member gets is "yes" or "no." In the history of the Madras Legislative Council, for example, this has been so common that it is hardly necessary to point out particular instances. Then again there is the stereotyped answer that "the Government has no information on the subject." The non-official members of the Council have used every device to prevent Government evading questions in this way. Anticipating this kind of answer they take care to ask beforehand whether if the Government has no information, it will call for it; and then the reply comes that the Government has no information and that it does not propose to call for any. Thus it will be seen that the new privilege conferred on the people has not been allowed to be exercised with full advantage and effect; but that, on the contrary, the spirit of the Act has been more or less disregarded by those called upon to give effect to it. The authors of the Act and those who made rules under it never perhaps intended this result; and Lord Landsdowne's speech in the Supreme Legislative Council, from which we have quoted, unmistakably shows that neither the Secretary of State nor the Government of India ever expected that the discretion, which it was thought necessary to vest in the President of the Council, would be used to defeat the intentions of Parliament and of those who endeavoured to give effect to them. In the beginning, however, the rules had to be framed in a tentative manner; and the Viceroy made it perfectly clear that the only restriction that it should be necessary to impose was in regard to the nature of subjects. But in actual practice these limitations have been carried to an extent which makes it impossible to elicit information on matters which do not come under the category contemplated by the Government of India and declared by His Excellency the Viceroy; and the power taken "for the President to disallow a question upon the ground that it cannot be answered consistently with public interests" has been enlarged to an unexpected degree.

The time has therefore now come to reconsider the matter in the light of the experience we have had of the working of the tentative rules originally framed. The tentative stage has passed; the actual working has been found to be defective; the full benefit expected from the new privilege has not been obtained; and with a Viceroy who took no small share in piloting the Indian Councils Act through the House of Com-

mons, this, in our opinion, is, the most fitting opportunity to inaugurate a change in the existing rules.

The object of interpellation is, not less to call attention to public grievances than to obtain information on matters of public interest. In the present circumstances of the country there is no other constitutional means whereby the Government can be made aware of popular grievances except by petitions by private individuals or through the agency of the Press; but both these latter means lack that authority and that guarantee of securing Government's attention which a question asked in the Legislative Council is sure to command. Even though the privilege has been so far imperfect in its operation, it has not altogether failed to render public officials more guarded and watchful in their duties; and the public are also confident that any grievance they have, can be easily brought to the notice of the authorities without recourse to any of those cumbersome processes which by delay often defeat the purpose in view. The privilege is also useful to the Government inasmuch as it can easily correct public misapprehension where such exists. These objects, however, cannot be fully attained if the rules concerning interpellation are so indefinite as they are now. Indeed, those in whom considerable discretion is vested in this matter fully appreciate the advantage; but with all their good intentions and generous impulses, it is natural that they must be occasionally tempted to be arbitrary in regard to matters which concern their own policy or action; and public opinion is not sufficiently powerful to dissuade them from assuming such arbitrary attitude. There has been considerable dissatisfaction with the way in which the rules as regards interpellation have been given effect to. It is time therefore that the existing rules were reconsidered and modified so as more effectually to fulfil the intentions of the Act.

QUEEN ELIZABETH AND HER PORTRAITS.

NEARLY three hundred years have passed away since the days of Elizabeth; but from her time to ours, there has come and gone no period so essentially stamped with the personality of its ruler and no period in which the spirit of growth, of enterprise, of individualism, and above all of success, has been so strikingly manifest. But though it was truly the Queen's age—the Elizabethan age—Elizabeth seldom if ever sought directly to influence the growth and development of her people. She was swift to approve, swifter still to condemn, but she never attempted to educate. She rather ruled the people and pioneered her age; and indirectly her influence was thereby the stronger; for in leading the present she suggested the path of the future.

It is a comparatively easy matter to reconstruct a fact, but it is a far subtler, and more difficult task to re-establish a personality. Many circumstances that appear to enlighten, in reality tend to make it less distinct in the perspective of the past. There is always a temptation to judge a man by the result rather than the motive of his actions. But despite all difficulties Elizabeth stands out clearly from the pages of history—a strong masculine woman, full of force, steering her way through those rocks of religious differences which had so often proved disastrous in the reigns of her predecessors; controlling the restlessness of her people; breaking the power of Spain; winning her battles with grotesquely inadequate means; electrifying the whole nation with the sheer force of her personality; a ruler, a diplomatist, a politician. The finished woman is conceivable; but how difficult, nay, almost impossible, to imagine her a humble submissive daughter, or a self-effacing younger sister.

Criticism both favourable and the reverse has never been lacking on this strange woman, and her reign. Yet though the study of her personality and her period has always held so strong a fascination for the humanist and the historian, it is a curious and not uninteresting fact that men can afford to judge her coolly,

critically and impersonally, as they would judge another man: There is none of the romantic devotion, the fantastic hate, or the endless rhapsodies that has made cool judgment on the life of Mary, Queen of Scots, an impossibility. Perhaps to some extent this lack of sentiment and romance may be attributed to the absence of that feminine touch of weakness which with so many has proved the cause of pity near akin to love.

Yet in her own time the devoted loyalty of Elizabeth's subjects was positively fanatic; she both expected and received worship. "She did great things: and she knew how to set them off according to their full value, by her manner of doing them."

Nevertheless, she constantly marred her statesmanship, brilliant and farseeing though it undoubtedly was, by her meanness, her double-dealing, or her vanity. With the Spanish Armada actually on its way to England, her miserly economy threatened to prove the ruin of her country: yet instead of disaster the outcome—a brilliant victory—added double lustre to the British navy from the very inadequacy of its forces. Over and over again in following the history of her reign, one can scarcely resist a feeling that the next page must reveal some terrific disaster, and there is little doubt that had failure, instead of success, awaited the Queen on more occasions than one, she must inevitably have become the laughing stock of Europe. So accurately and minutely did she judge the effect of her policy, and weigh out her actions, that though her reign was a glorious success, it escaped an utter fiasco but by the breadth of a hair. Her ministers might storm, her commanders chafe, her parliaments expostulate—she went her way, coquetting with a foreign power as with a lover, teaching a courtier manners; boxing a waiting-maid's ears, yet all the while ruling not England only, but the English, as few sovereigns have ruled a nation either before or since.

Partly to Elizabeth's vanity, partly to the loyalty of her people, may probably be attributed the enormous number of portraits she has left to posterity. O'Donoghue in his admirable "descriptive and classified catalogue of the portraits of Queen Elizabeth" gives a detailed account of not less than 108 portraits, *i.e.*, 79 pictures, 5 drawings and 34 miniatures besides a large number of prints, chiefly taken from previously existing pictures. Yet despite their profusion the most casual study of these pictures will tend to show that they scarcely do her justice.

Her peculiar fancy for always being painted in the open air, that no shadow might fall on her face, combined with the barbaric gorgeousness of her dress, is apt to lead the portraits a bald unnatural appearance, and to detract from the brightness of her black eyes and auburn hair, and from the shapeliness of her splendid forehead. As Horace Walpole has remarked, her style of dress left no more room for the exercise of a painter's genius "than if he had been employed to copy an Indian Idol totally composed of hands and necklaces." This is true enough of her later portraits, but it is quite evident from the description of her contemporaries and the few existing early portraits, that as a princess she was a really charming and beautiful girl.

Her tutor Roger Ascham wrote of the extreme simplicity of her dress, her charm of manners, and her great mental acquirements: while some proof of her amiability may be found in the fact that she succeeded in endearing herself to each of her four step-mothers! Indeed she appears to have delighted all those who came in contact with her during her early years. Moreover their apparent fascination can hardly be attributed to selfish motives, since for the first twenty-five years of her life her friendship could be of little value, and might at any moment prove a danger to her friends. She came perilously near the scaffold on several occasions, and had she not acquired a wonderful amount of caution and discretion by her twenty-first year she would undoubtedly have passed from the Tower to the scaffold on the occasion of Wyatt's Rebellion!

Her early life, though scarcely calculated to form a good or generous woman, gave her great powers of self-control, a ready wit, and self-dependence in times of danger and difficulty, qualities that proved extremely useful to her both in her precarious minority and in her after life.

It is said that at the time of the execution of the Lord High Admiral Seymour, when the news was announced to her, and all around were watching eagerly for some compromising sign of the love she was said to bear him, she merely turned on her heel, remarking, "This day died a man of much wit and very little judgment!"

Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt who was sent to examine her on the Seymour affair seems to have found more than his match in the Princess. "She hath a good wit, and nothing is gotten out of her but by great policy" he wrote in his first dispatch. But he

soon found even his "great policy" of no avail and was obliged to own his utter powerlessness to get the better of her in any matter of words.

Elizabeth though nominally under the rule of various governors and governesses had never been under the control of those of suitable rank or station, except during her short residence with Katherine Parr: consequently she had had none to whom she could look for help or advice, none on whom she could lean. Even her favourite governess, Mrs. Kate Ashley, was to her rather in the position of a servant than a mistress, and proved herself totally unsuited to her task.

Here and there odd little flashes of light are thrown on her intimate life by apparently dry official contemporary documents. They come almost as a surprise; for the girl princess is apt to be forgotten in the glamour of the gorgeous queen. Thus we learn that when Ashley was disgraced and Lady Tyrwhitt appointed in her stead, Elizabeth "took the matter so heavily that she wept all that night and lowered all the next day." "But," adds Tyrwhitt, "in the end of the matter, I perceived that she was very loth to have a governess . . . but if I should say my phantasy, it were more meet she should have two than one." Evidently the charge of her grace, My Lady Elizabeth, was no sinecure!

Nevertheless an amusing study in the art of diplomatic submission may be made among her letters to those in power during her father's and sister's reigns. Humility and self-effacement seem the very key-note of her existence. She dare not write to the king himself, she tells Katherine Parr during a temporary banishment from court, "Wherefore I now humbly pray Your Excellent Highness, that when you write to His Majesty you will condescend to recommend me to him, praying ever for his sweet benediction, and similarly entreating Our Lord God to send him best success and the obtaining victory over his enemies, so that Your Highness and I may as soon as possible rejoice in his happy return."

The vigour and energy of her style in later years, forms a strong contrast to the above. In fact she was wont to administer a very sharp rebuke where she thought it desirable, and seldom troubled to mince her words even where crowned heads were concerned. See for example her letter to king James of Scotland upbraiding him for breaking his word. "How may it

"be, that you can suppose an honourable answer may be made
 "me when all your doings gainsay your former vows. You deal
 "not with one whose experience can take dress for good pay-
 "ments, nor one that easily will be beguiled. No, No, I mind to
 "set to school your craftiest councillor. I am sorry to see you
 "bent to wrong yourself in thinking to wrong others;.....
 ".....Or again the letter to Mary Queen of Scots reproaching her
 for her "impatience tending also to many uncomely, passionate and
 "vindictive speeches,"—and advising her to "stay or else qualify
 "her passions, and to consider that it is not the manner to attain
 "good things with evil speeches, nor benefits with injurious
 "charges, nor to set good to yourself with doing evil to another."
 This letter is severely signed "Your cousin, that wisheth
 you a better mind."

Though the occasional abnormal meekness of her early youth was undoubtedly to a great extent affected, it is evident from a careful study of her portraits from youth to age, that her character strengthened and hardened considerably as her years increased.

The Hampton Court family group (said to be by Holbein or one of his school) represents her as simply dressed, and with an exceptionally sweet and charming expression. Both this portrait and the corresponding one of Mary from the same group were engraved for Miss Agnes Strickland's "Lives of the Queens of England," but have been reversed, Mary's portrait appearing as Elizabeth's, and *vice versa*.

Also in the Windsor picture painted when Elizabeth was thirteen years old, there is something very attractive about her face: but the ostentation of her later portraits makes them more curious than beautiful.

Horace Walpole in his witty though somewhat irreverent manner has described them as follows:—

"A pale Roman nose, a head of hair loaded with crowns and powdered with diamonds, a vast ruff, a vaster fardingale, and a bushel of pearls, are the features by which everybody knows at once the picture of Queen Elizabeth."

There is a curious allegorical painting, at Hampton Court,* by L. da Heere, in which Elizabeth is represented as standing at the head of a flight of steps. Juno, Minerva, and Venus gaze at

her magnificence in bewildered astonishment, while Cupid who has thrown away his bow, is clinging to Venus for protection.

The various existing portraits by Marcus Gheeraedts, a Dutch painter, are chiefly noteworthy for the conscientious accuracy with which he has recorded the details of her dress, and in the case of the later ones, his uncompromising honesty in the reproduction of the wrinkles on her face.

Her personal appearance towards the close of her reign has been described by Paul Henzner, a German traveller, who visited England in 1598. He writes—"Next came the Queen, in the sixty-fifth year of her age (as we were told) very majestic; her face oblong, fair but wrinkled; her eyes still yet black and pleasant; her nose a little hooked, her lips narrow and her teeth black (a defect the English seem subject to from their too great use of sugar): she had in her ears two pearls with very rich drops, her hair was an auburn colour but false."

It is a pathetic picture—the aged queen with her wrinkled face, and auburn wig, incongruously matched with the bewelled splendour of her sovereignty. It was a lonely old age; one by one her old and trusted friends had passed away leaving her alone with none that had known or loved her in childhood, none who dared to cross her or let fall for one moment the courtier's mask of flattery. Yet to some extent the devotion of her people must have filled many a gaping blank in the loneliness of her last years. Well may they have loved her! was not their care her first consideration? And after the turmoil of a long and difficult reign, did she not leave her country mistress of the seas, respected at home and abroad and her people free, independent, and moreover imbued with that strong sense of patriotism which has proved such a power in our land from that day to this?

KATHERINE W. ELVES.

* Sir E. Law's excellent historical guide to Hampton Court, p. 125.

THE POLITICAL AGENT.

THE Political Agent in a Native State is the mainspring of its administrative mechanism. He can assume the God, and deign to nod and seem to shake the spheres. He is the pulse by which can be gauged the welfare or disease of the body politic. The state is the chameleon which takes its colour from the Residential background. Register carefully the conduct of the Political Agent, both as regards his private life and his official acts, and it is not difficult to determine the trend of affairs in the state in which the Political Agent is an accredited representative of the Government of India. Rajahs come and depart, Dewans rule and retire, but the Political Agent goes on for ever—for he is or should be but the mouth-piece of the supreme power whose decrees are as potent as the laws of the Medes and Persians, and with whom is no shadow of turning. It is a fiction, I believe, that a Rajah may object to a particular Political Agent. At all events there is nothing on record to show that the objections of Native Princes, in this direction, have been taken seriously. The Political Agent, if he only followed the instructions of the Government of India, would be perfection—but in nine cases out of ten, he either does more, or less than he ought to do, and the result is deplorable. If he imagines himself a special providence and runs a tilt at all that does not square with his ideas of the fitness of things, he does infinite harm. If, on the other hand, he “declines to interfere” in anything, and is blind and deaf and dumb as Nebuchadnezzar’s graven image of gold, he does less harm, it is true, but can hardly be said to do his duty. The average Native Government, by reason of the many limitations imposed on it by treaties, traditions and custom, knows nothing of the sweets of liberty. The British Government is the theatre of its actions, and nothing is done regardless of the praise or blame of that mostly silent spectator, with the iron hand concealed in the velvet glove. It will, therefore, be apparent why it is that the Political Agent looms so largely in the horizon of Native Princes. The Political Agent may make, or mar, a State. The Government of India views the Native Government, generally, through his spectacles. He is supposed to be in the know; and an adept itself at

manipulating budgets, and, concealing deformities, it is quite ready to believe that a Native State is not so virtuous as it ought to be, when a Political Agent says so—confidentially. This, notwithstanding a flourishing exchequer, model Hospitals, Grant-in-Aid Schools, and Women’s Colleges. The powers that be in a Native State are cribbed, cabined and confined by rule, and formula, and precedent. The pattern of all good government in the world is the Indian Government, and the Rajah whose rule approximates, most closely, that of the Supreme Government is sure of a Birthday honor, and an extra number of guns as a salute. And yet, it is certain that over-much Government is worse than no Government at all. The Political Agent is, generally speaking, a creature of cut and dried theories; with a ready made salve for every wound, and a solution—founded on precedent—for every problem. The native administrator who would dare to pursue his own methods of Government,—methods incompatible with the recognised ideals of the Political Agent—is yet to be discovered. Dewans have no free will in this respect. Like man’s free will the Native Administrator’s is subject to the dictates of an overruling Providence. Only in the case of the Native State it takes the shape of a Political Agent, backed by the Government of India and tempered by possible C. I. E.’s and C. S. I.’s. The simile can be carried no further unfortunately—for the best intentioned Political Agent, being human, sometimes blunders—and blunders egregiously! The blunder is very seldom known to the outside world. Native Princes and their Ministers have one virtue—which is undisputed. They know how to hold their tongues. Public opinion in Native States is, as yet, a dream of the future; and if evil results from the blunder it is only one more result of Native rule! The moral of the matter is that a Political Agent should not be appointed to the responsible position attached to the office, unless he is thoroughly competent. Unfortunately, it is, more frequently than otherwise, seniority in the service, a partiality for Dowb, or some such cause which actuates the Viceroy in Council, or the lesser gubernatorial lights in Bombay and Madras, that places incompetent men in a position which calls for exceptional ability and fitness; and which brings to mind the Poet’s remark *re* the fly in amber:—

“The things we know are neither rich nor rare.
The wonder is how the devil they got there!”

The Political Agent who would be successful must dare to be ignorant of many things. Cocksurenness is fatal, and is the mother of mistakes. Honesty, of purpose, like charity, covers a multitude of sins; but unless honesty of purpose is wedded to administrative capacity and political insight, it is but as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. Tact is all essential: Tact not to offend needlessly,—for offence must needs be caused sometimes—there can be no omelettes made without breaking eggs; tact to move along the line of least resistance without relinquishing the object in view; tact to be tenacious without appearing to be obstinate; tact to secure compliance and co-operation without any show of compulsion; tact to say the right thing at the right time, and to be oblivious of innumerable things without sacrificing principles to the Moloch of popularity; and tact to be all things to all men, without identifying oneself with any man, party or particular fad, is a *sine qua non*. It may often happen that a Political Agent is a man of strong religious convictions, but he should carefully guard against the exhibition of any bias in this connection. The writer has heard of a Political Agent in a premier Native State, who interested himself in a magisterial case, so far as to question a District Magistrate regarding the matter. It happened that the convicted person in the case was a Native Christian—of the Church Missionary Society—who had the advocacy of a European Missionary. No regular appeal had been made to the Resident—for he was no appellate authority, and yet he thought fit to interrogate a District Magistrate in an unofficial way about the case. Such inquisitorial proceedings are far from desirable, and are likely to vitiate the course of justice. Another Resident, as was recently reported in the *Hindu*, actually interfered with the course of justice by recommending to mercy men who had been convicted of the heinous offence of murder, by the highest judicial tribunal in the land. Capital sentences have, I understand, to be reported to the Political Agent, and probably the Agent in the case we are discussing, may have been within his right in recommending a more lenient punishment. At all events he erred, if he did err, on the right side. But let us suppose, that the High Court of the State, on the other hand, acquitted an accused of murder, would the Political Agent be justified in recommending his execution in the event of his being of the opinion that the accused deserved hanging? In another case, the Political Agent of a Native State, overriding the sentence of a Judicial Court, recom-

mended the reduction of a term of imprisonment awarded by the Court to a set term. The Court proposed an alternative sentence, but the Resident was obdurate, and the sentence he thought was the most suitable was eventually passed. If this is not interference of an objectionable kind, I should like to know what is. Interference in a case, where human life is at stake, may, as an exceptional circumstance, be excusable; but interference with the sentence of imprisonment of a legally constituted judicial tribunal by the Resident, who is not a recognised appellate authority, is anomalous—to say the least of it. I merely mention these instances in support of the remark that interference in such matters clogs the wheels of justice, saps the independence of judicial officers, belittles the Government of a Native Prince, and is subversive of sound political principles. That the highest Court in the State where such things occurred should be silent, and make no protest is significant; and clearly shows that the Political Agent is too great a personage to contend with. Occasionally the Dewan of a Native State has the courage of his conviction, and courageously and loyally battles for the right. One such instance will serve to indicate that tact on the part of the Political Agent goes a great way to smooth out differences and remove difficulties. The case was as follows: His Excellency the Governor of Madras was on a visit to a Native State, the ruling Prince of which was entitled to a salute of 19 guns—outside of his territories. Within his own borders His Highness' salute was 21 guns; and it was represented to the Dewan that His Excellency the Governor might object to the 21 guns, as only 19 guns were prescribed by the Government of India. It was an anxious moment for the Dewan; for His Highness had not the remotest idea of giving offence to the Queen's representative who visited his territories as an honored guest. On the other hand, to submit to the proposition was to lower, irremediably, the prestige of His Highness.

The Dewan represented to the Political Agent that, from time immemorial, his Royal Master had, in his territories, been given the salute of 21 guns, and, if on the occasion of His Excellency's visit the salute was reduced by 2, the impression that the salute had been reduced by order of the Governor in Council for some grave fault of omission or commission would get firm hold of the public mind, and thus lower the prestige of His Highness among his own people. The matter was taken by the

Political Agent to His Excellency, and the Dewan subsequently received a communication that the 21 guns could be fired, but that the matter would be brought to the notice of the Foreign Secretary. This looked like an ultimatum; but the Dewan, nothing daunted, held his ground, and explained personally to His Excellency that to reduce His Highness' salute was impossible. More, he put it to His Excellency that as His Highness's guest His Excellency, surely, would not willingly do anything either to lessen His Highness in the estimation of his people, or cause His Highness pain. His Excellency assured the Dewan that he personally had not the slightest desire to cause unpleasantness, and requested the Dewan to put down, in a demi-official form, his (the Dewan's) views on the debated question. This was done, and the Government of India, a little later, formally sanctioned the salute of 21 guns within His Highness' territories; and a year or two later, accorded His Highness the 21 guns even outside of his Raj. Here was an instance which, but for great tact on the part of the Political Agent, and the Dewan, might have resulted in political consequences of the gravest kind. To return to our thesis: the Political Agent holds the keys of all the actions in the State. If laxity is in vogue at the Residency, it will be found that license and liberty prevail outside. This is no reflection on any one. A corrupt court: a corrupt administration! one is the natural sequence of the other. A lotus-eating, do-nothing Resident enervates the entire administration. A meddlesome Resident, on the other hand, cramps administrative action, negatives responsibility and arouses strong, but silent discontent. Only to a select few is it given, to discover the *via media*. Most Political Agents think themselves called upon to *rule*, that is, to force their ideas on the Dewan or the Ruling Chief, and give administrative expression to their particular fads. If they continued passive, and confined themselves to giving advice when advice was sought, there would probably be a continuity of policy. In the smaller Native States, a continuity of policy is absent. Political Agent A has an educational fad, and a vast increase in expenditure on education, to the detriment of other equally legitimate claims, is the result. Political Agent A goes, and B arrives. He has a craze for Judicial reform, or Police reform, Railway extension or Irrigation projects. Straightway, costly experiments are entered on, only to be given up altogether, or languish

for want of funds, when Political Agent C comes on the scene, and cares nothing about Education and still less about Irrigation or Railway extension! One of the lessons it is necessary for the Political Agent is how *not* to do it. Better in the case of Residents the "stagnant peace of the swamp than the breezy leap of the torrent." The Dewans of Native States are, most of them, able men who may well be left alone to govern the country over which they are placed; and it is only when they seek advice that advice should be given. Nothing is so ruinous to initiative than needless intermeddling, and more frequently, than otherwise, the Dewan of a Native State is quite the equal, and is occasionally the intellectual superior, of the average Political Agent; and interference only serves to thwart rather than to help him. Comparisons are odious, but it seems to the writer no harm in saying that no more successful Political Agent resided at a Native Court, than the Hon'ble Mr. Nicholson lately at Travancore, now translated to a higher sphere of action. His tenure of office was all too short. Calm, patient, able and broad-minded political, and socially a thorough gentleman. Mr. Nicholson commanded the respect and esteem of Prince and Peasant. Would that others were like him. Up to the present time Political Agents have been all but omnipotent; but the solvent of public opinion, and public criticism—the result of increased knowledge and a wider outlook—will, in the end, be too strong for them. What Mr. Abernethy Mackay of lamented memory calls "their 13 gun tall talk," will die away to gentle whispers reduced in substance to conveying the exact instructions of the Foreign Office authorities. It would not be a difficult task to fill a fairly sized volume with the irresponsible vagaries of Political Agents at Native Courts. I commend the idea to some person acquainted with the history of Native States behind the scenes; and I am sure it could easily be shown, that, far from Political Agents preventing friction between the Supreme Government and Native Rulers, they have, more often than not, acted as the fuse to set fire to the combustible material sometimes existent in Native Courts. The Native Princes of India are sons of the Empire, who have acquitted themselves nobly. They have, during times of storm and stress, been weighed in the balance of loyalty, and truth, and have not been found wanting; and it is about time, that the Foreign Office should instruct Political Agents, accredited to all Native States, to be more careful than they have been in the past to refrain from unnecessary inter-

ference; to respect as they do their own, local laws and local Government; to move along the line of least resistance and, above all, to accept no favours, small or great, which is incompatible with their position as Political Agents; or at variance with the standing orders of the Government of India on the subject of their relations with the Native Rulers they are brought into touch with.

R. H.

THROUGH THE MINT.

CONSIDERING its important function—that of supplying about half of the British Empire with coinage,—the Mint presents an unpretending appearance. It gives a visitor the impression of being an enormous house, or some Royal residence, rather than a stronghold wherein there is often over two or three millions worth of precious metal at one time. Once past the official quarters however, the back of the Mint becomes more like a Barrack, with the buildings fronting on to a square courtyard; and it is here that the absolute manufacture of pounds, shillings, and pence takes place.

The metal in its pure state is kept in stronghold; this portion of the building resembles a huge safe, with barred windows and a heavy door, where the ingots are piled until the time comes for passing them on to the Melting House. On an average, gold is not coined more than three or four months in the year, but the silver and bronze coinage is going on almost all the year round, and it sometimes happens that the three metals are being dealt with concurrently. The gold ingots arrive at the Mint from the Bank of England, the silver being bought from the dealers, while a Birmingham firm supplies the bronze already transformed into bars. The gold ingots weigh about 400 ounces, generally of fineness 990 to 998,—and the silver ingots 1,000, fineness 990 to 999,—a statement accompanying them to the Mint as to weight and fineness. Very alluring are the gold ingots to gaze upon,—great blocks of glittering metal, whose solid value enforces itself upon you should you attempt to lift them. The weight is checked, and a small piece cut off each ingot, marked with its number, and sent to the Assay Office to be assayed or tested.

To the uninitiated in Chemistry, the Assay Office is the most bewildering in the Mint. Half a gramme of the standard gold to be tested is alloyed with one gramme and a quarter of silver, by cupelling in a muffle furnace, with four grammes of lead, in a cupel (or refining vessel) made of bone ash, which being porous absorbs the oxide of lead and copper which forms. The gold and silver not being oxidised are left in the cupel in the shape of a button; silver and any trace of copper is then “parted” by means

of nitric acid, leaving the gold spongy, but pure, and sufficiently coherent though brown in colour. It is then heated to redness, which causes it to shrink and become yellow. 73 assays are fired at the same time, and 144 are boiled together in solutions of acid, washed with hot distilled water after each boiling, and then heated to redness in a muffle,—which, by the way, is an oven-shaped vessel. Then the pure gold is weighed, and if it registers 916.6, or within a fraction either way of this weight, the ingots are passed.

In silver assay a solution of salt and water is employed of sufficient strength to convert the gramme of silver into chloride of silver. The metal is dissolved in bottles, a white powder sinking to the bottom, and a clear liquid remaining on the top when the bottle is shaken by machinery. This is precipitated by means of a weaker solution, and the quantity required to precipitate all the remaining silver is carefully calculated and noted down. The weighing machines in the Assay Office appear miracles of delicate balance. A hair, it seems, would turn the scale, when one observes the grave difference made by those infinitesimal grains of gold.

After the ingots have been assayed they are rated, and the amount of copper to be added to each ingot to bring it to the standard is estimated before they are sent to the Melting House. The process of melting is more comprehensible to an outsider. The ingots are melted in air furnaces, the plumbago crucibles for gold being large enough to contain 1,200 ounces of metal, those for silver and bronze 5,000, and are already heated when the ingots are put into them. When gold coinage is going on about forty pots are melted daily. The metal is thoroughly mixed by stirring, and a very picturesque scene it is, the glow of the fire falling on the blackened faces of the men, whose hands are encased in sackcloth while they stir up the great clay pots with a stick made of the same material and fixed in a socket of an iron rod. The molten metal is next poured into moulds, and forms bars of different thickness according to the coin to be produced, the upper end of each bar being cut off and trimmed by means of revolving rasps. A fresh assay piece is cut from the first and last bar in the case of gold and silver, but not from the bronze, and after the bars have been weighed in bulk, they are passed on to the Rolling Room.

Nothing, perhaps, shows the wearisome accuracy necessary

to such a process as coining, as the many times the metal is placed on the weighing machines. The Foreman of each room weighs up every ounce of metal entrusted to him at the time of receiving it, and again before passing it on to the next room. Thus the Foreman of the Melting House weighs the ingots when they come to his department, and subsequently the bars before passing them on; and so on through the whole round until the perfected coin leaves the Mint.

The Rolling Room is a noisy place, the whirring of the powerful machines making it necessary to bawl if you want to ask questions, the answers to which are doubly difficult to grasp. The bars are passed between two rollers, which has the effect of drawing them out to a great length, but not increasing their width. In their flattened condition they are called fillets, and are cut to convenient lengths by shears. The metal is compressed by the rolling, and becomes so hard that it is in danger of splitting at the edges, therefore half way through the process the fillets are annealed in a reverberatory furnace to soften them, the gold in copper tubes to protect them from the action of the air, and the silver and bronze exposed and consequently blackened. In the case of the bronze fillets the oxide of copper formed on the surface by annealing is removed by dipping in a leaden trough containing weak sulphuric acid about 5 or 6 %, but in the case of silver the oxide is not removed at this stage. When the fillets have been rolled to the necessary thickness of the coins which they are destined to produce, they are passed on to the Cutting Room. There is, however, a further process for gold and silver before the blanks are actually cut from the fillet. The remedy for weight in the more precious metals is very close; thus, to take the sovereign as an instance, the weight in grains is 123.274, and the remedy in grains for weight is 200; for silver, take the florin, the weight in grains is 174.545, the remedy in grains for weight 997. As it is not possible to roll the fillet sufficiently accurately, coins cut along the centre of the fillet would be heavier than those at the edge, the metal being denser, therefore a Drag-bench is employed, the principle being the same as drawing wire through a plate. The fillet is flattened at one end, and then passed between the cylinders about half an inch in diameter, and set, so that the rest of the fillet, which is not flattened, requires some force to drag it through; this equalises the metal, so that coins cut from all

parts will weigh the same. Three trial blanks are then cut from the fillet, something in the shape of a treefoil, thus  weighed, & if found to be correct the fillets are passed on to the cutters to be cut entirely into blanks, the skeleton work which remains being known as Seimal, and melted down again. The raised edge of the coins is made by passing them through the Marking Machine, which has two grooves, one fixed and one revolving, between which to catch the coin horizontally and force it through at the rate of some 600 per minute, pressing up the edges. The blanks are then passed on to the Annealing Room, and the gold and bronze heated in covered pots under two or three inches of charcoal. They are afterwards cooled by plunging the covered pots into tanks of cold water without allowing the blanks to have access to the air. This prevents oxidation, and they come out bright and glittering, the charcoal dust being washed off with water.

Silver is annealed in iron trays and exposed to the air; the thick black film of oxide of copper which forms upon the blanks is removed by treatment with sulphuric acid, which renders them perfectly white, with a film of pure silver on the surface, after which they are most appropriately said to be "blanched." All the blanks are dried in hot sawdust in revolving wooden drums, the sawdust being afterwards shaken away by means of sieves, and used again after being dried upon a hotplate.

The Press Room, for which the blanks are now ready, contains fourteen Ulhorn lever presses, each of which is capable of striking 100 coins per minute. The designs on either side the coin, and the milled edge, are all struck at one blow; the workman takes up a pyramid of blanks, which he skilfully stows into a rounded shaft whence they slide, one by one, over the metal ring or collar, which rises and grips them fast, while the dyes above and beneath crush the coin between them so that it takes the impression on both sides, and being pressed closer into the collar, which is milled inside, its edge takes the same pattern.

In the Weighing Room the coins are first examined on an overlooking table, a contrivance which looks like a broad strip of canvas passing over and between two rollers. The coins are spread out on this table, and all that are stained and defective picked out; but a coin that is perfectly sound on one side may be defaced on the other, so the machinery rolls the canvas over one roller and thence over the other, the mysterious part being

that the coins reappear, the other side up. It is very curious to watch the overlooking table in motion—the speedy way in which the canvas shifts along, and the coins are sucked up under the rollers, and the inexplicable manner in which they reverse themselves and reappear at the opposite end, resembles nothing so much as a conjuring trick. After being examined, the silver and gold coins are weighed on automatic weighing-machines; the bronze are not weighed separately. The machines are worked by a cam, the balance being so arranged that the weight of a coin adjusts the scale to drop it into a separate division indicating either "light," "heavy," or "correct weight." There are three slots into which a coin can fall, the one immediately below the scale when the balance is even indicates correct weight, or with the remedy allowed; if the coin be light, the weight drags the scale back until the coin drops into the slot nearer the centre of the machine; if, on the other hand, the coin be heavy, the scale drags the weight the other way, and drops the coin into the furthest slot. The remedy for gold has been already stated; it will show how nicely balanced these automatic weighing-machines must be.

Lastly, the coins which are correct weight are rung, one by one, on anvils, to test for those that are dumb or cracked; the latter strike the steel with a flat sound and are rejected. Boys are usually employed for this part of the work. The rejected coins are defaced in the Weighing Room by a machine made on the same principle as the Marking Machine, save that instead of the smooth groove, there is a terrible arrangement something like monster teeth, which notches the metal round the edge, and prevents it ever being possible to mistake it for a legal coin. The defaced coins are sent back to the Melting House and melted down again like the Seimal.

The pounds, shillings, and pence, that have come through the ordeal safely, are weighed up in drafts, placed in bags, and sent up to the Mint Office to be afterwards delivered to the Bank of England. The bags are made up with 701 sovereigns, and 1,402 half sovereigns, so many bags being called so many "journeys," but before sending the gold and silver to the Bank of England, one piece is taken out of every bag and put into what is called the "Pyx" chest. On a set day in each year the accumulation is handed over to the Goldsmiths Company, who weigh and assay the coins and report on their weight and

fineness—a ceremony which is known as the On each delivery at the Bank of England also, every tenth bag of gold, and one in every fifth bag of silver, is assayed by the Mint itself.

So ends the long series of testing and manufacturing, and testing yet again and again, which is necessary for the production of every single piece which leaves the Mint to become current coin. The produce of the Mint is far from being the least interesting or elaborate of English manufactures, but unless absolutely witnessed, it is very seldom realised how much labour and time and ingenuity go to the making of a single Coin of the Realm.

DOLF WYLLARDE.

LEGENDS OF ANCIENT MADURA.

III.

DURING Varaguna's reign an excellent musician came to Madura from the north. He performed before the king and gave so much satisfaction that he was rewarded handsomely and a lodging assigned him. Soon afterwards the king sent for the chief of his musicians, named Bhadra, who was of the Bana caste, and enquired of him whether he could excel the stranger. He said he could with Siva's help: and a match was made. But having heard of the performances of some of the stranger's pupils, he felt convinced he would be worsted; and in great distress applied to Sundaralinga to assist him. The god heard his prayer; and having disguised himself as an old laborer for hire, he went and sang and played on a guitar outside the foreigner's house. His performance being superlatively excellent, he soon attracted the foreigner's attention and on being questioned by him informed him that he was once a pupil of the Madhurâ Master. Hearing this, the foreigner very naturally came to the conclusion that he had no chance of vanquishing his opponent, and secretly left the city. Bhadra was therefore highly honoured: and directed to sing daily in the Pagoda before the gods. Whilst so employed Bhadra gave great satisfaction to Sundaralinga and was rewarded by valuable presents of money, which the god abstracted from the royal treasury. But after a while the thefts were discovered, and sentries were posted round the treasury: and the god being unwilling to bring trouble upon them, discontinued making presents to his favorite. However he wrote a letter to the king of the Chêra country, directing him to give the bearer of it handsome presents, and ordered Bhadra to carry it to the addressee. He did as he was bidden: and was rewarded with splendid presents, which he brought back to Madhurâ. Bhadra never omitted to sing before Sundaralinga every night, whatever might be the state of the weather: and on one occasion he pleased the god so much by finding his way as usual to the Pagoda in the midst of a tremendous storm, that the god presented him then and there with a thick plate or tablet of pure gold, upon which he might stand without keeping his feet in

the water which covered that part of the Pagoda where he always performed.

When Varaguna died his son Raja Raja, succeeded him. This king had a wife who was an exceedingly skilful musician: and as Bhadra's wife was also an excellent musician, the two ladies grew very jealous, each of the other's ability. The queen therefore induced the king to send for a musician from a foreign country to vanquish her rival and thus cure her of her conceit: and a match having been made between the two professionals, the king improperly pronounced judgment in favor of the foreigner, wishing to please his wife. But the unsuccessful lady protested against the award, knowing it to be unjust, and begged to be permitted to try her fortune once more in the presence of Sundaralinga, with a view to the god pointing out the real victor. Her request was granted, and on an appointed day the rivals met before Sundaralinga, and having tuned their instruments began to play. The Madhurâ lady was clearly the better musician: but nevertheless the king had not the moral courage to reverse his former decision, and was about to confirm it, when Sundaralinga, who was present in the form of a handsome young minstrel, miraculously caused the king to decide in favor of Bhadra's wife. The king soon became conscious of the god's interference, and worshipped him fervently. Soon afterwards he was blessed with a son Saguna, by whom he was afterwards succeeded.

During Raja Raja's reign the god was pleased to perform the following miracle. In a place on the south side of the river, called the Guru Tirtha, from the Guru of the gods having passed sometime there meditating on god's perfection, there were twelve brothers, who having been left orphans at an early age had grown up to be wild unmannered youths. One day these boys saw the celestial Guru intent on his meditations, and jeered him. The Guru thereupon cursed them, that they should be born as pigs in another life: but taking pity on them he was pleased to add a blessing to the effect that Sundaralinga should himself suckle them, make them ministers of the Pandya, and eventually admit them into heaven. In consequence of the curse the young men were in due time born as the offspring of a wild sow, which was the mistress of the principal wild boar of the forest. Soon afterwards Raja Raja Pandya came to the forest to hunt there, and after a terrific struggle killed both the

parents of the young pigs. The dead body of their father was forthwith turned into a huge hill, which is still known as the "boar hill": but his spirit was translated to heaven in a celestial vehicle sent for the purpose. At this point the Rishis asked Agastaya to explain, how it was that so vile an animal as a boar was turned into a mountain. He informed them that the boar was really an angel, who had been cursed by a Rishi for accidentally disturbing his meditations: and on being killed in that form, naturally resumed the form proper to him, whilst the slain body was turned into a mountain through his merits as an angel. After the death of their mother the twelve pigs began to starve: but the God Sundaralinga, who happened to come that way hunting with his wife, took compassion on their forlorn condition, and assuming the shape of their dead mother suckled and revived them. Immediately afterwards they were transformed into young men: but their faces still resembled those of pigs. Subsequently in obedience to a divine command the Pandya made the young men his Ministers, and married them to daughters of his nobles. They proved excellent servants, both of Siva and of the king, and administered the kingdom with distinction. All the king's subjects were satisfied with their Government: and unruly vassals were easily reduced to obedience.

The Pandya died and was succeeded by his son Saguna. During his reign a soul that had been pious was compelled for some transgression to enter the body of a small kind of black bird, called Bharadwaja: and was terribly harassed and chased by other and stronger birds, till at last it was compelled to live a solitary life in the branches of a big tree that stood by the side of a high road. One day the little bird overheard some travellers talking about the rare holiness of Madhurâ; and at once flew off to that city, bathed in the golden-lily tank, and for three days flew round and round the Pagoda. Sundaralinga was pleased with its piety, and taught it a prayer, by virtue of reciting which it obtained from the god an improvement in its condition, and was enabled to hold its own afterwards amongst the birds of the air. And after death its soul was taken to heaven. About the same time a heron was induced by hearing some devotees praise Madhurâ to come to the golden-lily tank, and bathe in it, and flew round the Pagoda. Afterwards, being hungry, it was tempted to feed on some of the many fish which it saw in the

tank. But just as it was about to seize due, its eyes were opened to the enormity of the offence contemplated: and it forthwith prayed to the god to kill its sinful body, and remove its soul to the regions of bliss. Further it prayed him to prevent the possibility of such a sin being committed thereafter by other birds, by causing the tank to cease to produce fishes and frogs. And the god graciously heard its prayers.

Saguna died: and was succeeded by twenty-three kings, whose reigns were not distinguished by any miracles. His twenty-third descendant, was Kirtj Vibhushana: and in the reign of that king was the general deluge. By this the whole world was destroyed with the exception of the buildings which immediately surrounded the shrines of Sundaralinga and his wife Minakshi, the Golden-lily tank, the "Elephant hill" the "Bull hill," the "Cow hill," the "Serpent hill" the "Boar hill," the "Seven seas," and the town of Madhurâ. When the waters subsided, the world was re-created by Siva, and everything appeared to be as it was before the flood. Moreover in every country kings were created of the very families which had formerly given kings thereto. For Madhurâ there was raised up a king of the race of the moon, called Vamsha Shekhara, who forthwith built a small city round the Pagoda. And the population of the city having increased with marvellous rapidity, it became necessary to re-construct it within its former limits. Prayer was made to Sundaralinga, who appeared in the form of a prophet, his person adorned with serpents. Taking one of these, the god pointed out with it the ancient limits of the city: and the Pandya built houses up to them on every side, and raised fortifications along them. The east gate was placed at Pushpavana Kshetra; the west at Patrikapuri; the north at the Varashaba or bull hill; and the south at Parachala. This being done, the city was named Halasya.

The Chola King Vikrama invaded Madhurâ with a large army: and the Pandya being unable to resist him prayed to Sundaralinga. The god bade him march against the enemy: and when an obstinate battle was being fought, appeared as a hunter and shot deadly arrows into the Chola ranks, killing and wounding many, and throwing the rest into confusion. The Chola king examined one of these arrows, and observing that the name Sundaralinga was engraved on it, concluded that the hunter was none other than the god, and began to retreat. On

the hunter abusing the Chola's men for being cowards, the Chola attempted, to rally them: but in vain. The rout became general, and he was forced to return to his capital. Rejoiced at this victory, the Pandya made and consecrated to the use of the god a bow and arrows of gold ornamented with precious stones, and with the god's name engraved upon them.

In this reign was established the celebrated Tamil college of Poets at Madhurâ. Brahma had performed ten *ashvamedha* sacrifices at the holy place on the Ganges, called Kasi, and was about to bathe in the Ganges with his three wives. As he was going to the bathing-place Saraswati loitered behind, listening to the melodious tunes of a celestial minstrel: and finding fault with her husband for bathing without her, she was cursed for her impudence with the curse of undergoing forty-eight successive births upon earth. However, to mitigate her fate somewhat, Brahma willed that instead of assuming several forms one after another, she should take upon herself forty-eight different forms at one and the same time. There being fifty-one letters in the Sanskrit alphabet, of which two were merely contractions and one the origin of all the others, she was to take upon herself a human form for each letter; each form was to become a Tamil poet of unrivalled excellence; and Sundaralinga himself was to represent the forty-ninth and original letter. Portions of Saraswati's soul were transfused according to this curse into forty-eight human beings, who became wonderful poets, came to Madhurâ from Mount Meru, and were led to the Pagoda by Sundaralinga himself. The Pandya received them kindly, and built a hall for their convenience in the Pagoda, which he called the College Hall. They settled in the city, and lived very happily, being greatly honored and respected; but they were much annoyed by the importunities and impertinences of envious blockheads, who fancied themselves to be their equals. Accordingly they petitioned the god to give them a bench which would receive them, but none inferior to them, on which they might sit undisturbed: and a miraculous bench, white as moonlight, measuring a cubit every way, and having the property of expanding just as much as was necessary to receive such members of the College as offered to sit upon it, was presented to them by Sundaralinga. Upon this they all seated themselves, and no one was able to find a seat amongst them: for all who approached the bench were inferior in attainments to its occupants. But at

last Sundaralinga appeared in order to put an end to some jealousies which began to disturb their tranquillity; and the, bench, having admitted him forthwith, he became the principal of the College, and under his guidance numberless poems were composed in his honor. After this the king died; and was succeeded by his son Vamsha Chudamani.

The king obtained, the surname of "Champaka" through constantly adorning the god with wreaths of Champaka flowers, of which he planted out large gardens for the sole purpose of divine worship. He was walking one day with his queen on the upper terrace of his garden enjoying the cool fragrant breeze, and suddenly smelt a perfume far more delicious than that of the flowers, which he fancied must come from the beautiful hair of his queen and not from the flowers which adorned it: and pleased with the idea he went off at once to the College Hall and offered a bag of one thousand pieces of gold as a prize to whoever should write a sonnet disclosing the conceit which had presented itself to his imagination. No one was able to guess what the king had been thinking about: and there seemed to be no chance of anybody winning the prize. But a devout young Adi Siva Brahman, who wanted but could not afford to get married, prayed to Siva and obtained from him the key to the secret: the god at once composed a good sonnet embodying the king's thought and presented it to the suppliant. Having taken it to the College Hall, the young man claimed and was about to take possession of the bag of coins, when Natkira, one of the poets, asked him a question relative to the king's thought which he was unable to answer: and eventually forbade him to take the prize. Upon this he went to the Pagoda, and again prayed to Sundaralinga to assist him. The god appeared presently before the College as a poet, and desired to know wherein lay the fault which Natkira attributed to the poem. The objector then explained that in his opinion the idea of human hair having a fine perfume of its own was ridiculous: and gave other futile reasons for rejecting the poem. But the god suddenly opened his terrible middle eye, and directed at Natkira a glance, the burning splendour of which compelled the poet to leap into the waters of the golden-lily tank to prevent his body from being burnt up. After this the prize was awarded to the Brahman. The god then disappeared; but was re-called by the prayers of the whole College offered up in Natkira's behalf:

and was pleased to look graciously upon the unfortunate man, who was forthwith enabled to come out of the tank. After this Natkira used to bathe thrice a day in the golden-lily tank, and to walk round the Pagoda out of respect to Sundaralinga, and to pray devoutly to that deity. And Sundaralinga being much pleased with his piety, desired the sage Agastaya to instruct him in the art of Tamil grammar. And, his order having been obeyed, Natkira, taught the rest of the College what he had learnt from the sage. Great jealousies prevailed amongst the members of the College, and each was claiming for himself superiority over his fellows. At last they begged the god to settle the dispute: and he ordered them to read their several compositions before a certain dumb man, whose form had been assumed by the god's son Subramanya. They did so: and the arbiter showed by signs that Natkira, Kabila and Bana were the three best poets amongst them. And thus their disputes were settled.

Vamsha Chudamani died: and fourteen kings succeeded him during whose reigns no miracles took place. The fifteenth king after him was Kulesha, who was so learned and clever a man, that the miraculous bench permitted him to sit upon it. But he was very proud and conceited and thought no one could surpass him in acquirements. And when an extraordinarily clever stranger named Madahyaranyeswara came to Madhurâ, the king paid him not the slightest respect. Angry at this the stranger complained to Sundaralinga: and the god, in order to punish the king's bad manners, removed with Minakshi from the Pagoda to the place where was a linga consecrated by Kubêra, the god of riches, attended by the whole of College. When the king heard what had happened, he was much grieved and besought the God to return to his old quarters. A voice was heard, which declared the reason of the god's anger: and soon after the gods returned to the Pagoda with all the members of the College. The king then made up for his former discourtesy by setting the stranger upon a throne of gold, attentively hearing his works read, and paying him every possible honor. He died: and was succeeded by his son Arimarhana. During his reign Sundaralinga was one day explaining the mysteries of the Vedas to his wife Minakshi. She was inattentive to what he said: and he cursed her, that she should become the daughter of a fisherman. On her complaining that existence would be insupportable were she to be separated from him, he promised

to become a fisherman and marry her upon earth. The god's two sons Subramanya and Vighneshwara were angry at their mother being cursed, and rudely threw the Vedas into the sea. Upon this the god cursed his head poster Nandeshwara for allowing his sons to appear before him without permission, and willed that he (the head poster) should become a large fish. And he punished Subramanya by willing that he should be born as the son of a Madhurā merchant. On Vighneshwara he was unable to inflict any punishment, having previously granted to him the boon of being able to transfer to his father the evil consequences of any curse that might fall upon him. In due time Minakshi was transformed into a new-born female child, the offspring of the headman of a caste of fishers who lived in a large city on the coast of Madhurā. When she had become a girl of a marriageable age, Nandeshwara, who had been turned into a huge sword-fish, picked up all the Vedas which had been thrown into the sea, and then began to harass incessantly all the vessels which frequented the Madhurā coasts. In consequence of this the putative father of Minakshi promised her in marriage to whoever could catch the intruder: and Sundaralinga having appeared in the form of a fisherman and caught the fish, claimed his prize and married her amid great rejoicings. As soon as the ceremony was performed, the two gods resumed their proper forms, and mounted their sacred bull, Nandeshwara attending them; heavenly music was heard from on high; and showers of flowers were rained down from heaven. The pair then returned to the Pagoda at Madhurā; but they halted on their way at Uttharakosa Sri Mangai, a holy place near Ramañathapura, and the god there explained to his wife the mysteries of the Vedas.

*During the same reign there lived in Vattthapura, on the north side of the river Veigei, a young Brahman of wonderful talent and ability. Before he was sixteen he had mastered the four Vedas and the sixty-four Kalagayanas: and his fame had spread in every direction. The king heard of him, and having sent for him, was so much pleased with his acquirements that he made him Prime Minister. The youth gave every satisfaction in this capacity, and was highly honored; but he nevertheless was unhappy, and could not find rest, being unable to satisfy himself with regard to the way of salvation. Religious doubts filled his mind, and

troubled his heart. One day the king looked over his stead of cavalry horses, and finding that remounts were much needed, gave his Prime Minister a very large sum of money, and ordered him to go to a distant country, and purchase a number of horses. The Prime Minister took the money, and set out; but stopped at a holy place called Mahathirtha, and there, after being favored with a vision of Siva, spent the whole of it in erecting buildings for the honor and glory of the god. He sent excuses from time to time to the king, and at last returned to Madhurā declaring that the horses would appear in a day or two. The god had promised to help him out of his difficulty, and he felt confident that all would be right. But the horses did not come: and the king lost patience, and had the minister tortured. He was placed in the sun, with a heavy stone on his back and wooden pinchers on his hands. However he prayed to Siva, and was comforted. He felt no pain in his body: and after he had been imprisoned for a few days, the god appeared as a cavalier, mounted on a white horse formed of the four Vedas, and brought with him an immense number of horses, which were placed in the royal stables. And he instructed the king, who was much pleased with his noble appearance, in the science which treats of the proper selection of horses. Now these horses were in reality jackals, which had been transformed by Nandeshwara at Siva's command. Being unable to eat grass, they became mad with hunger after a while; broke loose from the ropes which held them; resumed their proper shapes; bit and killed some of the grooms and the King's horses; and eventually ran off to the forest. Hearing of this, the king was convinced the minister was playing him a trick, and again had him tortured. Siva became angry at seeing his favourite thus used: and sent a terrible flood in the river Veigei which soon threatened to entirely destroy the Pandya's capital. The torturers thereupon set the minister free: and he went to the Pagoda and prayed to the god with a serene mind. The king called a council to determine how the impending danger might best be averted: and it was resolved to compel every citizen of Madhurā to assist in raising the bank of the river so as to keep off the flood. And accordingly a certain portion of the bank was assigned to every citizen, and he was directed to raise it to a certain height within a given time. A pious old woman named Amba, who made a living by selling cakes, was much troubled at not being able to find a laborer to

do the work allotted to her: but at last Sundaralinga took pity on her, and having assumed the form of a laborer sixteen years old, agreed to do her work in consideration of receiving some cakes. He then went off to the river with a spade and a basket to raise the bank. But instead of doing as he promised, he loitered about and amused himself: till the king perceiving that the bank was watertight everywhere but at the place where the old woman had to raise it, took a rattan and laid it heavily across the laborer's shoulders. Upon this the laborer started up; threw a basket of earth into the gap; and forthwith to the astonishment of the king and all present the gap was securely filled up. The laborer then disappeared. While the king was wondering who the laborer could be, he perceived that a wheel had made its appearance upon his body in the part on which he had applied the rattan to the laborer's body. And on enquiry he found that every inhabitant of Madhurâ, male and female, and every living creature had been marked in the same manner. The reason of this was that, Siva being Omnipresent, the blow which struck his assumed body affected every creature in the world at the same time. The king was greatly astonished at all that had happened: and proposed questioning the old woman. But as soon as the king and his courtiers approached her dwelling, she was so alarmed, thinking that she was about to be punished for the fault of her laborer, that she fell down dead; and her soul was carried away in a celestial vehicle, amidst the joyful congratulations of the blessed and showers of flowers from on high. The king then went to the Pagoda and prayed to Siva to forgive him. A voice in the air replied that he must forgive his disgraced minister, and excuse him from returning the money advanced to him for the purchase of horses. This was done: and the minister was permitted to go abroad and visit Chidambara. And the king was blessed with a son whom he named Jaganatha. When the young prince had grown up, the king crowned him; and soon afterwards died. Meanwhile the minister worshipped at Chidambara the God Sabapathi or Siva: and thence retired to a forest on its west side, called the Thillivana, where he passed his time in meditation. Whilst he was thus employed, a number of Buddhas, professors of the Buddha religion and enemies of that of Siva, came to Chidambara from a certain island, and began to contend in argument with a Brahman sect, called the "Thilli, three thousand," then

settled in Chidambara. The Brahmans, prayed to the god who directed them to fetch the minister from his place of retirement. They did so, and the minister confounded the Buddhas by explaining to them that his god was sex-less, was the beginning and the end, and was present in the souls of all living creatures. Moreover he took some sacred ashes in his hand, and declared that god was white as that substance, and was used to besmear his person therewith. Now, the then Chola king of Kanchipura, being a Buddha religionist, was greatly scandalized when he heard of the defeat of his sect at Chidambara. And he came to that city bringing with him his dumb daughter, and he promised to become a convert to the Saiva faith if its champion could cure his child's defect. Manikya Vachaka, the minister, effected this by prayer, and by daubing sacred ashes on the princess's forehead, and agreeably to his promise the Chola king became a Siva worshipper. Moreover he had all the Buddha worshippers, crushed in oil presses; they having agreed to so suffer, if defeated, before they argued with Manikya Vachaka.

Jaganatha's ninth descendant was Kubja or "the hunch-back." He was a valiant prince and conquered the Chola king. However he permitted the conquered king to retain his kingdom and married his daughter Vaniteshwari. He also appointed the Chola Minister Kulabandhara, Prime Minister of Madhurâ. Sometime afterwards the Pandya became converted to the religion of the Shapana heretics, and imposed it so rigorously on all his subjects that the outward worship of Siva could not be observed. But Sundaralinga still had secret adherents, amongst whom were the queen and the minister. One day a Saiva Brahman came to them from the Chola country, and informed them that in that part of it, called Brahmapura, a certain Brahman named Sivapadhaja Hrudaya had a child, which had been nursed by the goddess Minakshi when three years old, and having drunk in wisdom with her milk had become, while still an infant, a teacher of the greatest ability. Being of the essence of Siva, the child was called Guyanasambandha Murti: and he was now performing miracles. Hearing this, the queen and the minister thought that by means of this illustrious youth they might perhaps win the king back to the true faith: and they wrote respectfully to him, asking him to pay Madhurâ a visit and purify it of its heresy. As soon as he received the letter Guyanasambandha Murti got into his palanquin adorned with

pearls, and came to Madhurâ at the head of 16,000 disciples, and with bands of music-playing before him. The Shapana heretics became very angry, and tried to destroy the intruder by setting fire to his house. But he was too strong for the fire: and having prevented it from doing more than make a great smoke, bade it enter the body of the king, which it did causing a violent fever. The Shapana people were thereupon called upon to cure the disease; but they failed utterly. And then, very reluctantly the king sent for Gnyana Sambandha Murti. The young priest cured the fever at once by rubbing on the sick man's body sacred ashes, over which he first recited ten extempore verses. And besides this the curvature of his back was removed instantaneously: and the king assumed the name of Sundara or "the beautiful," being possessed of a handsome face and elegant figure. Seeing that the Saiva faith was undoubtedly the true faith, the king adopted it without delay: and its apostle prepared to retire to his own country. As soon as the king had recovered from his fever, the queen begged of him to destroy the 16,000 Shapana heretics: and the king, having consulted the god in the temple and received a favourable answer, granted permission to destroy them. In the meantime the Shapana chiefs came forward, in spite of the ill omened dreams of their wives, and challenged the young professor of the Saiva faith to a fresh trial of strength. They proposed that he and they should write prayers upon palmyra leaves and throw them into a fire: and he whose leaves were not destroyed should be the victor. The challenge was accepted: and all the leaves except those of the youth were destroyed. Another trial was then made. Other leaves were inscribed with prayers and thrown into the river, upon condition that he whose leaf floated upstream should be held to be victorious, and the youth was once more successful. Upon this Shapana heretics acknowledged themselves to be beaten and forthwith several thousand stakes were erected outside the city for their impalement. And all were put to death, who were found in Madhurâ, with the exception of those who consented to smear themselves with the sacred ashes which symbolize the faith of Siva. After this, search was made for the leaf which had moved upstream, and Gnyana Sambandha Murti found it at last in a forest of bilva trees at a spot about ten miles west of Madhurâ, where also a linga was then seen for the first time. Siva appeared there in the form of an aged Brahman,

blessed the young priest, and commissioned him to travel about and exterminate professors of the hated Shapana religion wherever he found them. The king carefully marked this spot, and constructed on it a temple, which he named Patrikapura. This happened in the Kaliyuga.

In a certain city on the coast there lived a wealthy and pious merchant who had no issue. After much prayer he was at last to his great joy blessed with a daughter, who grew up a fair handsome girl and showed signs of a good disposition. He intended to marry her to the son of his sister, then living in Madhurâ. But before he could carry out his wishes in this respect, he died; and his wife unable to bear her widowhood died shortly afterwards in the rare hope of meeting him in heaven. After this the merchant's relatives sent for his nephew. He obeyed the call, leaving his wife behind him to await his return. Having come to his uncle's house and taken possession of his property, he was returning to Madhurâ with his cousin; when at a place called Sivapura he was bitten, whilst sleeping, by a serpent, and died. As the young lady overwhelmed with grief was passionately lamenting her hard fate, Gnyana Sambandha Murti happened to pass by: and taking pity on her looked with a compassionate eye upon the corpse. Straightway the dead man became alive: and the lately separated couple were then and there married by the advice of their benefactor. In default of witnesses a linga, a well and a Shemi tree which belonged to the temple of Siva at the place where they then were, were called upon to witness the marriage. In due time the happy pair arrived at the husband's house in Madhurâ; and they lived in great harmony at first with the first wife. But by and bye a quarrel arose between the two women, and the first wife abused the second on the score of her not having been really married. If she had been married, where were her witnesses? The second wife thereupon consulted the god and obtained from him the following boon. The linga, the well, and the Shemi tree came from the temple and appeared publicly in the Madhurâ Pagoda. After this no one could gainsay the marriage. The linga and well may still be seen in Madhurâ.

With Kubja or Sundara Pandya who is also known as Kûn or Kûna Pandya came to a close the long list of Pandya kings.

In our next article we propose to discuss these legends in the light of history.

E. H. BROOKES.

JOURNALISM IN ENGLAND.

A FEW facts about journalism in England, gathered from various sources and presented in the form of a magazine article, may not be uninteresting to the readers of the *Madras Review*. The rise and progress of the newspaper press in England is a study as instructive as it is interesting. To my mind it is the most notable instance of Englishman's pertinacity and his love of enterprise. Excepting the United States of America, England alone of all countries is blessed with a press which is as bold and independent as it is enlightened and pure. In the words of a writer 'the English press is the only press in the world, that has grown purer as it has grown freer and it is the only press that has improved in its tone as it has become cheaper.'

There are many theories, perhaps guesses, as to the origin of newspapers. Some trace it to the *Acta Diurna* of Rome which, as its name implies was an account of the day's doings, hung up in places of public resort, for the information of the people. Others give the credit to Venice, as the name *Gazette* is of venetian origin. *Gazetta* was a small coin one had to pay to read the news of the day, an account of which was hung up, as in Rome, in all public places. Others again pay the compliment to China, the reputed home of all ancient institutions, competitive examinations, the printing press, railways and what not? But the Englishman is too patriotic to put up with any of these theories, and he boldly asserts that it has been the 'spontaneous growth of his own soil. Whatever its origin, it is undoubtedly an ancient institution

"Whose distant footsteps echo
Through the corridors of time."

But we are more concerned with the rise and growth of the newspaper press in England, the difficulties it had to contend against and overcome its signal triumph over the jealousy of the court and the prejudice of the aristocracy, till it has come to occupy the proud position of the Fourth Estate of the realm.

The interesting episode of the Spanish Armada gave rise to newspapers in England, and Lord Burleigh founded a newspaper in the year 1588 with a view to put all England on the alert for the Armada. There seems to be some doubt on this point, but the 'Weekly Newes' started in the year 1622 was beyond all doubt the first newspaper. Its publisher was one Nathaniel Butler. At that time, country gentlemen, country magistrates and nobles of all ranks, had in their employ a class of men called news-writers, who collected the gossip of the day, wrote it out in a readable form and regularly posted it for the edification of their patrons. The publishers of early newspapers had in these news-writers their real rivals and they flourished till the year 1712. The prejudice among the better class of people against the newspaper was such that they 'looked down with scorn and contempt upon the crowd who were willing to share their news in common, as in the roadside inns they sometimes shared a bed.' Nathaniel Butler was a newspaper publisher and a news-writer as well. This might account for the success and circulation of the 'Weekly Newes'. The civil wars and the commonwealth were powerful incentives to newspaper enterprise, but the effect languished with the Restoration. No newspaper could be published without the sanction of the star-chamber and that precious body did not grant permission readily. Discussion of politics was strictly forbidden. But a thirst for journalism had already been created in the public mind. Neither star-chambers nor Licensing Acts could successfully check the popular tide. The Government of the day saw this, and they made the best of a bad job by placing the entire press in the hands of their own men. Under this system the *Intelligencer*, the first newspaper worth the name, appeared in the year 1663. Sir Roger L'Estrange was appointed its editor and the Government licenser of the press. It is sad to think that his was not an honourable career. He changed his colour with the government of the day. He supported Oliver Cromwell and was the first to welcome Charles II. He ended his days in poverty and prison, a fitting close to his not very honourable career. The Revolution established the Freedom of the Press. But with the age of Anne, dawned a new era for English journalism, and the classic age of English literature is memorable for the appearance of the first daily newspaper, 'than which there is no greater triumph of art in the present day and which is laid upon our table all the year

round with the regularity of the sun and the seasons.' The *Daily Courant* was published on the 11th of March 1702. It was not a political newspaper. No editor dared to commit the crime of discussing politics; but Daniel Defoe, the immortal author of 'Robinson Crusoe,' violated the rule, and an offended government confiscated his auditory organs as a sign of its displeasure. Though Defoe lost his ears, the people gained political journalism. Till the year 1729 newspapers were not allowed to report discussions in Parliament. The editors of newspapers were in the habit of violating this rule on the sly. They smuggled themselves into the gallery of the House of Commons, sat through a debate, and published in their papers a report of it in a disguised form. It was a feat of memory and required considerable skill. Dr. Johnson was famous for such reporting. 'It is said of him that he took special care that the 'Whig dogs did not have the best of the argument.' Even now it is against the standing orders of the House of Commons to report its proceedings, but these orders stand there 'like a rusty nail in monumental mockery.' The newspaper that settled an important constitutional point was the *North Briton*, published by John Wilkes on the 5th of June 1762, with the sole purpose of criticising the administration of Lord Bute. It had a stirring history. It was the first newspaper to criticise a Royal speech. The famous No. 45 was the offending number. A general warrant was issued by the Secretary of State, against the authors, printers, and publishers of *North Briton*. Wilkes questioned the legality of general warrants and contested the point in a Court of Law. Chief Justice Pratt tried the case, decided it in favor of Wilkes, and delivered the ever memorable judgment against the Secretary of State. He said "To enter a man's house by virtue of a nameless warrant in order to procure evidence is worse than the Spanish Inquisition, a law under which no Englishman would wish to live an hour. It is a daring public attack upon the liberty of the subject and in violation of the 29th chapter of Magna Charta which is directly pointed against that arbitrary power," and awarded Wilkes £1,000 damages into the bargain.

The *Public Advertiser* deserves special mention, because it was the paper that had the courage to publish the furious letters of Junius, still a mysterious personality in the political history of England, who, according to Burke, 'made kings, lords, and com-

mons the sport of his 'fury.' These letters made the fortune of the paper whose circulation rose 100,000 copies a month. The *Advertiser* met a formidable rival in the *Morning Chronicle*, published in the year 1769. Under it, Parliamentary reporting attained a high level. James Perry may be said to have made the *Chronicle*. Such eminent men as Mackintosh, Coleridge, Parson Hazlitt and John Campbell were on its staff. John Black was its most famous editor. A characteristic story is told of him. Lord Melbourne said to him one day 'you are the only man, who forgets that I am Prime Minister and you are the only man, I know, who never asks a favour of me.' 'I have no favor to ask, my lord,' Black replied, 'I have no favor to ask any one in the world, You are Prime Minister of England, but I am editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, and I would not change places with the proudest man in England—not even, my lord, with you.'

No account of journalism in England would be complete without a prominent place being given to the *Times*, the most formidable newspaper in the world. It was founded about the year 1782 by John Walter, a man of energy, enterprise and sagacity. He edited it till the year 1812 when he died, and his second son John Walter succeeded him to the throne of the *Times*. Dr. Stoddart was its first professional editor. On the retirement of the doctor, Robert Southey was offered the editorship on a salary of £2,000 a year. But the poet thought otherwise and Tom Barnes took up the appointment. John Walter adopted steam machinery in printing the *Times*, and this was the turning point in the history of this paper. The *Times* was printed for the first time on the 27th November 1812 by steam printing machinery, the invention of Frederick Koeing, the son of a small farmer in Prussian Saxony. This gave the *Times* the power and the position it enjoys to-day. We can have an idea of the vastness of its organisation from the following account of it. It has on its staff, a foreign editor, a colonial editor, an ecclesiastical news-writer, the agricultural writer, the art critic, the council of five military experts, the naval expert, the geographical writer and the dramatic critic. It also employs 18 law reporters for the Civil Courts, 8 for the Assizes, and 17 for the Police Courts. London is mapped out into 19 districts and there is a reporter for each district. In addition to this, there is a labour reporter, a cricket reporter, a golf and football reporter, a yachting reporter and two racing reporters. There is also a special writer

for fires, one for railways, and one for astronomical news. The *Times* maintains a representative in each of the 670 electoral districts of Great Britain, not to speak of its 'own correspondent' in every civilized spot on earth.

Many are the anecdotes told of the *Times* and its editors. Here is one. We know that the *Times* is familiarly known as the 'Thunderer.' When Edward Sterling was the editor between the years 1830-40 he began one of his articles in this way, 'when we thundered the day before yesterday,' and thenceforth the *Times* came to be known as the Thunderer. Carlyle gives a sketch of Captain Sterling at work. "At one in the morning, when all had vanished into sleep, his lamp was kindled in his library" and there, twice or thrice a week, for a three hours' space, he launched his bolts which next morning were to shake the high places of the world. Not only on politics, but on all questions the *Times* directs and moulds public opinion—religion not excluded. Archdeacon Denison has said in one of his sermons, 'If Scripture said one thing in England and the *Times* newspaper another, five hundred out of every five hundred and ten people would believe the *Times*. Not alone the *Times*, but all the leading newspapers in London, such as the *Daily News*, *Daily Telegraph* and the *Standard*, and a considerable section of the provincial press which can boast of papers like the *Manchester Guardian*, wield a power and possess an influence which to us the natives of India, with our sedition acts, seems well-nigh incredible. Still it is a fact that the press in England has, throughout this century, gone on adding to its power and position till, at the present day, it wields the destinies of the British Empire equally with the sovereign and the parliament. No doubt, now and then it makes mistakes and it is not infallible, but to quote a writer 'it is on the whole honest, independent, and able, and as long as that is the case, the English press, with all its faults, must remain what it is at present—one of the ornaments of our public life, one of the surest guarantees for the purity of our public men and one of the bulwarks of public liberty.'

S. M. RAJA RAM RAO.

THE TAMILS: EIGHTEEN HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

(Continued from page 211.)

THE professor of the *Sankhya* system then said that the Original Producer (*Mula-Prakriti*) is unknowable, undisturbed by mind, grand and all-comprising, possesses three qualities* and is the source of all things. From that Being, Intelligence is born: from it, ether: from it, air: from it, fire: from it, water: from it, earth: from the union of these the mind is born: from the mind self-consciousness is born: from ether sound is produced through the ear: from air the sense of touch is produced through the skin: from fire the sense of light through the eye: from water the sense of taste through the mouth: from earth the sense of smell through the nose: from the union of these appear the tongue, hands, feet, anus and genitals: by the union of the (grosser) elements are produced mountains, trees and other objects of this world. In the same manner in which these objects were evolved into existence, they will recede and disappear. Till the universal deluge these will expand continuously throughout space. The soul (*Purusha*) is easy to be recognised and capable of perceiving all things, one, eternal, unchangeable and sensitive, but without the three qualities, possesses no organ of sense and is incapable of producing anything by itself. There are twenty-five entities, *viz.*, earth, water, fire, air and ether: The skin, the mouth, the eye, the nose, and the ear: the sense of taste, light, tangibility, sound and smell: tongue, feet, hands, anus and genitals: the mind, intelligence, self-consciousness, the Original Producer and the soul.

"After listening to this faultless exposition (of the *Sankhya* system) she asked the *Vaiśishika* professor to explain his doctrine. He said that there are six divisions (or categories of objects) *viz.*, *substance*, *quality*, *action*, *genus*, *individuality* and *concretion*. Of these, *substance* possesses quality and action and is the origin of all objects. It has nine divisions: earth, water,

* The three qualities are (*Sattva*) goodness or purity (*Rajas*) passion or activity, (*Tamas*) darkness or stolidity.

fire, air, ether, space, time, soul and mind. Of these earth has five *qualities*? sound tangibility, colour, savour and odour. The remaining four (water, fire, air, and ether) have each one quality less (than those possessed by its predecessor in the order in which they are named: that is to state more clearly, water has the qualities of sound, tangibility, colour and savour: fire has the qualities of sound, tangibility and colour: wind has the qualities of sound and tangibility, and ether has only one quality, sound.) Collected substance has many qualities such as, sound, tangibility, colour, odour, savour, largeness, smallness, hardness, softness, goodness, meanness, form and space. *Action* is produced by substance and its qualities. The highest *genus* is truth or (being). As motion and rest are general qualities, dissolution and existence are natural to substance. *Individuality* is in atoms, *Concretion* is the intimate connection between attribute and subject."

"She then asked the *Bhikṣu* to speak and he said:—Just as the intoxication of toddy is generated by adding jaggery and the flower of the Dhatake (Bauhinia racemosa) to other ingredients, so does consciousness appear when the elements mix together (and form a body.) Consciousness disappears like the sound of a broken drum when the elements (which form a body) disperse. The elements which, associated with life, possess feeling, and the elements which, separated from life, possess no feeling, are born from their respective elements. This is the true doctrine: The opinions of the *Lokāyata* are the same with slight differences. Except what is perceived by the senses, all that is inferred by the mind does not exist. The world and its effect exist in the present birth. That we enjoy the effects of our deeds in a future birth is false."

Having listened to the professors of the five systems of philosophy, viz., (i) The Vedic Pramāṇavāda or Mīmāṃsā, (ii) the Naiyāyika which comprised the Ajīvika and Nigranta Schisms, (iii) the Sāṅkhya, (iv) Vaiśeṣika, and (v) Bhūtavāda or Lokāyata, Manimekalai was eager to learn the Baudha system and went to the venerable Buddhist monk and said "I have heard the five philosophical systems, and as none of them appear to me to be correct, I do not believe in any of them. Venerable monk, I beseech thee to teach me the truth." "I shall teach thee, listen to me attentively" replied the monk (and continued). "The sources of true knowledge according to A'dhi-Jinendra

are only two. Right *perception* and *inference*. *Perception* he has described as conscious feeling (through the senses) name, species, quality, action and so forth (of an object) are (known by) *inference*. (In ascertaining) cause or effect and (in making a) general inference we may be wrong: but the inference of an effect as smoke from fire is correct. All other sources of knowledge are irregular inferences. There are five (parts in every inference or syllogism) *Assertion*, *Reason*, *Example*, *Comparison* and *Deduction*.

'This mountain has fire' is *Assertion*.

'Because it has smoke' is *Reason*.

'Like the kitchen-hearth' is *Example*.

'This mountain also has smoke' is *Comparison*.

'As it has smoke it has fire' is *Deduction*.

'Whatever does not possess fire cannot be accompanied by smoke' as for instance a stream (of water) is an example of the Negative of the Assertion. Enquiring into the nature of the correct Reason of an effect is as follows:—

'Sound is non-eternal' is *Assertion*.

'Because it is made' is *Reason*.

'Whatever is made is non-eternal like a jar' is *Example*.

'Whatever is eternal is not made like the sky' is a *Negative Example*.

An inference without correct reason is as follows:—

'There is no jar in this open space' is *Assertion*.

'Because it is not visible' is *Reason*.

'Because the hare has no horn we do not see it' is *Example*.

'Whatever exists can be seen, like the *nelly* fruit on the palm' is a *negative example*. In this manner a cause should be established. If it is asked what smoke has proved, the answer is: By the concomitance that 'where there is smoke there is fire' and the converse negative fact that 'where there is no fire there is no smoke' smoke proves (the existence of) fire. The upward and curling progress of smoke is the effect of fire; and hence the rising black smoke proves (the cause which is) fire. If the concomitance (alone) is to prove the fact, one who saw a donkey and a harlot together at a certain place and at a certain time, should at a subsequent time, when he sees a donkey, infer also the presence of a harlot: but this is (manifestly) incorrect. (Similarly) if the converse negative fact that "where there is

no fire there is also no smoke" (alone) is to prove the (above) fact (when one sees) that there is neither a dog's tail nor a fox's tail in the hind part of a donkey, he should not infer the presence of a dog's tail, when he sees the tail of a fox at another place.

"Both *Comparison* and *Deduction* are subordinate to *Example*. *Assertion*, *Reason* and *Example* may be correct or fallacious. "A correct *Assertion* is that which has a clear *subject* and a clear *predicate* distinct, and well defined; as for instance (the *Assertion*) 'sound is eternal or non-eternal.' Here sound is the *subject*, eternity or non-eternity is the *predicate*.

"Right *Reason* is of three kinds: it may be founded on the *Assertion* itself; or it may be from *Analogy* or from the *Negative* proposition. If it is from *Analogy*, it should be from a perfect similitude, for instance, if it is intended to assert that sound is non-eternal (the *Reason* by *Analogy*, would be) 'even as non-eternal as a jar.' If it is from a *Negative* Proposition it is as follows: 'whatever is eternal is not made as the sky.' To be made: and to appear during a certain action, constitute a proper reason for non-eternity, according to *Assertion*, *Analogy* and the *Negative* Proposition.

"Right *Example* is of two kinds: it may be *Positive* or *Negative*. A *Positive Example* is (as follows):—'Non-eternity is concomitant with Jars and the like.' A *Negative Example* is to show that the effect (*predicate*) does not exist where the cause (*reason*) does not exist. The above are correct premises (in argument)."

Having explained the means by which a correct knowledge of the nature of things may be obtained, the Buddhist monk proceeded to expound the doctrines of Buddha as follows:—"Once upon a time when all the sentient beings (of this world) were wholly bereft of wisdom, Vāman (the beautiful) quitted the *Dustrialoka* (a heavenly region) and appeared (in this world) yielding to the earnest prayer of hosts of crowned immortals. He sat at the foot of the *Bōdhi* (tree) and having conquered *Māra* (the tempter) the hero got rid of the three evils, and preached the truths of salvation, which countless Buddhas had graciously proclaimed (in past ages). *Twelve Causes* form a path (for births). They arise one out of another and disappear one after another

* The Mani-Mekalai explains further in detail Fallacious Assertion, Fallacious Reason and Fallacious Example. I omit them however as their description is too technical to be interesting to the general reader.

in regular succession. They act in a cycle disappearing in the same order in which they appear; each one vanishing when the next one vanished or springing into existence when the next one appeared, and may be regarded as a continuous chain. (This chain) is in four parts (*Khanda*) and has three links (*sandhi*). It leads to three kinds of birth: and there are three divisions of time suitable to those births. Out of (this chain) spring our defects, deeds and their results. It ensures our salvation when we realise that it is ever in motion and leads to no good but ends in suffering. Four Truths depend on it and the five aggregates (*skandhas*) form its basis. It may be described by six modes of expression. It produces four benefits, through four excellent qualities (of the mind), and questions about it may be answered in four ways. It has neither beginning nor end. It acts continuously and never ceases. It has no creators, nor was it ever created. In it there is no idea of 'I' or 'mine' and nothing is lost or gained. It cannot be brought to a close, nor will it itself come to an end. All actions and their results, Birth and Release and all such (changes) are caused by itself.

Ignorance, action, consciousness, Name and Form, the senses, contact, Sensation, Desire, Attachment, existence, Birth and the Result of deeds; these are the twelve causes. If those who are born understand (these twelve) they would attain great happiness: if they do not understand (them) they would suffer in the lower worlds.

Not to understand those abovementioned (the twelve causes) and to act under mental illusion, forgetting the conditions of nature which are perceivable by the senses: to trust in hearsay and believe in the existence of (such imaginary objects as) a hare's horn is *Ignorance*.

The innumerable living creatures in the three worlds are of six kinds: men, Gods, Good-spirits, infernal beings, beasts and ghosts. According to their good and evil deeds they are born and, from the time of their conception, they enjoy pleasure and pain in due time, and corresponding to the accumulated effect of their deeds (*Karma*).

"What are evil deeds? listen thou fair maid who wears choice bracelets! Killing, theft and adultery which are the three sins of the restless body: lying, slander, abuse and vain conversation, which are the four sins of speech: covetousness, malice and scepticism, which are the three sins of the mind: These

ten (sins), wise men who know the effect (of their deeds) will avoid. If they do not avoid them they would be born as beasts, demons, or inhabitants of the lower worlds, and be distracted by sorrow.

"What are good deeds? (They are as follow): to avoid the above-mentioned ten (sins); to observe the rules of purity: and above all to practice charity. Those who do these good deeds will be born in the three higher forms of birth (that is) as Gods, human-beings, or good spirits and enjoy pleasure according to (the measure of) their good deeds.

Consciousness is like the perception of men in sleep, and is not affected by the senses.

Name and Form are the conceptions of (one's own) life and body arising out of that consciousness.

The *six gates (or senses)* are the organs through which impressions are made on consciousness.

Contact is the approach of consciousness to outside objects through the senses.

Sensation is the feeling created in consciousness by external objects.

Desire is the wish for more of (a particular) sensation.

Attachment is the bond created by desire. *Existence* is the life (we lead) being the sum of our deeds of consciousness drawn by attachment.

Birth is the appearance in an organised body which is the effect of former deeds.

Disease is the falling off from the natural (healthy) state and the advent of pains in the body: *Old age* is the weakness which sets in the body after long life. *Death* is the dissolution of the body, which bore a name and form, and its disappearance, like the setting sun.

From Ignorance springs action: from action springs consciousness: from consciousness spring Name and Form: from Name and Form spring the senses: from the senses springs contact: from contact springs sensation: from sensation springs desire: from desire springs attachment: from attachment springs existence: from existence springs a continuation of births: from birth springs a train of unavoidable suffering such as old age, disease, death, grief, lamentation, dejection and despair. (In this manner) Desire acts (and reacts) in a circle ceaselessly. By the destruction of Ignorance, action is destroyed: by the destruction

of action consciousness is destroyed: by the destruction of consciousness, Name and Form are destroyed: by the destruction of Name and Form, the senses are destroyed: by the destruction of the senses contact is destroyed: by the destruction of contact sensation is destroyed: by the destruction of sensation desire is destroyed: by the destruction of desire, attachment is destroyed: by the destruction of attachment existence is destroyed: by the destruction of existence Birth is destroyed: by the destruction Birth disease, old age, death, grief, lamentation, dejection, despair and the like endless suffering will be destroyed. In this manner *salvation* (is effected). *

Ignorance and action, these two being the cause of the rest, form the *first Khandu* (or section); consciousness, Name and Form, the senses, contact and sensation being the (immediate) effect of the foregoing (section) form the *second Khandu*; Desire, Attachment and existence, being the evil result of sensation form the *third Khandu*; Birth as well as disease, old age, and death all of which follow birth, form the *fourth Khandu*:

Action and consciousness form the *first Link (sandhi)*. Sensation and desire, faultlessly understood, form the *second Link*. From good and evil deeds (or existence) to proceed to births is the *third Link*.

"The *three kinds of birth* are as follows:—Birth with consciousness but without (external) form: Without consciousness but with form: with both consciousness and form: as human beings, gods, or beasts.

The *three (divisions of) time* are:—the past which ought to be said to include (the stages of) ignorance and action: the present which may be described as including consciousness, name and form, the senses, contact, sensation, desire, attachment, existence and birth: the future which is said to include birth, disease, old age, death, grief, lamentation, dejection and despair. The *defects* are Desire, Attachment and Ignorance. Action and existence constitute our (*good and evil*) deeds.

Consciousness, Name and Form, the senses, contact, sensation, Birth, old age, Disease, and Death are the natural *Result (of our deeds)*.

All sentient beings who suffer by the above Defects, Deeds and Results are temporary. No being has an (immortal) soul. To understand thus (and realize these truths) is *salvation*.

* Compare Mahāvagga, I, 1-2. Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XIII.

Consciousness, Name and Form, the Senses, Contact, Sensation, Birth, Disease, Old-age, Death, Grief, Lamentation, Dejection and Despair are, (four) *Distempers*. The cause of these Distempers is Ignorance, Action, Desire, Attachment and Existence.

"Birth is painful; attachment is its cause: Release is joyful; absence of Attachment is its cause. These are the *Four Truths*."

"Form (or organised body). Sensation, Perception, Discrimination and Consciousness are the *Five Aggregates* (*Skaṇḍas*).

"The *six modes of expression* may be explained as follows:— Words denote collection, continuance, excess of a quality and Division; and they are used to express what exists, what does not exist; a truth about what exists; an untruth about what does not exist; an untruth about what exists; or a truth about what does not exist. (Words such as) body, water, country, denote a collection. The (word) Paddy which is used for the grain, sprout, stalk, etc., of rice denotes a continuance (of phenomena). (The words) cessation, appearance and growth, denote the excess of quality, (in the successive stages of an object). When several letters are spoken of as a 'word' or several days are specified as a 'month,' it denotes Division. Sensation is 'what exists.' A hare's horn is 'what does not exist.' That consciousness is associated with mind is 'a true statement about what exists.' That the mind comes into existence like a flash of lightning is 'an untrue statement about what exists.' To speak of something as an effect without knowing the cause is a 'true statement about what does not exist.' To say that a hare's horn is not seen because does not exist, is 'a truth about what does not exist.'

There are *four excellent faculties of the mind* which perceive (i) agreement, (ii) Non-agreement, (iii) Non-action, and (iv) action. To understand the connection of cause and effect in objects is to perceive *agreement*. To distinguish objects individually is to perceive *non-agreement*. To say that the mind cannot understand the primary cause which leads to effect in eternal and temporary objects is to perceive *non-action*. To say that the germ of rice springs out of the rice seed is perception of *action*.

The *four benefits* are the knowledge that (i) the world is nothing but a concretion of objects, (ii) that attachment to them is not good, (iii) that there is no connection with a creator, (iv) that an effect springs from its immediate cause.

Questions may be *answered in four ways*. (1) By a decided answer. (2) By answers in parts. (3) By a further question. (4) By silence.

If it is asked 'whether an object which comes into existence will disappear or not'; the decided answer would be that 'it will disappear.' If it is asked 'whether a dead man will be born again,' it should be answered 'Has he got rid of all attachment or not (implying thereby that he will not be born again if he has no attachment and that he will be re-born if he has any attachment).' If it is asked 'which is earlier, an egg or a palmyra palm?' it should be asked in reply 'which egg to which palm?' If it is asked whether an aerial flower (an imaginary thing) is old or new, no answer need be given.*

"There is no one competent to explain the first cause of Attachment and Release. (As far as we see) the immediate cause of all the objects above-mentioned is lust, anger and mental illusion. Lust should be got rid of by discerning (and realising) that (our body is) temporary, that it is suffering, is soul-less, and unclean. Feelings of Love, compassion, and benevolence should be cultivated so that anger may be entirely suppressed.

"Listen earnestly (to the preaching of the doctrine), meditate upon it fervently, practise it zealously and realise its truth, so that all illusion may be thrown off. In the four ways (mentioned above) enlighten your mind."

The most popular review, at present, of the philosophical systems of India is the *sarva-darsana-saṅgraha*, the author of which was the great religious reformer Mādhavāchārya. It was composed in the fourteenth century, when the Buddhist and Lokāyata faiths were almost extinct in India, and hence it mentions the names of the six systems as follows:—(i) Pūrva-Mīmāṃsa, (ii) Uttara Mīmāṃsa or Vedānta, (iii) Sāṅkhya, (iv) Yōga, (v) Nyāya, (vi) Vaiśeṣika. Oriental scholars in Europe following the *Sarva-darsana-saṅgraha* have treated Buddhism and Lokāyata as Non-Hindu systems.† But it will be seen from the foregoing summary quoted from the Mani-mekalai that the six systems of philosophy which were current in India in the early centuries of the Christian Era were the Lokāyata, Baud-

* "When Mālunka asked the Buddha whether the existence of the world is eternal or not eternal, he made him no reply; but the reason of this was, that it was considered by the teacher as an inquiry that tended to no profit." Mālunka Sutta in Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, p. 375.

† Sir Monier William's Hinduism,

dha, Sāṅkhya, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika and Mīmāṃsa. These were the original six systems of Hindu philosophy: and the Bauddha and Lokayata, far from being non-Hindu, formed two of the six Hindu systems. It is noteworthy however that in describing briefly the doctrines of each of the above systems, the Manimekalai does not give any account of the Nyāya: but in its place it mentions the Ajivaka and Nigranta philosophies which were then evidently the representatives of the older Nyāya system. The Ajivakas and Nigrantas appear to have been very numerous during the reign of the Magadha emperor Asoka as they are mentioned in his edicts.

The student of history will be doubtless surprised to find that all the phases of philosophic thought now current in Europe have their counterpart in the ancient philosophies of the Hindus. The Lokāyata which asserts that life is a certain collocation of matter, that there is no soul nor a future existence, and that men need not care for anything but their welfare in the present life, is identical with "the scientific creed" of the modern Materialist. The Bauddha which teaches that "there is no one competent to explain the First cause" and that "life is a continual suffering" combines the Agnosticism and Pessimism of the present day. The Sāṅkhya which assumes a material First cause, but recognises no intelligent creator has many points in common with modern Atheism. The Nyāya which holds that matter and soul and god are eternal is almost the same as recent Theism. The Vaiśeṣika which does not mention a god, but believes that the universe is made of eternal atoms, and an eternal all-pervading soul, is very much like Naturalism allied to the atomic theory. The Mīmāṃsa which contains very little of philosophic discussion but is a dogmatic assertion of the authority of the Vedas, may be compared to the philosophy of the Christian church which believes in the Bible and claims to be the only "revealed religion."

The specimen of Hindu Logic given above, from the Manimekalai, shows that the study of Logic had received considerable attention among the learned classes of the Hindus. It was not however pursued as a distinct science, in the early period which I describe, but only as a method for the correct conduct of philosophical enquiry. The Hindu syllogism of five parts is more complete than the Aristotelian syllogism of three parts. Their manner of stating the Major Premise avoids the use of general

propositions: for instead of stating, for example, that "all smoke is accompanied by fire" they say "wherever there is smoke there is fire." The argument is directly from a particular case to another particular case, which is the most usual and natural method of reasoning.* Hence there is no mention in their system of the various modes of syllogism, the discussion of which takes up a considerable portion of European treatises on Logic.

V. KANAKASABHAI PILLAI,

(To be continued).

* English Logicians have quite recently adopted this view. It has been asserted by Mill, (system of Logic Bk. II., Chap. iii) and partially admitted by Mr. Fowler (Inductive Logic, pp. 13, 14) that we can argue directly from case to case. Professor Bain has adopted the same view of reasoning. He thinks that Mill has extricated us from the deadlock of the syllogism and effected a total revolution in logic. He holds that reasoning from particulars to particulars is not only the usual, the most obvious and the most ready method, but that it is the type of reasoning which best discloses the real process." (Deductive Logic pp. 208, 209). "Doubtless" says Professor Jevons "this is the usual result of our reasoning, regard being had to degrees of probability." (The Principles of Science, p. 227).

KARNA'TAKA'S AND DE'SASTHA'S

†T may be an astounding assertion but it is no less true—that England and India began their histories under similar circumstances: the natural position of each has attracted to itself the most daring and adventurous nations of the world. But one circumstance seems to have altered their subsequent developments: complete ethnical fusion in England has made it the pre-eminent State it is now in the world and the utter non-fusion of the races in India not only stunted its material civilisation comparatively early in its history, but has also brought into existence the evils from which it is now suffering. What led to fusion in the one case and non-fusion in the other? While in the one case as between the commingling races there were no broad ethnic differences in the other they were present to a degree. These ethnic differences in India not only gave rise to the caste system† but to it also must be traced the peculiar religious trait in the Indo-Aryan which he has imparted to all his non-Aryan brethren he has come across and which is perhaps the key to the Hindu character and temper in general. Though the caste system at first favoured progress by a specialisation of the social functions, yet after it had reached a certain stage of progress, all the good it did was to keep it at that stage to prevent it from going to pieces. It has held together the heterogeneous elements of Hindu Society together, but it has kept them permanently distinct and has thus prevented that fusion which in other countries, like England, has produced more or less homogeneous nations.‡ It is herein that caste system has injured civilisation.

But is there no hope of a fusion of the several castes that divide the Empire to themselves? Of immediate ethnic fusion

* Cunningham's "English Industry and Commerce," Vol. I.

† Cf. Risley's "Castes and Tribes of Bengal" Introduction. Sir W. Hunter's "Indian Empire."

‡ "A History of Hindu Civilisation under British Rule, by P. N. Bose. Introduction.

there is not the least possibility; yet we need not despair. Providentially, England and India have been brought and bound together in an indissoluble tie. English Education, the greatest benefit to India of England's relations with it, is the greatest solvent of Hindu Society. It is also its salvation. It has created new aims and aspirations in the peoples of ancient India and the famous minute of Macaulay marks the dawn of a new epoch in the history of India—it marks the death pangs of mediæval India and signifies the birth-throes of Modern India. It has made possible an "United India." It has created an intellectual sympathy unknown in former times. It has displaced the old religious bond of union by the newly developed political bond. It is the heaven of Hindu Society. It is breaking the protective spirit of Hinduism in social matters, so long the greatest impediment to ethnical fusion. It is to Hindu Society what the Reformation was to England. The Reformation "was," says Canon Westcott + "the affirmation of Individuality..... Individuality is not the sum of life, but it is an essential part of life in every region of our nature and our work, in our work for the part and for the whole. It is true, though it is not the whole truth, that we must live and die alone, alone with God." One of the most important effects of English education in India is the rise and growth of this individualistic spirit as the Congresses and Conferences and even recent Acts of Legislature ‡ surely indicate. An invariable concomitant of this individualism is the growth of selfishness, and selfishness in the joint Hindu family means its break up. But if Hindu Society is to progress at all, the customary basis upon which the joint Hindu family rests must break and rest upon a more stable basis, and that is that true self-controlling freedom, which is the result of the growth of knowledge and self-reliance, which enables men to impose of their own free will restraints on their own actions. But the time during which the "old order changeth yielding place to new," the time within which the new collectivism based upon strong self-disciplined individuality displaces the old collectivism based upon instinct, in fact, the transition stage may be (and it is so in fact) difficult to pass through. But no transition stage is a

* Cf. Buckle's "History of Civilisation in England," Vol. II.

† "Social aspects of Christianity."

‡ E. G. "The Madras Hindu Gains of Learning Bill." Etpassim it may be observed that as Legislation must move on the lines of least resistance taking into consideration the phase of progress through which the Hindu Society is now passing a better Act can't have been conceived.

bed of roses. Individualism will have to be pruned of its roughness, of its barrenness, of its selfishness before it can work out India's salvation. But the day that sees egotistical Individualism, of which the chief factor is selfishness, giving place to Individualism based upon self-abnegation, the mark of true Individualism sees India shining forth to the glory of all Englishmen, proud of their august mission in her historic soil, as the brightest jewel in England's crown. Meanwhile it might be allowed for us to look forward with the * poet that

" There shall come from out the noise of strife and groaning

A broader day, a juster brotherhood :

A deep equality of aim postponing

All selfish seeking to the general good.

There shall come a time when each shall to the other

Be as God would have him, brother to brother."

Such, then, are some of the effects of English education in India and it is through English education only that we can look forward with hope for the fusion of races in India. For it is that alone that can dispel ignorance from the minds of the people and prepare the way for a better adjustment of their social relations on which depends entirely their political redemption. Reformation in the sense of educating the masses of Hindu Society that they might with the poet † realise that

" Self-knowledge, self-reverence, and self-control,

These alone lead to sovereign power,"

by the diffusion of correct ideas regarding their rights and duties in the social, political and religious spheres of action is, indeed, imperatively necessary. The question whether the time is ripe for such a task need not trouble us at all, since Macaulay's minute settled that for us long ago, and if we lose time in idle talk and vain rivalry, we may be left behind in the race of nations and remain condemned in the eyes of the world as those who though the inheritors of a grand old civilisation had not the grit and the political sagacity to make the most of a favourable opportunity—a just retribution it would seem, to a spiritual civilisation that had killed its material part. But it is in the methods of reform that its exponents, able, honest and conscientious as they are, differ utterly from each other. And it is

* Lewis Morris.

† Tennyson in "Enoc."

unfortunately here that the greatest caution has to be exercised by every reformer who has the success of his work at his heart. A little carelessness or hastiness may retard the progress of his work for decades and a little caution and moderation at the right moment may ensure lasting success. And in this respect the teachings of the evolution doctrine have great force, because they teach that growth is structural and organic and must take slow effect in all parts of the organism and cannot neglect any and favour the rest. The process of growth, as that veteran reformer the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ranade has observed, * is always slow, where it has to be a sure growth. The best natures generally want to shorten this long process in their desire to achieve the work of a century in a decade. The temptation has to be resisted. If not, the results are disastrous. For, as another distinguished writer has observed, " projects for great and sudden changes are now, as ever, foredoomed to fail, and to cause reaction. We are still unable to move freely, if we move so fast that our new plans of life outrun our instincts. It is true that human nature can be modified; new ideals, new opportunities and new methods of action may, as history shows, alter it very much even in a few generations. This change in human nature has perhaps never covered so wide an area and moved so fast as in the present generation. But still it is a growth and therefore gradual; and changes of our social organisation must wait on it, and therefore they must be gradual too. How truly these sentences portray the present situation of the Indian Social Reform movement it is not for the present writer to say since the Reformer's crusade against what he quaintly calls the Hindu Revivalism itself very well betrays it. So then if to-day the Reformer finds his work checked he has not only to find fault with himself but also to thank himself that the resulting reaction has laid bare the faulty character of his methods of action. He must take his lesson "slow but sure" in the school of experience. He must unlearn his old balderdash method and get at the convincing method of patiently studying in a scientific spirit each problem as it comes, and put it before the public in such a light that it will have the effect of destroying its old intellectual hold on them and give place to the new ideas presented to them. Criticism to be fruitful must be constructive instead of

* See Report of the 9th social conference.

† Prof. Marshall in his "Principles of Economics."

being purely destructive. In the present article an endeavour is made to study the vexed question of the relationship between Karanataka and Desastha Brahmans of Southern India in the above spirit. It will be shown that both of them belong essentially to the same racial stock, that differences between their customs are due entirely to the peculiar environments that either of them subjected themselves to and that as language is no sure test of race and no differences in their physical features are discernable, they can intermarry with each other with an easy conscience.

The first question that troubles us at the outset is who are the Karnataka Brahmans? They are the descendants of the earliest immigrant Aryans into the South. Dr. Burnell* is of opinion that "there is not much historical evidence to prove that there were Brahmans in South India before the 7th century." But this cannot be accepted. Mr. Foulkes† points out that the earliest Pallava grants show that Brahmans were in the 4th and 5th centuries sufficiently in Court favour to receive land grants. Mr. Rice‡ says that there are authentic traces of the introduction of Brahmans in the Nagar country in the Mysore Province in the 3rd and 4th centuries. Mr. H. A. Stuart§ in confirmation says that Brahmans were already in the 4th century settled in the Pallava and the Chalukya countries. The testimony of the Tamil poets points to the existence of Brahmans in the Chera and the Chola countries in the 1st century A. D. || The Asoka Edicts, the foreign relations of Ceylon, the writings of Megasthenes and Bandhayana point to Brahmanical influence in the South in the 5th century B. C. The Ramayana, which belongs to the 10th century B. C., has been plausibly interpreted** to allegorically mean the introduction of Aryan civilisation and culture, typified by the various agricultural implements, into the South. With the decline of Buddhism and the rise of Brahmanism with redoubled vigour at about 500 A. D. fresh colonies of Brahmans continually settled

* "South Indian Paleography."

† Salem Manual, Parts I and II.

‡ Rice's "Mysore" and "Mysore Inscriptions," and Campbell's "Ethnology of India."

§ Last Census Report.

|| See Mr. Kanakasabhai's article on "Tamils Eighteen hundred years ago" in the *Madrass Review*.

** Hunter, Weber and Dutt.

on the banks of the Godavari and the Krishna, the nearest eligible sites in their southward course and thence gradually at later times spread further south. The successful preaching of Sankara during the 8th and 9th centuries seems to have laid the foundation of a Brahmanical mission at Kumbakonam. Ramanuja's preaching during the 12th century gave an impetus to fresh Brahmanic descents into the south. All later immigrations date subsequent to the Mahomedan conquest at the end of the 12th century, and the movements from the Northern to the Southern portion of the Peninsula date subsequent to the capture of Warrangal and the annihilation of the Telingana monarchy by the Mahomedans, followed immediately by the foundation of the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar on the Tungabhadra in the early part of the 14th century.*

It has been authoritatively† suggested that the introduction of Aryan civilisation could not be the result of conquest but of a peaceable and gradual process of colonisation. The obviously conciliatory and conservative course pursued by the Aryan colonists, of which abundance of proof is found in the religion of the country and the philology of its dialects, points distinctly to an intellectual body of priestly colonists holding in the absence of that authority which conquest gives the relation of friendly instructors and welcome guides to the pre-Aryan population. So, then, it seems conclusive that the stray Brahman colonists who settled in Southern India were much affected by the Dravidians who by common consent form even at the present day the main bulk of the South Indian population.‡ In process of time they gave up the Sanskrit tongue to the different Dravidian ones, found accommodation in their religion for the various Dravidian deities and even adopted Dravidian customs, the most ghastly of which, Sati, has been shown by a great authority§ to be purely Dravidian in origin and to have no basis in the Rig Veda, the only one passage generally cited as from it in its favour being undoubtedly spurious. These early immigrants were, in later times, in virtue of their geographical position

* See Tanjore Manual.

† Caldwell, Mac-Muller, and Kanakasabhai Pillay and Tanjore Manual.

‡ See Oppert's "Bharathavarsha" and Stuart's "Census Report."

§ Prof. Wilson, See "Collected Essays," Vol. III, Art. "On Human Sacrifices," and Meheane's "Manual of Administration."

called Karnatakas, the term Karnatic* meaning the black-cotton soil country and comprising the Western tableland and the Eastern plain.

During the middle of the 17th century, with the Mahratha adventurers who overran the South, of which their political capital and social rallying centre was the town of Tanjore, came Brahman priests, accountants and administrators.† Also the general unrest and disorder ‡ that prevailed in Northern India from the epoch-making third battle of Paniput in 1761 to the death of Madhava Rao Scindia and the final crushing of the revived Hindu Empire under him led to Brahmanical descents into the South which was then comparatively quiet. Again, as the operations of the East India Company increased from that of a trading corporation to that of a conquering nation, the Marathi language was continued as the official language for a pretty long-time, and military officers of the Company whose services were transferred from the West coast to the South brought down Brahman assistants with them, and these finally settled with their families here. Finally, the consolidation of Madhwacharya's Mutt system throughout the whole of India led to fresh Brahmanical settlements in the South. These latter Brahmanical immigrations were entirely from Poona and the surrounding Maratha country, and comprised the Marathi speaking Brahmans, both of Madhwa and Saiva persuasion, with freedom of intermarriage which now, it is sincerely to be regretted, shows signs of cessation. These immigrants are called the Desasthās, the word Desasthā meaning § literally "native" and in the Dekhan was applied to the Maratha Brahmans inhabiting the country above the Ghauts to distinguish them from the Konkanese inhabiting the country below the Ghauts. Poona with the surrounding country is considered pre-eminently *the* country, and the people coming from it to the Karnatic distinguished themselves by the term Desasthā from the earlier Brahman immigrants to the South who, as already seen, went by the name of Karnātakās.

* Mr. T. Wheeler (History of India, &c.), suggests that this term signifies the territory occupied by the "Kanarese speaking people." This seems to be erroneous. The term is of general application to the four chief Dravidian languages and the peoples speaking them. The term has as much, if not as little exclusively to do with the "Kanarese speaking people" as with the peoples speaking the other Dravidian languages. The view taken in the text has the authority of Dr. Caldwell. See "History of Tinnevely."

† Lewis Rice's "Mysore," Vol. I, p. 439.

‡ See H. G. Keine's "Fall of the Moghul Empire," and "Madhava Rao Scindia" in the "Rulers of India Series."

§ Cf. Duff's History of the Mahrattas.

So, then, it is clear that the Karnātakā and the Desasthā Brahmans belong essentially to the same racial stock, viz., Indo-Aryan, and both as Brahmans can have no objection to intermarry with one another. But on the other hand, ignorance seems to have such power over the minds of even supremely well-educated persons, not to speak of others, as to cloud their understanding so much that both of them have come to think that they each of them belong to essentially different racial stocks, the one to the Dravidian, the other to the Aryan. Indeed, the mistake is not entirely theirs. It is shared in even by occidental ethnologists* of note who think that the caste system was prevalent even amongst the Dravidians as amongst the Indo-Aryans and connect them on that account with the Australians and certain African races who retain traces of it. A greater mistake than this has never been committed. The caste system was unknown to the Dravidians, who at the time of the Aryan advent were acquainted only with the *extensive* system of culture, until it was foisted upon them by the Indo-Aryans, who, of all the sections of the Aryan race, have developed it to its greatest perfection. The date of its introduction amongst the Dravidians can only be inferred. The oldest Tamil grammar extant, which was written by one Tolkappiyam, a Brahman of the Bharadavaja *gotra*, who flourished about 1st or 2nd century B. C., † shows the earliest traces of its introduction. In his classification of the South Indian population the Brahman heads the poll; the fighting or the military classes appear as Kshatriyas; the trading classes as Vysyas, and the Vellalas, the agricultural community of the South, are singled out and left off without any remark, evidently thereby meaning that they should be classed as Sudras. By the time of the great poet Tiruvalluvar, who according to Drs. Pope and Caldwell ‡ lived about the 10th century A. D., but according to recent investigations § about the 1st or 2nd century A. D., it had not made any very great progress. It is a well-known fact that this poet is not hampered by caste distinctions. This proves not so much his Pariah descent as the fact that the newly introduced caste system had made little or no progress

* E.g. Drs. Topinard and Quatrefages.

† *Madras Review*, Vol. III.

‡ Pope's "Kural" Caldwell's "Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages."

§ Mr. Kanakasabai Pillay on "the Tamil's Eighteen Hundred Years ago" in the *Madras Review*, and Mr. Seshagiri Sastri in his "Essay on Tamil Literature."

at all at that time. But by the time of the religious reformers Sankara and Ramanuja (8th and 11th centuries A. D. respectively) we find that all the Dravidian tribes are brought under the caste system and the 14th century sees it so much in vogue that the right hand and left hand faction disputes are already seen to disturb the quiet of even petty villages. So that it is clear that the term "Dravida" or "Karnatakâ" Brahman means *not* that there was caste system amongst the Dravidians and that there were Brahmans amongst them as among the Indo-Aryans; but that they are Aryan Brahmans settled in the Dravid* or the Karnatakâ† country.

Another objection for intermarriages between the two sections is the fact that they both speak different languages. It is not infrequently asserted even by well educated Marathi-speaking gentlemen that marriages ought to be contracted only between the Marathi-speaking peoples. This statement in scientific language means that language is the best characteristic of a race. This no doubt was the old stand point. A fuller study of the matter has, however, recently brought to light that language is no sure test of race. Indeed, Dr. Broca's recently enunciated axiom that "the ethnic characteristics of the first order of importance are not linguistic but physical, is universally accepted. Language, it is true, separates man from beast, but does not one race of mankind from another. The identity, nay even similarity, of the language of two tribes can only establish that there is or has been some social relation between them and does not necessarily imply common descent. For example we may take the case of the Guanche of the Canary Islands, which is often cited in this connection. They were long supposed to have died out since the inhabitants of those Islands to-day speak Spanish. But it has recently been shown that the population of that group of Islands is fundamentally Guanche to-day with an admixture of Spanish due to Spanish conquest. Similarly the Slavonic inhabitants of East Germany now speak German, the Negroes of the United States of America speak English, the Aryan Brahmans of the South of India, the mother-tongue of whose ancestors had been either Sanskrit or its Prakritic dialects

* Name given to the southern portion of the Peninsula from the main bulk of its population, which is Dravidian.

† Name given to the same portion from the peculiar black cotton soil of the country.

have adopted one or the other of the Dravidian languages of the provinces in which they settled, and the Jews everywhere have adopted the language of the country they have entered! Marathi was no more the original language of the now Marathi speaking Brahmans than Tamil or any of the other Dravidian languages was the original language of the Brahmans now speaking them. The original language of either of them was Sanskrit, but everywhere as colonists they were fewer in number than the Dravidians amongst whom they settled, and consequently in a few generations their original language died out even as their religion, customs and modes of life largely changed by Dravidian admixture, and the languages of those amongst whom they settled ultimately prevailed, of course, with large additions from their own original language. Besides this, identity of language may be due to conquest, invasion, immigration, absorption, religious contact and the necessities of trade. Thus it is clear that identity of speech no more implies identity of race than diversity of speech implies diversity of race. If it did, we should have to say that there is a closer racial connection between the Yankee and the Negro, or between a Vishnava Brahman and an Irulan than between the Frenchman and the Spaniard. Language in fact is of no more value, if as much, than religion as a test of race. Hence Dr. Broca might very well exclaim that the ethnological value of comparative philology is extremely little. Indeed, it is more misleading and mischievous in its consequences than otherwise.

The same objection applies with equal force to the argument that customs differentiate races and that therefore Marathi-speaking peoples should not marry with those who do not observe the same set of customs * with them. As even at the present day Marathi-speaking people, carried by the exigencies of the public service to remote parts of the Presidency where languages other than Marathi are prevalent, have come to lose in a few generations their original language and taken to other languages, so their customs have been *visibly* affected by

* Among the Desasthas the worship of the tonk or the coin of Sri Rama, the performance of Gondala, invoking some tutelary deity on particular ceremonial occasions, &c., prevail. Among the Karnatakas the use of the coral in the mangalyam, which among the Brahmans answers for the European marriage ring and the Dravidian tali, seating the couple upon large quantities of rice and presenting them to the presiding *purohit* of the bridegroom, wearing the female cloth in a peculiar way, &c., prevail.

Dravidian usages, but *fundamentally* have ever remained the same. And such differences as have arisen amongst both the sections are entirely foreign to both of them as Brahmans and have been evidently borrowed by them from the surrounding Dravidian population.* If to these arguments we add the fact that the same Aryan physical type is discernable amongst both the classes, the last shred of an objection against the view that the Karnataka Brahmans are of the same Aryan racial stock as the Desasthas entirely disappears.

Having so far pointed out the erroneous character of the objections generally adduced against intermarriages between these two Brahmanical sections we come to the true explanation of this peculiar phenomenon. The first immigrants settled in the South, comparatively early in the history of Hindu civilisation. Considering their numerical minority and the length of time they have lived amidst the Dravidian population, it would be nothing less than wonderful if they were not much affected by the Dravidian religion, customs, language and modes of life. But the later immigrants had, before their advent into the South, absorbed all that was best in the civilisations with which they had come in contact in their Northern abodes. Also, as civil and military administrators under Mahratta chiefs, they had refined their modes of life and tastes. When the earlier and the later immigrants came in direct contact with each other in the South after centuries of separation, it is no wonder that they should, as between themselves, perceive all the differences between the ideal Aryan and the Dravidian racial types. And none are more alive even to trivial differences in customs than are the Brahmans, and the sentiment is so strong against disregarding them as of no consequence that they would not think of sacrificing them for a distinct and tangible gain they would acquire by it. The only thing that can bridge over this difficulty is English Education, the greatest solvent of Hindu society. It is levelling all distinctions that have hampered free social intercourse between the various castes and tribes that make up the Hindu nation. And if this article leads to a better understanding of the true relation between these two Brahmanical sections and brings about their amelioration, the present writer shall deem

* It is worthy of note that the most barbarous of all Desastha customs, viz., Gondala, is being given up by educated Desasthas.

himself amply repaid for all the trouble he has taken in putting these few pages before his Karnataka and Desastha brethren, who form no small portion of the South Indian Brahman population, and feel as much as himself on this vexed question since it is their sad daily experience that matches, otherwise acceptable in every way, are condemned solely on account of the parties being respectively of Karnataka and Desastha origin.

C. H.

EDUCATION AND CHARACTER.

OUR minds contain many impulses, each capable of driving us in the direction of its gratification. Lust, anger, covetousness, ambition, malevolence and others of the like nature form a powerful array of forces in the direction of vice. The social and domestic affections, along with the few stragglers towards the good of others, constitute the weak provision of nature for the support of virtue. These inward impulses of ours for good and for evil are all of them our common property. Our nature is made up of them. It is given to none of us to say, that he is born without any one of them. But there is this difference between man and man, that in this armoury of the mental frame, each has his own particular feature of strength, each has his own dominant mental impulse; and it follows, therefore, that in spite of the sameness of the elements of our nature, a diversity results from the variety in their relative strength and mutual correlation, in other words, a diversity of character.

The first to be remembered is the diversity in our mental equipment due to our nature and birth and in no way the result of our own action. We hear frequently of the burden of *original sin* or of *karma*, which is said to weigh us down in our worldly career. Leaving aside the religious aspect of the question, considering it simply as a fact of our original constitution, there is considerable amount of truth in this doctrine. It is only an expression, from the religious point of view, of an indisputable fact of our nature, namely, that we are born with sentiments and impulses for which we are in no manner responsible, but which yet dominate irresistibly over the whole duration of our existence in the world. Our original stock of mental furniture, due to our human nature, whether it go under the category of innate impulses, or of heredity, is of no small account in the matter of our future conduct; and yet we have no option in the matter, and the freight with which we are started on our temporal course is thus not a matter of our choice, but is forced upon us from sources over which we have no control and of which we have not even a clear understanding.

In this initial stock of our constitution, considerable modifications are effected by our experience as children, as boys and as men. The mind is not a fixed quantity that remains unchanged or unchangeable at any time. It is mobile and receives impressions from all our surroundings. The ripples on its surface are continuous and ever-changing, and each passing ripple leaves a permanent residuum in its composition. It is not that there is at any time added to the mind, a force or an impulse not already present in it, in actuality or in potentiality. But the forces and impulses in it and born with it are variously strengthened and weakened and variously brought out into action or withdrawn from it by the changing facts of experience. The whole forms a sphere of moving molecules, each molecule ever receiving fresh impetus or check even when whirling on in its mobile course and the whole system yet presenting an apparent solidarity of existence. There is the initial force of our nature, and there are the daily accessions to the inner currents of the mind from every passing experience of the individual; and it is a whole so equipped and so modified that goes to form the character of an individual.

It is the latter aspect of the question that we have to consider here, the part played in the formation of our *Character* by *education*. Education is the whole course of each one's experience and in a restricted sense, it is what we receive in schools and colleges.

There is no difficulty in discriminating between virtue and vice. It is seldom or never that we are placed in a situation in which there is the difficulty of deciding what we ought to do and what we ought not to do. No society with which we are concerned leaves this question in any doubtful light. The real difficulty lies in following the right path, eschewing the other. And in this matter of the adoption of the right path, the individual is swayed by a host of mental impulses which are strong or weak according to the inherent constitution of his mind and according to the nature of his education and experience. It is a fact to be always borne in mind that man is by nature weak, which means in plain language, that the tendencies for evil are more potent over us than those for good. The evolutionist says that the struggle for existence has so moulded our nature that selfishness stands supreme in it and that, but for the supremacy of selfishness, the race must have long ago disappeared from the world. It may be so. But the explanation, whatever its value, in no way diminishes

the force of the consideration that man is essentially a selfish animal, that he almost invariably seeks his own pleasure, that this is in his original composition, and that it is extremely doubtful whether there is in it any unselfish element at the time of the commencement of its career upon the earth. Now, selfishness means a host of forces all tending more or less in only one direction and each competent to lead us away from the recognized path of moral rectitude. Education has to step in to regulate the forces that are thus powerful for selfishness, to keep them within due bounds and to co-ordinate them with the impulses in us towards righteousness. This education that has so difficult a task to accomplish begins in the arms of the mother and goes on to the very brink of the grave. As children, we are like loam in the hands of a potter, and it rests with those who are responsible for our welfare to give the impress of their ideal to our minds in the period of plasticity.

I know that there are many who are not satisfied with the results of the early training in our Hindu homes. What with uneducated and superstitious parents and the uncivilized surroundings of the pial school, they consider it impossible that our boys can derive any very great benefit in regard to their character during the years of early life. And even in later years, when the boys are under the influence of the new model of education these critics still feel that much that is done for the boys within the school and during school hours is undone by the baneful influences outside. There is in their view an antagonism between the learning and enlightenment infused under the new system of education and the slum of ignorance in which the mind is made to wallow at home.

But that is not the proper view to take of the matter. It is my conviction that the Hindu, as a Hindu, stands high in the scale of national morality. Run over the catalogues of virtues and vices peculiar to us and compare them with those of any other nation of the globe, and you shall have no cause whatever to blush for our nationality. Defects there are in us and some of them of a serious nature. We are, for example, cowards in the extreme, without any moral backbone, wanting in self-assertion and disposed to forgive and forget, to a fault. The climatic and political conditions of the country have for centuries worked upon the mental constitution, and we carry with us in our character the inheritance of ages of political subordination and tropical

heat. But great are also the virtues woven into our souls by these very conditions and by others of no less potency; and we stand to-day the foremost among the nations of the world in respect of charity, purity, fortitude, reverence and piety. I do not think that there is any nation of the world which can present a picture of domestic affection and of true piety and charity as lovely and ennobling as that presented by ours.

Be this as it may, my object in dwelling upon this here is not to glorify my countrymen, but only to show that the virtues of the educated Indian, whatever they are, are not his because of his education, but belong to him because of his nationality and form the common inheritance of the whole race. It may be that his education has strengthened a trait here or weakened one there. It may have furnished him with reasons for what the so-called uneducated do from mere faith. It may also have imparted a varnish to his manners and enabled him to disguise himself in conventions and forms. To some extent, it has also added some undesirable features to his character. But on the whole he is yet of the old stock of the true Hindus, not yet lost to the true instincts of this land of sages and Rishis. We yet retain traces, indelible, I hope, of the virtues engendered and fostered by ancient wisdom and philosophy. Such being the trend of the social education we receive, the question is, what is the work done by education in the formation of character?

Years ago, a controversy was raised on this question, and eminent educationists ranged themselves on opposite sides. Secular education as it is imparted under government management was declared by one party to be quite inadequate as a system of education, as it left out entirely the training of the moral side of our nature while its advocates asserted that this moral training was not neglected in the system. The question was, whether a knowledge of the classic works of the English language imparts a sufficient impulse to our moral nature or whether a special training of it over and above what is incidental to secular education was imperative. We read the poems of Milton and Wordsworth or the works of Carlyle and Ruskin; and if we are led rightly to appreciate the teaching of these authors, it must be that our minds are ennobled by the education, secular though it be. When the heart of the reader "leaps into the heroic page" and is lifted up to the height of the writer's imagination, though this may be only temporary, such temporary companionship

with the immortals must leave a permanent effect upon the mind and make it impossible for us to descend down to the low depths of grovelling vice. Against this it was argued that all this is of no avail because of the powerful promptings to vice which have to be eradicated. For this, a more systematic discipline than the one implied in the knowledge of the literature of a language is necessary. Morality as such, combined, if possible, with religion, should be taught directly and in specially impressive forms and not be left to drift into suggestions and implications.

This controversy, hot though it was at the time, came to nothing. We are now exactly where we were in the sixties and seventies. And in re-opening the question I cannot pretend to do anything towards a solution of it. I shall content myself with placing it before you for your own consideration with a few suggestions of mine. We must recall what I said in the beginning regarding the innate tendencies of our nature to estimate aright what education can accomplish in regard to our character and to decide what the nature of education should be if it is to be successful in this respect. Our character depends partly upon our innate constitution and partly upon the modifications effected in it by our experience. Education is experience and ought to work *for* virtue and *against* vice. But school education is only a part of the whole sphere of our experience—and unless there is a uniformity of procedure in the whole of it, the effect cannot but be marred and injured. The influences under which we are brought up at home and those under which we study at school and college must work without jarring against one another. Is this so at present? It is my opinion, open of course to correction, that school-life is devoid of all incentives to moral development; nay, that it is calculated even to undo what of moral education there is in our home life. I admit of course to the fullest extent the benefit we derive from our study of the noble literature of England; and I admit also that the educated Indian is somewhat ahead of his uneducated brother in some respects; though it must also be confessed that he has fallen on evil ways in some other respects. But taking the educated section of the community as a whole, it cannot for a moment be argued that they have advanced perceptibly upon the uneducated because of their education. And this is due to the fact that our educational training stands in isolation from the whole course of our life experience. The exotic from the West has not been grafted upon the life of the

nation. Education has not become national. It stands apart from the inner currents of our souls, a holiday guest in so far as morality and religion are concerned, not yet working down its way into the depths of our minds.

I couple religion with morality because the union between the two is unique. The safeguards of conduct are religion, society and law. A fourth is of course always ignored—and it is conscience. This is generally powerless in emergencies by itself. It always seeks strength and support from the others mentioned above. Unless all these forces are made to work in unison, the forces in our nature cannot be quelled into peace. The present system of education admittedly leaves morality to itself. And if we are yet in a position to be proud of our virtues it is due to the instincts of the race to which we belong and to the wise provisions for religious and moral discipline made in our social and family customs. There is no doubt a tendency to question the efficacy of these in the directions indicated. The so-called educated are now and then seen to scoff at the crude ways of our society. The germs of piety and reverence instilled into them by their Hindu surroundings fail occasionally to sprout and grow. Their Hindu charity withers at the touch of the economical selfishness of the new cult. The energetic nations of the north have a code of morality which is essentially selfish and essentially materialistic. Commerce, science, luxury, politics usurp the place in our minds sacred to religious and moral reflection. We are dazzled into admiration by the wealth and power of the races of Europe, and they become our ideal and we hunger for their comforts and for their luxuries. The simplicity of our life is in danger. The idea that what we acquire and earn we hold in trust first for those near and dear to us and then for humanity at large, the binding union of heart and soul among the members of the Hindu family, the daily arrangements in our social customs to remind us of our dependent condition and of the support we must eternally seek in our omnipresent creator—these and the like features of our race are looked upon in some quarters as antiquated and perhaps as signs of barbarism. It will be an evil day for the land if these wise social customs and observances so carefully elaborated for our moral and religious welfare should be indiscriminately condemned and hastily discarded.

It follows from what I have said that, in my humble opinion,

our educational system should be moulded upon national lines, if it is to co-operate with the other forces at work in the formation of character. I am not for recasting society on the ideal of the West and make it fit in with education. I am for recasting the latter so as to accord with the main features of our national life.

Not that the latter is perfect and needs no improvement. Of no human institution can this be said; and where a whole nation, composed as it is of the cultured and uncultured, is concerned, the institution must suffer from all the defects incidental to human intelligence and forethought. But there is yet such a thing as a national ideal, an ideal framed upon the experience and traditions of ages of national life, which ought not to be lightly cast aside, but ought to be held sacred and inviolable. Such an ideal must regulate the system of education as it does regulate all our social and religious institutions. In times of old when the teachers of mankind retired to their forest abodes, there to give the last finish to their own education and to impart instruction to such as sought them in those distant solitudes, education harmonised with the Hindu ideal and was national. The student pursued his educational course undisturbed by family, by property or by politics. His mind was concentrated in his studies and in his Guru; he learnt the lessons of charity and piety in his rounds for food; he had ample leisure for reflection; and living away from friends and relations and depending for everything upon strangers he learnt self-reliance and learnt also early to appreciate the truths of human brotherhood and human love. Then was he introduced to the nobler side of our nature to retain traces of gentleness and charity to the end, even when he may be thrust upon the rough paths of the world.

Such an ideal, it may not be possible for us in the 20th century to realise. But we may modify it so as to adapt it to the present changed circumstances and refit the old system of studentship to correspond to the conditions of the present age. The present rage for the fashioning of all persons after the one model for which a patent has been taken by ENI savants who assemble periodically at the Chepauk palace must be assuaged and more liberal views must be made to prevail on matters educational. Our teacher-ridden University would throw all the minds of our youths into one stereotyped mould and would allow no liberty to any to seek enlightenment and edu-

cation in ways other than its own. The Government plays into the hands of the University by unduly recognising its diplomas and degrees, and the University thinks that it has a monopoly of all wisdom and judgment. It was on an evil day that an institution was started to turn out minds after one unalterable model, a *depressing and deadening uniformity*, no room being allowed for an independent workman. It is time that we should look about ourselves to overthrow the tyranny of the educational bureau, and to convert it into a constitutional authority contenting itself with a general supervision of education, leaving full space for the development and growth of individual minds each according to its natural instincts and aspirations. Its monopoly must be overthrown, and its patent to hold examinations and confer degrees must be abrogated and cancelled.

It is not possible for me to dwell in more detail upon this subject. I have indicated my views and my only prayer is that you should not be carried away by the glamour of what is presented to us in the sacred name of education, but should pause to consider and weigh it with wisdom in the scale of individual advancement and national welfare.

N. VAITHIANATHEN.

RISE OF THE MARATHA POWER.*

HISTORICAL works on India have been mostly written by foreign Mahomedans or by Europeans; and their value accordingly as an accurate retrospective of the past has been considerably discounted by many intelligent Indians. It is not always that a foreign writer appreciates the virtues and merits of a people from whom he differs in race, religion, social usage, manners and customs. Nor would he have always the breadth of view and good sense to judge leniently, not to say generously, of their failings and shortcomings; nor has he those sources of information and those means of correct knowledge which are essential in writing the history of a people, of their institutions, of their ambitions and aspirations and of their victories and defeats. He is moreover apt to set up one standard of judgment for his own people, and another for those about whom he writes; and to exalt the former at the expense of the latter. Partisan history can reflect only one side and it is partisan histories that we have hitherto had. A history to be really valuable and reliable must be written with knowledge, with judgment, with impartiality and with a keen sense of justice. Such a history of India, it is the belief of many, has not been hitherto written. It is impossible for natives of India to expect full justice at the hands of foreign historians. A reliable history of the country must be written by themselves if it is to have a true historical value, if it is to record events as they occurred, and if it is to place them and their ancestors in the true light of historical perspective. Our people have seldom exhibited much historical spirit; they have been content to accept facts and conclusions furnished by others. Recently, however, some attempt has been made by individual Indians to investigate historical facts and to write correct histories of their country. The result of one such attempt is found in the little volume by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ranade. He belongs to a people that has a history which has been so long presented through distorted media. No class of people has been more greatly mis-

* By M. G. Ranade, M.A., LL.B., C.I.E., &c., Judge of Her Majesty's High Court of Judicature, Bombay. Publishers Punalekar & Co., Girgaum, Bombay.

represented and misjudged than the Marathas. Their past glory has been discounted by all sorts of charges levelled against them by European historians; their merits have been obscured by their supposed defects and even crimes. Mr. Justice Ranade's book is a vindication of their national character from the charges levelled against them by writers who have failed to grasp the true spirit and the true aims of the movement which resulted in the formation of the Maratha Confederacy and the establishment of the Maratha Empire. We are exceedingly glad that Mr. Ranade has undertaken this patriotic task. By common consent, he is one of India's greatest men now living. As a scholar, as a lawyer, as a statesman, as a reformer and as a student of history, he stands in the first rank; and imbued as he is, thoroughly with the modern spirit, his writings and his speeches have none of the defects of narrow bigotry or sectional sentimentalism. His aim in this book has been to set out the truth about Maratha History, to rescue it from the prejudices which have long surrounded it, and to represent his nation in the light that it appears to a patriotic, thoughtful and enlightened member thereof. In this we must admit he has been eminently successful although the title of the book led us to expect from the renowned scholar a connected and comprehensive history of the Rise of the Maratha Power, in which we must confess we are rather disappointed.

The present volume contains a series of essays relating to particular phases of Maratha History, and each has its value as containing thoughtful reflections on a variety of human motives, on the springs of human action, and on the secrets of statecraft. The Marathas achieved a position unique in the history of Modern India. They stand out as the one people who, amidst great difficulties and dangers, concentrated their national forces and built up a national empire; and it is interesting to pursue Mr. Ranade in his investigations from the starting point of their history. That history had its beginning in the birth of a son to a petty Maratha Jhalagirdar of the Ahmednagar Nizam Shahi-Kingdom in 1627 at Shivner, and its course was destined to be affected by another event which had preceded it—viz.,—the establishment of an English factory at Surat in 1612. Neither of these events, as Mr. Ranade says, attracted much notice at the time; but they heralded the birth of two mighty powers which were brought into strange contact with one another during the

next two centuries; and now as allies and again as foes, they competed for supremacy in India till at last the more organised foreign power prevailed in the struggle and displaced the disorganised native power from its position as Supreme Ruler.

The age when Shivaji was born was an essentially religious age. During the past three hundred years the whole of India had been moved by the new contact with the Mahomedan militant creed. Hindu reformers and teachers had risen who taught unity and cohesion for all without difference of birth and position; Hindus were impressed with the monotheistic creed of the Mahomedans and they often clothed their God in the garb of a Mahomedan Fakir. In Marashtra, Brahmin and Non-Brahmin preachers called upon people to identify Ram with Rahim and ensure their freedom from the bonds of formal ritualism and caste distinctions and unite in common love of man and faith in one God. The Mahomedans themselves were influenced by the force of this teaching; they came to have recognised that God was not the God of Mahomedans alone but was the God of all mankind and that to nullify the religious customs of the Hindus was to set at naught the will of the Almighty. Mahomedan Scholars translated the Mahabharata and the Ramayana in this spirit. The eldest son of Shahajahan translated the Upanishad and the Gita. Akbar strove to amalgamate the two religions in a new dispensation which was intended to abolish all religious differences; Mahomedan Saints like Kabir in the North and Shaik Mohammad in Maharashtra preached the same higher law to Hindus and Mahomedans alike. Religious revival and a puritan enthusiasm were at work and were neutralising the old bigotry in the land. This religious enlightenment was, according to Mr. Ranade, the principal point of departure from the earlier traditions of submission to brute force, and made itself manifest in the form of a determination that Mahomedan intolerance should not again overspread the land. This was the new influence, the new aspiration, which filtered down from the religious teachers and worshippers to the masses; and Shivaji who mixed on equal terms with the great religious teachers of his time represented these new influences and these new aspirations in an intensified form in his own person. These gave him the chief source of his strength and his hold on the people.

Shivaji's mind was cast in an intensely religious mould; he was from his early youth fond of hearing the old epics of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata; he listened most attentively to the recital of Kathas by specially noted teachers. He is said to have felt an intense religious enthusiasm and to have been moved by the idea that he had a commission which required him to think little of his own interest and advancement. This peculiar mental characteristic made him a truly representative man of the age and one whom the masses with their intense religious zeal were prepared to follow. Such is Mr. Ranade's explanation of the circumstances which gave Shivaji the supreme position and influence that he wielded among the Marathas and of the causes which made him the rallying point of national forces. Those who have fixed their attention upon the spiritual characteristics of the Hindu race will find it difficult to believe that their religion supplied the motive force to the purely secular movement which Shivaji directed in pursuit of worldly greatness and military glory. The Hindu religion has never concerned itself with such matters as the acquisition of gold or territory, and has never encouraged the militant instinct in man. It has been always passive and content to be left alone. That it should have served as a unifying or militant force for secular purposes is inconceivable. It is possible that the contact with Mahomedan religion and Mahomedan civilization conveyed the idea of unification to the Hindu mind in the Maharashtra; it is also possible that the aggressive fanaticism of the invading Mahomedans suggested the idea of active resistance in self-defence. For we find that Shivaji was moved by the feeling that a threatened invasion of the foreign Moslem conquerors could only be adequately met by an united opposition. His aim and policy were to unite all who were Marathas and to inspire them with the idea of acting as a united nation. Without such union it

ON to throw back the tide of Moghul invasion, and the dictated a policy of union and mutual trust for a
ROLL pose. Hence Shivaji set himself to organising his
 men forget their differences and, in Mr. Ranade's
 men's interests or ambitions in a way to make
 them feel pride in common success and shame in common defeat.
 All who showed a separatist tendency were disposed of by force
 or skill. The Mahomedan Powers themselves were played
 one against the other. In this way he went on removing obsta-

cles, disposing of enemies, and keeping before his mind the supreme importance of union against the foreign hordes. It is possible that in this process he did many things which the modern historian would find it difficult to condone or justify. But we cannot here enter into that aspect of his career.

Mr. Ranade says that Shivaji had the magnetic power which only true leaders of men possess and which neither bandits nor mad fanatics can ever claim. This, we think, is true. He was undoubtedly a born leader of men and he had in him elements of greatness. Very likely his inherent merits had more to do with his success as a leader, soldier, and statesman than the surrounding influences which, according to Mr. Ranade, shaped his career. Circumstances alone do not make genius; they may help to develop it and even lead to its success. Shivaji possessed genius of a high order; but many men of like genius have died without leaving any impress on the world's history. Men of genius often lack opportunity; and without opportunity even genius cannot make a mark. Shivaji did not lack this advantage. He was born at a time when the country required a leader, and he possessed the qualities which were essential for leadership. His magnetic force drew all classes of people around him; he possessed the power and the force to keep them under his influence and control; and he had the foresight to make them share his own aspirations. He succeeded in merging all differences of caste and position in the common feeling of a united nationality; he attracted towards himself all that was hopeful and aspiring in the land without distinction of class, caste or creed or colour; he selected his very councillors from all the great communities which constituted the strength of the country; he even employed Mussulmans both on sea and land to carry out his designs; and he had also the privilege of commanding the loyal and continued co-operation of all who gathered under his banner. Whatever were his faults and whatever the excesses which he permitted or perpetrated, one circumstance stands out to his enduring credit, *viz.*, that in the worst excesses committed by his armies under the stress of war and need of money, cows, women and cultivators were never molested. When captured in the chances of war women were sent back to their husbands with all honors. Shivaji's character as a whole is briefly sketched by Mr. Ranade in a singularly eloquent sentence—"Religious fervour almost at

a white heat bordering on the verge of self-abnegation, a daring and adventurous spirit born of a confidence that a higher power than man's protected him and his work, the magnetism of superior genius, which binds men together and leads them to victory, a rare insight into the real needs of the times, a steadiness of purpose which no adverse turn of fortune could conquer, a readiness and resourcefulness rarely met with either in European or Indian History, true patriotism which was far in advance of the times, and a sense of justice tempered with mercy—these were the sources of the strength that enabled Shivaji to sow the seeds of a power which accomplished in the hands of his successors all that he had planned out, and enabled his race to write a chapter in Indian History to some purpose." Those who have been content to learn the history of the Marathas at the feet of English writers have been led to believe that they were a class of freebooters who thrived by plunder and adventure, and that they succeeded only because they were the most cunning and adventurous among all those who helped to dismember the great Moghul Empire after the death of Aurangzeb. But, as Mr. Ranade says, freebooters and adventurers never succeed in building up empires which last for generations and permanently alter the political map of a great continent. The rise of the Maratha Power, Mr. Ranade shows, was not a mere accident due to any chance combination, but was a genuine effort on the part of a Hindu nationality not merely to assert its independence, but to achieve what had not been attempted before—the formation of a Confederacy of States animated by a common patriotism; and the success it achieved was due to a general upheaval, social, religious and political, of all classes of the population. Shivaji, as we have said, was the rallying point of the Maratha forces; but he was not like other military leaders known to Indian History who had no national force behind them. Hyder and Tippoo, Nizam-ul-mulk and Shooj-ud-Dowlah, Alivardikhan and Ranjit Singh, were great military adventurers; but they were not backed up by any national force as Shivaji was, and their power accordingly perished with them. But the Maratha Confederacy was maintained for ten successive generations, and successive leaders sprang up to fill up the place of those who perished in the struggle. Thus while individual leaders disappeared, the Confederacy maintained itself amidst all opposition showing thereby that it had a force and vitality apart from

what individual leaders alone could impart to it. It had its foundation laid broad and deep in the hearts of the whole people. "It was a national movement or upheaval in which all classes co-operated. The strength of the organisation did not depend on a temporary division of the higher classes, but it had a deeper hold on the vast mass of the rural population—cowherds and shepherds, Brahmins and non-Brahmins, even Mussulmans felt its influence and acknowledged 'its power.'" The religious and social upheaval which, according to Mr. Ranade, preceded and resulted in the political revolution, was not Brahminical in its orthodoxy; it was on the other hand heterodox in its spirit of protest against forms and ceremonies and class distinctions based on birth; it was also the work of the people, of the masses and not of the classes. At its head were saints and prophets, poets and philosophers, who sprang chiefly from the lower orders of society—tailors, carpenters, potters, gardeners, shopkeepers, barbers and even *Mahars*—more often than Brahmins. Hence fortuitous circumstances had very little part to play in the early foundation of Maratha Power. The forces were at work among all classes of the nation; the separatist tendencies, so characteristic of the Indian people, had dissuaded the Marathas from facing the Moghuls in the open field. But Shivaji brought the common forces together and united and directed them against the common enemy. His grand aim, which was also the aim of his nation, was to reestablish the Hindu Power and maintain it against foreign aggression; and the chief merit of Shivaji was that he united the scattered forces in a common Confederacy, animated by a common purpose and sanctified by a common devotion to the country. He was also able to attach to himself the best men of the time, who never failed him in the hour of trial—men who constituted the chief source of wisdom and strength. In Mr. Ranade's words, "Shivaji's contemporaries fully sustained their place as a generation of men at once wise and brave, who were worthily led by him in the work of national construction."

English Historians have written much about Shivaji's dealings with Afzulkhan and of the manner in which he disposed of the Pathan General. Shivaji's act has often been characterised as treachery. The account which Mr. Ranade gives of the incident is not without interest. And we shall briefly give Mr. Ranade's version in as few words as possible. In the series of conflicts between Shivaji and the Bijapur authorities, many

things had apparently been done which incensed either party; and Shivaji's successes led the Bijapur authorities to make a supreme effort. Their first army which was sent to attack Shivaji unawares was defeated and their generals found themselves unable to hold their place against Shivaji's generals. They therefore resolved to send an overwhelming force under their ablest general Afzulkhan. This man had taken part in the Karnatic wars and rightly or wrongly had been suspected as having helped Shahaji's enemies and brought about the untimely death of Shivaji's elder brother. He ostentatiously undertook in open Durbar at Bijapur to capture the mountain rat as he called Shivaji dead or alive. On his way from Bijapur to Wai he desecrated the great temple at Tooljapur and Pandharpur and broke the idols. His march therefore appeared like a religious war, and naturally excited the worst passions on both sides. The issue which depended upon the result of the contest was of the gravest character. It was a struggle for life or death to the victor or to the vanquished. Shivaji and his advisers perceived the gravity of the situation; they prepared themselves to repel the invasion. Shivaji invoked the guidance of his goddess Bhawani and believed that he received a promise of protection directly from the Goddess. Thus encouraged Shivaji resolved to meet his great antagonist on a spot carefully chosen by himself. He had taken great care and exercised great caution, whereas Afzulkhan proud in the possession of a large army and confident that Shivaji would not stand against him in the field, was bent upon bringing out Shivaji from the shelter of his force, capturing him and taking him in triumph to Bijapur. Afzulkhan thus hoped to avoid all the perils of a long campaign. Each had a large army and each might have desired to surprise and capture the other's person in the hope that the fall of the general commanding the army would determine the result of the fight. Shivaji, through his emissaries, pretended that he was prepared to make his submission; and Afzulkhan, to make himself sure sent his own Brahmin Pandit to obtain correct information. This man, however, was gained over by the other side by an appeal to his religious and patriotic sentiments. It was then arranged that both should meet one another for personal explanations unattended by their forces. What followed has been variously described. The Mahomedan historians charge Shivaji with treachery in the first attack he made with the fatal tiger claws and the Bha-

wani Sword; while the Maratha chroniclers aver that Afzulkhan first siezed Shivaji's neck by the left hand, and drawing him towards himself caught him under his left arm, and when this treachery on the part of the Khan was manifested, Shivaji dealt the fatal blow. Mr. Ranade is disposed to accept the version given by Mahomedan historians as the more probable one, for Shivaji had on his side strong motives. He had his brother's death and the desecration of the temples to avenge; he knew he was then unable to face the enemy in the open field, and the success of the whole of the scheme depended upon the result. He had therefore greater temptation to effect his purpose by stratagem than his enemy. The personal character of the two men also leads Mr. Ranade to the same view. The one was vain and reckless and the other supremely self-possessed and always on his guard. Shivaji accordingly having disposed of his rival proceeded coolly to surprise the Mahomedan army, while Afzulkhan's men were wholly unprepared for the attack. There was thus calculation and forethought on the one side, and there was an entire absence of them on the other. Mr. Ranade thinks that the will to-do mischief might have been equally operating on both sides though one was not prepared to take full advantage of the situation as it developed itself to the same extent as the other was. This memorable event in Shivaji's life has formed the subject of repeated controversy. Judged by the modern rules of warfare it is impossible to justify Shivaji's act. But one cannot pretend to pass a judgment on it without a full knowledge of the practices of those days and of the methods of warfare which were then considered to be lawful and proper.

Mr. Ranade devotes a separate chapter to Shivaji as a civil ruler, to the system of government which he organised and to the administrative measures which he provided. This affords very instructive reading, and furnishes an explanation of the success which attended the Maratha Power in Shivaji's time and the disaster and final collapse which overtook it later. We have seen how great Shivaji was as a Military Commander and organiser of Military forces. He was equally great as a builder of civil institutions. In both respects his aim was to keep his people together as one nation and to make them powerful for self-defence and self-assertion. The chief merit of his civil institutions was that they had an originality and breadth of conception altogether foreign to the systems of government which

then existed under the Hindu or the Mahomedan rule. He built a number of hill-forts which, with the territory they commanded, formed the unit of Shivaji's civil government. He made elaborate arrangements for the garrisoning and provisioning of these forts which thus formed strong points of resistance or centres of aggression; and the empire was knit together by the chain of these forts. So far as the Maratha country proper was concerned this was an excellent arrangement and served its purpose. But, as Mr. Ranade points out, when the Maratha Power was extended to distant parts of the country that system could no longer be maintained. In the limited area in which the Marathas formed one nation, the army, the officers, and the kings were all of the same race; and a common bond of loyalty knit them together. But in distant parts of India where the conquered population differed essentially from the conquerors, these and some of his other measures, which were designed in view of all people being of a common nationality, were found unsuitable. With these exceptions, Shivaji's scheme of government served its purpose well; and a departure from it in subsequent periods proved disastrous to Maratha Power.

Shivaji discouraged the hereditary system of transmitting high offices in one and the same family. Natural capacity and virtues are not hereditary endowments. They vary with individuals. But without a certain amount of talent and ability it is impossible to meet the requirements of high office. The hereditary system of succession to office is also fatal to the development of powers of the nation generally. Those who are outside the pale of hereditary families have no means of rising by merit; there is no inducement for people generally to strive after eminence and distinction in a legitimate way. Shivaji had the foresight to provide against this danger; but his successors lost sight of the principle.

Another instance of his great foresight is furnished by his refusal to grant Jahagir assignments of land for the support of Civil or Military officers. Under the Jahagir system people became virtually owners of territories which they conquered by the strength of their military prowess, and several of them established themselves as supreme masters in different parts of the country under a very loose system of allegiance to the central power represented by payment of a certain portion of revenue. In course of time these Jahagirs were treated as hereditary, and

the holders thereof became more and more detached from the central authority, and resented all interference with what they came to regard as their own private possessions. Shivaji destroyed this system. His successors revived it. The same motive which actuated Shivaji in this also actuated him to establish a direct system of revenue management without the intervention of district or village Zemindars and to disallow the farming system. Among other measures taken by Shivaji were the establishment of a council of ministers with their proper work allotted to them, each being directly responsible to the King in Council, the subordination of the military to the civil element in the administration, and the intermixture of men of all classes, Brahmins, Prabhus and Marathas, in all offices high and low so as to keep check upon one another. These had in them the germs of stability and strength which the later Maratha rulers do not seem to have recognised, and to the extent they lost sight of them, the central power was weakened and mutual rivalry and distrust did not rest. Mr. Ranade observes: "In all the points in which the principles of government laid down by Shivaji were departed from by his successors, we can trace the causes of the weakness and decline of the Maratha Power long before it came in conflict with British authority in India. That authority, when it obtained supremacy, gave its deliberate preference to the principles laid down by Shivaji over those which found favour with his successors. British rule in India is carried on, on the principle of enforcing a complete separation of the civil from the military department and a due subordination of the latter to the former. It insists upon cash payments for services rendered and declines to make grants of lands by way of assignment for military or other services. It refuses to recognise any hereditary claims to public offices high or low. The government is carried on by Boards and Councils and not by the unfettered discretion of a single ruler. It collects its land revenue by its own paid agency and never farms it out to the old Zemindars and farmers. It also provides for a due distribution of offices among all classes of its subjects. As a consequence of the observance of these maxims of state policy, a handful of Englishmen have been able to govern the whole country in a way that strikes both native and foreign students of its administration as a marvellous feat of statesmanship." Thus does Mr. Ranade vindicate the wisdom of Shivaji's principles of Government as having contributed to his own success

as well as to the success of those who built their power upon the ruins of the confederacy which he had tried to knit together.

The Maratha Power, though it took its rise in Western Marashtra, soon extended the sphere of its influence over a very wide area and on all sides. Except in Bengal, on the Madras coast, and in the Malayalam country where the ancient Hindu kings held sway, the chief power in India was in the hands of rulers controlled by the Maratha confederacy; and it was with them that the British power had to contend for supremacy. It was as a result of this extension of Maratha influence that they established the kingdom of Tanjore in Southern India, of which at present the only survival is the palace at Tanjore and the surviving old Ranees. It was Shivaji's father Shahaji that first led a Maratha army into Southern India as a general in the service of the Bijapur kings; and it was Shahaji's son Venkoji that ultimately established his rule over Tanjore. The royal family of Tanjore was thus closely allied to the founder of the Maratha Power in Western India; but it maintained no connection with the Confederacy in Marashtra but stood apart and gradually faded and perished. Though the Maratha kingdom became extinct the Maratha population which it attracted to Southern India still forms an important section of the people. Mr. Ranade computes their number at 2 lacs and a half spread over all districts in the Presidency; and it is undoubtedly a fact that the reputation which Tanjore still enjoys as a seat of learning and the fine arts is due to the Maratha influence. "The Tanjore Rajas," Mr. Ranade says, "were all of them great patrons of learning; some of them were poets and scholars themselves of no mean repute, and their charities were on a scale which arrests attention. The Tanjore Library is the largest collection of the kind to be found in any Native Court in India. The cultivation of the fine arts, music both vocal and instrumental, etc., was carried to perfection, and Tanjore attained in those days a pre-eminence which it still retains of being the most refined and cultured district of the Southern Presidency. After the fall of Tanjore, the professors of those arts removed to Travancore, and gave that State the reputation it now enjoys." There are also other effects of Maratha civilization found in Southern India; and several Maratha families have furnished distinguished statesmen and ministers of State for the more important Hindu principalities on this side of India.

Before we conclude we desire to refer to one more lesson which Mr. Ranade deduces from the history of the Marathas. Why was the first successful attempt to throw off the Mahomedan yoke on a large scale made in Western India? And what were the circumstances in the nature of the country, in the habits and the institutions of the people inhabiting it which favoured such an attempt and rewarded it with success? Mr. Ranade's explanation is highly instructive. In the first place the country of Marashtra by its position, climate and physical features, was exceptionally situated; giving it a commanding position. The hill-forts on the top of the mountain ranges protected the naturally defensible position of the country. In the next place the union of all classes of people appears to have been more complete than in other parts of India. "In Northern India" Mr. Ranade says "the element of the Aryan race has predominated to an extent which dwarfed the aboriginal races and drove them to the hilly parts of the country. In the Southern Peninsula, the Dravidian races have retained their predominant position, the Aryan element being not powerful enough to impress its stamp upon the population generally." But in the Mahrastra country the Aryans and Dravidians have been mixed in due proportion so as to retain the good points of both without exaggerating their defects. The popular religion of the country also avoided the extreme sectarianism and the minute sub-divisions of caste which disunite people in Northern and Southern India. The sects and castes did not present the exaggerated differences which prevail elsewhere. The Brahmins and non-Brahmins were brought into contact on more equal terms. The village and Panchayet system combined with the ryotwari Mirasi tenure of land, held in full ownership by small peasant proprietors directly responsible to the State, gave a stability and sense of independence to the ryots which is not seen in other provinces. The result was that the people retained habits of mutual helpfulness and independence which helped them to act as one united people against their common enemies.

There are indeed other suggestive lessons to be learnt from Mr. Ranade's book. But we have here to be content with a passing reference to the chapter on "the Saints and Prophets of Marashtra" which is a record of the conflicts between old and new social and religious forces which operated on the minds of the Marathas of those periods; and the social reformer will

find inspiration and encouragement in the examples furnished by the struggles which culminated in the steady growth of rational sentiments and spiritual virtues. The religious movement led by the Saints and Prophets modified the strictness of the old spirit of caste exclusiveness. It raised the Sudra classes to a position of spiritual power and social importance almost equal to that of the Brahmins; it gave sanctity to the family relations and raised the status of women; it made the nation more humane and at the same time more prone to hold together by mutual toleration; it subordinated the importance of rights and ceremonies and of pilgrimages and fasts and of learning and contemplation to the higher excellence of worship by means of love and faith; and it tended in all ways to raise the nation generally to a higher level of capacity both of thought and action.

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“THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT IN MODERN
EUROPE.”

AS kinship is the basis of ancient, and religious faith the basis of mediæval, Society, so the basic principle of modern civilisation is its insistence on the rights and interests of man in society. This idea was vaguely foreshadowed at the re-birth of the secular spirit of classical antiquity in what is known as the Renaissance, but for the first time it was clearly apprehended in the Rationalistic movement of Voltaire; and it has since given birth to the epoch of Militant Nationalism which continues to the present day in undiminished lustre of vitality and vigour. Henceforth each group of men bound together by common interests was to seek to promote its own welfare by all possible means, and the competition and conflict of interests were to be the means by which the advance of human civilisation was to be accomplished. The Gospel of Evolution, put by Darwin in a sentence of marvellous brevity,—“Marry, multiply, let the strongest live, and the weakest die”—is the necessary product of the Revolutionary doctrine of the Rights of Man; and it need cause us no surprise that in practice modern morality, according to a living English writer, “tends to resolve itself more and more into the strength of the strong and the cunning of the weak.” Modern European society, then, has for its basis and import the idea of promoting the common interests and rights of



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Rupees 2.

certain collections of human beings, and it is hereby differentiated from the forms of social life—the ancient and the mediæval—which preceded it. This idea is the direct result of the decadence of religious faith and of the old ideal of duty for duty's sake which was the product of religious inspiration—a decadence which has been going on in Europe now for nearly five centuries. When Mr. Benjamin Kidd insists that “there is no rational sanction for moral progress,” there is certainly some appearance of exaggeration in giving his view that absolute and unqualified extension which it assumes in his hands, and we shall perhaps do well to remember the unquestionable fact that since the appearance of French Rationalism and the Revolutionary doctrine of the Rights of Man, many practical legal and political reforms have been carried out chiefly through the earnest labours of men imbued with these new doctrines and with the spirit of the social philosophy founded upon them. Still, morality and moral progress rest *ultimately* on the vivid realisation of certain truths known as spiritual,—truths for which we have no warrant in the conscious experience of humanity and which can only be realised when we have learned to rise, as the blessed ones among mankind in all ages and climes have risen, to the state of super-conscious and, therefore, supra-rational, experience. Modern civilisation has discarded this “supra-rational sanction” of morality, and hence modern society and all that men now regard as worth striving for on this side of life have come to be inspired by the rival doctrine of the rights of man in society. Our present purpose is not to expose the weakness of this principle, or indeed in any measure to endeavour to contribute to the formation of a judgment of any kind respecting it, but to dwell on one of the latest phases of its development,—*viz.*, that which is known as the National State. What are the historical conditions and causes which have originated, fostered and developed the sentiment of nationality among European communities and have made it a working force in the European politics of this century?

Before entering on this topic it is necessary to carefully distinguish this sentiment of nationality from two other conceptions with which it is apt to be confounded, *viz.*, the principle of the Sovereignty of the People and the principle of Personal Liberty. Mr. Morse Stephens, the historian, explains these principles clearly. The Sovereignty of the people means “that the Government should be directed by the people through their

representatives and that it is far better for a nation to make mistakes in the course of its self-government than to be ruled, be it ever so wisely, by an irresponsible monarch.” This principle, as we can see, is the exact reverse of the principles of the Peace of Paris, confirmed and developed later on at the Congress of Vienna into the Treaty of the Holy Alliance—principles of absolutism accepted by the leading Sovereigns and statesmen of Europe with the express purpose of persecuting liberal opinion, suppressing the freedom of the press, refusing to assign the smallest particle of self-government to any of the peoples of Europe,—in a word, abolishing constitutional rule. Everything was to be done for the people, and nothing by themselves, and Europe was to witness a recrudescence of the forms and methods of government which were in vogue in the age of Pombal, Aranda, Tanucci, Leopold II, Joseph II, Catherine and Louis XIV. Throughout this century a continuous protest has been raised in every European country against absolute government, so that the principle of popular control in the management of local and central Government has now become an accepted postulate of all forms of modern political life, and irresponsible government according to the sweet will and pleasure of autocratic Sovereigns and statesmen may now be considered quite dead. The other principle of modern politics above mentioned is that of Personal Liberty. This means that in all states the subject is no longer, in his social status or economic activity, to be hampered or exploited by a superior in the shape of a tyrannical feudal lord, a selfish and autocratic guild, or an employing master. Men are no longer to be kept in bondage as serfs or journeymen-workers, but to breathe the free atmosphere of modern citizenship and to have perfect freedom of action to settle their own status in social and economic life according to the existing conditions of industrial competition and educational progress. Now, the principle of nationality as an article of modern political belief is clearly quite different from those already explained. When the feeling of racial kinship unites a community together and overcoming every other element of disunion and difference, incites it to found an independent state, then we see the working of the sentiment of nationality and the birth of a national state; and this, in fact, is a re-awakening and re-assertion of the primitive feeling of blood-relationship as the bond of social union, though on a larger scale and, therefore, in a more attenuated form,

than that in which we find it working in the history of ancient society. We have already pointed out that, in all modern political societies, the essential bond of union is the feeling of common interest. For the existence of a state, the most indispensable thing is that this common interest should centre round certain common laws and a common government. It is only when the feeling of common race actuates a community not only in rendering obedience to the laws and government of a state, but in practising the utmost vigilance of exertion and self-denial, even to the extent of shedding its life-blood in times of crisis and danger, that we may speak of a State as a national State and of the community as actuated by the sentiment of Nationality. Professor Warde Fowler speaks of the common bonds of law and government as artificial ties, and of those of common race, language, religion, territory and historical association as naturalities. Of these the bond of common racial descent and the bond of common language as indicating in a rough way the existence of such a blood-bond, form pre-eminently the naturalities and have to be accepted as constituting the essential factors and sources of national sentiment, while the others contribute to the sustaining and strengthening of that sentiment after it has begun to be consciously felt and accentuated as an inspiring force in the determination of social activity and thought. Every nationality is the product of a long historical evolution, and every one of these influences has a substantial share in bringing together the various separated elements of the same racial brotherhood so as to form an organized nation-state.

I

In proceeding to investigate the conditions and influences under which the sentiment of nationality, as defined above, has been brought into existence and developed so as to achieve political emancipation and state solidarity among certain modern European communities, we find that everywhere—in France, in Spain, in Germany, in Italy, in Greece, in Hungary, &c.,—it has taken its rise and influenced the destinies of communities of men only when they have been threatened, under aggressive foreign influences, with the loss of independence and, consequently, of self-respect and honor or when, having been reduced to foreign subjection, they have been placed under intolerable restraints so as naturally to awaken the desire for freedom and the resolve to regain it at the earliest opportunity and by every possible means.

The most prominent fact of human nature is the consciousness of free will. Human life loses its meaning and value when deprived of spontaneity, for without it we lose the sense of continuity and feel as if we are subjected to a wrench and a violence of handling which no longer makes life worth living. Self-assertion and self-restraint are equally evidence of human power and vitality, and nothing tends to debase and stultify human nature as the loss, or withdrawal of the power to practise these essential requisites of progressive life. And this is evidently true not only of individuals, but of communities of men. Everywhere in Modern Europe, nations have been roused to assert themselves when foreign communities have, from the desire of self-aggrandisement, sought to interfere in their concerns and prevent them from settling their own political destiny in the manner most suitable to their own racial antecedents and inclinations.

France has always played the part of storm-bird in European revolutions; and, as we naturally expect to see among the French the first instance of national sentiment asserting itself, we also find it to be true in actual fact. It is well known that, when the French people demanded the assembling of the States-General, they had no hatred personally towards Louis XVI, or even towards monarchy in the abstract, but only wanted to reform the monarchical system then prevailing. They wanted to curb the extravagance of the Court and to abolish feudal privileges. They wanted to abolish the irresponsible system of "benevolent despotism," which had brought on their country a state of chronic financial deficit and of military impotence abroad. All that they wanted was to introduce a regular system of taxation and make the government responsible to the nation for their expenditure. The constitutional system devised by the doctrinaire politicians whose influence was paramount in the Constituent, or the later Legislative Assembly was doubtless marked by an excessive and maniacal love of the principle of election and the distrust of executive authority, but there was much that was commendable in it. There was also every prospect that the people would soon begin again to trust the executive and restore the King's authority, and even the King's flight from Paris was largely forgiven when, in September 1791, he frankly accepted the Constitution and thereby identified himself with his people. But the sky was soon overcast and events beyond the frontier combined with the King's irresolution and insincerity to develop

the sentiment of national unity among the French and the great events to which it led. In the first place, the assembling of the army of the emigrant French nobility at Worms under the Prince of Conde and the issue of the Declaration of Pillnitz by which the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia threatened to set their armies in motion in order to deliver the French King from what they referred to as his present embarrassed and enslaved position in the midst of his rebel subjects,—these tended to exasperate the French people and to make them feel unanimously in favour of war and to set three armies in motion for the purposes of defence on the frontier. *Secondly*, when the Austrian Emperor, at the instigation of the Diet, protested against the adoption of a revolutionary constitution for France on the ground that the contagion of anarchy tended to spread from France to other countries, this at once brought a Girondin Ministry into power, and war was at once declared. *Thirdly*, when the French attack on Belgium failed, and the Prussian armies were concentrated on the French frontier, the French people were profoundly moved and everywhere raised the cry of treachery. Just at this time Louis dismissed his Girondin Ministers and justified the prevailing distrust of him. Immediately, the Paris mob invaded the Tuilleries (20th June, 1792), and this indicated the final breach between the King and his subjects, and from that moment the Jacobins never ceased to plot for his overthrow. *Fourthly*, when the Duke of Brunswick issued his Proclamation threatening to hold Paris responsible for Louis' safety and vowing vengeance on the French people as rebels, their patriotism was roused to the most passionate heights, and thousands of armed volunteers came forward ready to march to the front and take part in the war. The coming in of the Marseilles volunteers, singing the martial air known thenceforward as the "Marseillaise" was the signal for the insurrection of the 10th August. The Paris mob captured the Tuilleries, imprisoned the King, restored the dismissed Girondin Ministry and seized and imprisoned the opponents of the Revolution. A camp was also formed for the defence of Paris, men were everywhere raised, equipped and sent to the front, and commissioners were sent throughout France and especially to the armies to tell the tale of the insurrection and to secure the adhesion of the people. *Fifthly*, the Russian capture of Longwy and Verdun and the subsequent advance led to the horrible September massacres.

This policy of violent reprisal and retort continued throughout the Revolutionary crisis, and it can be shown that it was due to foreign interference that every Frenchman felt it his duty at this supreme moment of his country's destiny to promote national unity, national freedom and the organisation of national defence against the foreign enemy and invader.

The Spaniards may next be quoted as an example of a people, among whom also the sentiment of nationality was born as a result of foreign intervention and intrigue directed in the most insidious, unscrupulous and artful manner to bring about their degradation and enslavement. Under Godoy's corrupt and weak administration, the royal family and the people of Spain became, through their mutual dissensions and suspicions, the unconscious victims of Napoleon's intrigue. While all along professing to be the friend of both the Court and people, he deceived both and took advantage of a favourable opportunity to send an army of 80,000 French soldiers who spread themselves over the Northern Provinces and, by the most cunning and deceitful contrivances, obtained possession of several frontier positions and citadels. Napoleon also, later on, sent down Murat to assume the command of the French forces in Spain. Truth is often stranger than fiction, and by the mysterious workings of fate both King Charles IV. and his son Ferdinand placed themselves in Napoleon's power at Bayonne by their own voluntary acts of folly and credulity. The father had already abdicated his throne at Madrid in favour of his son to appease the anger of the people against him and his Minister; and now the son, completely in Napoleon's power, had no alternative but to renounce his throne in Napoleon's favour. Without a single blow, Napoleon had obtained the Spanish crown. But he little dreamt that there was a Spanish nation behind with which he must reckon,—a people who had once played a memorable part in European history, who were now poor, indeed, and weak, but who cherished proud memories of their past greatness and who were animated not only by a fervent feeling of national unity and patriotism, but also by a bitter and even fanatical hatred of foreigners and foreign domination. By one irresistible impulse and without communication with each other or direction from any one central source of inspiration or authority, the Spaniards throughout the peninsula rose in arms against the usurper, treating with utter contempt not only his proposal to convene at Bayonne and

consult an assembly of elected representatives of the people of Spain, but also his nomination of Joseph Buonaparte as King of Spain and all his projected political and administrative reforms. In the struggle for honourable national existence which followed, the patriotic Spanish generals, Reding and Castanos, gained imperishable glory; and the French General Dupont's capitulation of Baylen and the great Spanish defence of Saragossa produced a profound impression throughout Europe and brought hope to every community struggling for national independence in the thought that what the patriotic ardour of the Spanish people had effected for themselves was equally possible for others.

Germany was the first to be fired by the example of the Spaniards to resist the tyranny of Napoleon. By his victories at Jena and Auerstadt followed by the surrender of numerous Prussian fortresses and the convention of Charlottenburg, Napoleon had been enabled to enter upon a campaign of extortion by which one-half of the kingdom had been lost and still Napoleon continued to make enormous demands of money and lands positively ruinous to the very existence of the State. Stein was still negotiating for terms less disastrous when the victories of the Spanish insurgents brought light and energy to the Prussian and Austrian leaders. "I do not see why we should not think ourselves as good as the Spaniards" said Blucher, and many others thought and said the same. A war-party soon formed, and Stein everywhere fanned the fierce flames of a popular uprising against the French. Stein and with him Scharnhorst urged the King to place himself at the head of the armed Prussian nation and prepare to imitate the Spaniards in their victorious struggle against Napoleon, and Austria, too, was arming about the same time. Austria was defeated and the Prussian King was powerless for any purpose or achievement worthy of the cause. But the revolt of the Tyrolese and the great military exploits of Brunswick and Schill had their lasting effects in exciting and keeping alive the flame of German patriotism. But many years of progressive social evolution had to elapse before the national spirit could gather head and German patriotism develop into a moral and military force capable of high achievement.

In Italy and Hungary, the stifling influence of Austrian tyranny, and in Greece the equally degrading tyranny of the Turkish rulers formed the inspiring sources of national awaken-

ing. First, as to Italy, the people had become quiescent and submissive in their character. They had for ages had to groan under despotic rule, whether exercised by alien rulers, or those of their own race. They had become commercially inactive. The national mind had lost its original vigour. Hence, except in a few small areas, Austrian influence was predominant or some family closely allied in blood with some other continental dynasty was ruling; and all that the Italian States and peoples cared for was to preserve in safety the existing order to which they had in spite of its intolerable oppression, degradation and ignominy, become accustomed and reconciled, and to avoid all the complications and dangers which history shows to be necessarily associated with all attempts made by human communities, under the impulse of the feelings of national worth, pride, or duty, to improve their lot upon earth. It was when the victories of Napoleon drove the Austrians out of Lombardy and brought about the creation of the Cispadane Republic that the idea and hope of Italian independence dawned on men's minds never again to lose their hold till the time of fruition and achievement arrived. The Congress held at Modena on the 16th of October 1796 and the subsequent assembly of Reggio on the 25th of December next achieved some great things, *viz.*, the abolition of the feudal nobility, the levy of a National Army, and the constitution of the aforementioned Italian Republic; and, more than all, they produced a new enthusiasm for Italian unity in the minds of large numbers of men, for which Napoleon certainly deserves credit. It might be that there was very little of sincerity in Napoleon himself, but history must judge men by what they do, and not by what they think or feel, for men are merely instruments in the hands of Destiny, and hidden moral elements and spiritual forces are at work in determining the great movements of the world. Napoleon told the Italians on one occasion:—"I shall do everything in my power to give you proof of the great desire I have to see your liberty take root and to see this unhappy Italy, freed from the rule of the stranger, at length take its place with glory on the scene of the world, and resume, among the great nations, the rank to which nature, destiny, and its own position call it." Buonaparte behaved treacherously, indeed, in handing over Venice to Austria, but he gave a democratic constitution to the sister-Republic of Genoa. Later on the French established

the Roman Republic on the model of the French Government of the day, and the Parthenopean Republic of Naples. In both these cases there was a good deal of extortion and cruelty practised by the French or under their auspices, but new laws and representative institutions were introduced, and men's minds were excited with the hopes and enthusiasms of the new epoch of freedom, the beneficial influence which was never to be lost for the Italian cause, though Italians had again to go through many more years of suffering under foreign rule, as the statesmen who assembled at Vienna to settle the affairs of Europe on the downfall of Napoleon restored the supremacy of Austria in Italy. A recent writer says of Austrian rule:—"Her rule was not only despotic, but foreign, and even more alien to Italians than the rule of France." This is said of her direct rule in Venetia and Lombardy. But in all the lesser Italian Courts where her will was accepted as law, Austria inflexibly supported absolutism. And what was the result? Prince Metternich, the Austrian Prime Minister, and the staunchest modern apostle of absolutism, instituted inquiries into the condition of the several Italian kingdoms and stated the results yielded by them as follows:—"That the discontent is universal. That, if this discontent were a natural consequence of the sufferings engendered by the last unfavourable years and of the political changes which have taken place since 1814 and 1815, it must also be ascribed to the bad administration of the Governments. That, in Italy, especially in its Southern regions, and in Bologna and Genoa, there is undoubtedly a great ferment in the minds of the populations supported by the different sects, the tendency to which is without doubt dangerous." Thus we see that political discontent and the uprising of national sentiment is directly due to, and authoritatively accepted as caused by, the reaction created in the popular mind by oppressive foreign influences. Truly has it been said of Austria that "she forgot that by giving Italy an unity of misery she was preparing the way for another unity. Common hatred engendered common love; common sufferings led on to a common effort." As regards Greece, there is scarcely any need to describe the oppressiveness of Moslem rule, as the world knows that Islam and tyranny are synonymous words. Throughout Greece, Turks could commit with perfect impunity murder, arson, robbery, rape, in fact, every offence known to the criminal law, and if at all any Greek dared to complain, he was only the worse for his temerity. The

Turkish Kadi invariably let off the offender, only to make the latter even more remorselessly vindictive, insolent and cruel than ever before. Then we have the unlimited exactions of the Ottoman taxgatherer. The poll-tax was levied on the Greeks alone. Until the land-tax could be levied—and it was allowed to be levied at the pleasure of the revenue official—no harvest could be reaped, and necessarily this arrangement led to any amount of exaction and oppression being practised upon the people, no appeals being heard or even allowed against an official. The Greeks were no doubt a degenerate people, but they were not patient Asiatics, and it is no wonder that, after long and patiently enduring the licensed and unlicensed tortures of Turkish tyranny, they developed those habits, dispositions and ties which make for union among the fallen and down-trodden of every European race and clime, and soon began their memorable struggle for independence against their foreign foe and oppressor.

In Hungary resistance to Austrian tyranny inspired a real national movement among the Magyars which was to have so chequered a history and influence so strangely the future fortunes of that people. Joseph II. who succeeded his mother Maria Theresa in 1780 was reluctant to govern Hungary in accordance with the ancient law and custom of its constitution and so refused to be crowned. The illegal and unconstitutional acts of his reign led to bitter struggles between him and his Hungarian subjects and awakened and advanced among them the idea of nationality. He refused to call the Diet, made German the official language of the country, introduced a high protective tariff which seriously damaged the prosperity of the people, suppressed the freedom of the press and in various ways incurred popular odium so that, when the news of the French Revolution and the Belgian revolt spread over the land, Hungarians felt encouraged to assume an attitude of courageous defiance towards him everywhere. At last Joseph repented and abolished all his illegal and unpopular edicts and resolved to convoke the Hungarian Diet. But it was all too late. He died before the meeting of the Diet, and his reign had only had the effect of rousing the Hungarians from their apathy, though so far the national movement had only resulted in bringing power to the reactionary Hungarian nobility and little was done in the way of introducing democratic reforms. Francis I. did not for a moment dream of anything like liberal legislation, and the rebellion of Martinovics

only resulted in bringing in a reactionary and repressive *regime* whose evils were only intensified during the epoch of reaction which set in throughout Europe after 1815. At last, Francis's unconstitutional and unauthorised levy of 35,000 recruits for the army at his sole initiative and without the sanction of the Diet proved the proverbial last straw; and so great was the commotion that the King was forced to summon the Diet in 1825, and thenceforward a new era of modern progress dawned on Hungary.

II.

The birth of the sentiment of nationality as above explained, is not to be understood as necessarily meaning, or as immediately leading to, the actual birth of a nation. Sentiment, no doubt, is a powerful motive force for leading the human will along the path of active progress. But in order that practical steps may be taken in the direction of social and political reform sentiment requires to be helped in various ways. It is the characteristic of weakness to mistake the mere effervescence of sentiment for the achievement of practical aims, and we are apt to forget that the ebullition of sentiment in its various well-known forms often retards fruitful activity. So then we have to study what lessons are taught us by the history of the national movement as to the means and methods by which national sentiment, when it has taken birth among European peoples, has been enabled to take practical shape.

And first, we find that everywhere it has been preceded by the growth of material prosperity. Where grinding poverty prevails, how can we expect a people to have the leisure or the spirit needed for realising acutely the ignominy of political degradation, and still more for achieving political deliverance by exploits of heroic gallantry and self-abnegation. The acquisition and growth of national wealth has sometimes taken place as the result of favourable accidents, but it has also often been greatly advanced by the forethought and efforts of great men feeling intensely the national degradation of their kith and kin and sleeplessly endeavouring to improve their economic well-being. The history of the progress of the modern national movement in Europe brings into relief this fruitful lesson—one that can never be too frequently meditated upon or laid to heart—that economic and material prosperity must precede the achievement of political advancement. This truth is enshrined in the popular wisdom that “money is the sinews of war,” but over and over again we are liable to be carried away by the insinuating sophistry of the

sentimental moralist when he teaches from the abundance of his own speculative imagination that all that is wanted for the political elevation of human society is the love of freedom. But history teaches that even freedom-loving men cannot long be kept together unless they can be guaranteed the means of livelihood for themselves and those that are near and dear to them, that a starving stomach is not the condition most favourable to the maintenance of the spirit of patriotic fervour, and, moreover, even when we have men of fiery zeal and food for their mouths, we have to supply them with the implements and materials of warfare and various kinds of convenience which are needed for the efficient employment of military forces of all kinds. In Greece, after the Venetians were finally expelled from the Morea in 1718 and thereby lost their commercial supremacy in the Eastern Mediterranean there ensued a period of comparative calm, during which the Greeks were able to find ample scope for their natural aptitude for the coasting trade in the Aegean and the Black Sea and many Greek shipowners became rich in consequence. Also, the Treaty of Kainardji conferred upon Russia the commercial privileges of “the most favoured nation” and opened the Black Sea to Russian ships of commerce. It also contained clauses binding the Sultan to observe certain rules in his treatment of the Greek islanders and his Christian subjects of the Danubian provinces generally. The world knows that Russians are the most wily and wicked of diplomatists, and these were able successfully to make use of these clauses to obtain the right of interfering in favour of the Christian subjects of the Sultan generally. The commercial clauses of the Treaty were used so as to permit Greek shipowners to hoist the Russian flag, and thus an enormous impulse was given to Greek commerce. Another war between Russia and Turkey gave Russia the district of Oczakoff on the northern shore of the Black Sea, and thus enabled the Greeks to monopolise the profits of the export trade in corn in South Russia. The Greek merchants were in fact the founders of the Commercial prosperity of Odessa, and in a few years many Greek firms rivalled those of London in their resources and profits. During the revolutionary war, the Greeks profited by the neutrality of Turkey or its alliance with England and secured all the profits of the Mediterranean trade that were lost to France and its dependencies. Not only Odessa and Salonica but even such purely Hellenic communities as Psara, Spetza, &c., prospered, and the develop-

ment of the Greek mercantile marine went on unchecked,—that armed merchant-navy of hundreds of vessels which was one day to be more than a match for the Turkish men-of-war and to drive away the Turkish merchantmen from the waters of the *Ægean*.—While the Greeks were favoured by circumstances in this rise to opulence and prosperity, we find elsewhere that the unselfish and patriotic endeavours of individuals proved a fruitful source of inspiration and guidance to their fellow-countrymen. In Italy we find the career of Count Cavour is highly interesting and instructive in this connection. Though as anxious as anybody else to serve his country, he did not like to join in the conspiracies and agitations by which his countrymen, under the guidance of the *Carbonari* and young Italy, were distracted, and he had in consequence to undergo many undeserved sufferings and trials. He was early convinced that irregular bands of conspirators and agitators could effect nothing against the regular government and disciplined forces of the Austrian rulers of Italy and that the revolts of his countrymen only augmented the irritation and oppression of their rulers. He resolved therefore to wait for his own opportunity and to serve his country in the ways he considered the most proper and the most effective, but meanwhile he did not remain idle. He was a keen and interested student of foreign politics, especially of politics in France and in England, and this was one day to serve him well and to advance his country's interests, as we shall see. He also skilfully promoted the material interests of his country. He obtained a complete mastery of the theory and practice of agriculture, introduced vast improvements on his family estates, and in 1848 he helped in founding the Agricultural Society of Piedmont. He also took a leading part in the application of steam for objects of material improvement, in establishing steamers on Lake Maggiore, in the erection of steam mills and chemical works, in the furtherance of schemes of railway construction, and in founding the Bank of Turin. All this Cavour did, because he was convinced that material prosperity constituted the basis of all national improvement and the best possible means of introducing it, and that no amount of revolutionary fanaticism, however restless or sincere, could be effective for any purpose of substantial national improvement.—What Count Cavour was to Italy, that Count Szechenyi was to Hungary. He laboured incessantly and enthusiastically to improve the industries and commerce of his country. He had to

contend with opposition of every kind, but his iron will enabled him to pursue his own aims and to carry out all the schemes on which he had set his heart. He introduced horse-racing into the country, not as a pastime for gentlemen of means and leisure, but with the object of developing horse-breeding, and in furtherance of this object he founded a National Breeding Association. He started and successfully completed an organisation for building a bridge across the Danube connecting Pesth and Buda and for constructing a tunnel under the castled mountain of Buda. He conducted for years the work of regulating the Danube. He aided in the establishment of the Danube Steam Navigation Company which to this day has hundreds of ships engaged in the local and export trade. He also successfully carried on the work of regulating the Theiss, and this has resulted in the reclaiming of a marshy territory containing 150 miles and turning it into a rich and fertile soil. He was also engaged in various schemes for constructing railways and for the promotion of commerce and industry. The success he thus obtained as a practical reformer, in matters of economic and industrial importance to his country was the necessary prelude to the patriotic endeavours and activities of Kossuth, Deak and others later on.—In Germany, too, we find the career of Stein teaching us the same lesson. By the Edict of Emancipation of 1807 Stein extinguished personal servitude and the system of entail in land and substituted the free disposition of labour and property. He also carried out a scheme of municipal reform. By these measures he laid the foundation of the subsequent political elevation of Prussia and enabled her statesmen half a century later to achieve the triumph of German consolidation and unity. We need not multiply further illustrations, and the history of every national movement in modern Europe can be shown to enforce the same lesson.

III

That the masses of the people have to be moved so as to follow the lead and share the enthusiasm of those who feel the call to undertake their deliverance from political bondage and the uplifting of them into the light and life of national freedom is a truism which does not need to be enforced at length. Where the masses are apathetic in the common cause, all the energy and all the fervour of the enlightened few cannot avail for any purpose of practical achievement and the latter have been very appropriately compared to the arithmetical figures which have a value

of their own but a value which is not of much significance unless they are followed by the ciphers and which increases tenfold with the addition of every cipher after them. In practical politics the masses of the people are the ciphers who have to be made to follow the great leaders who have the knowledge and the will to undertake the cause of political and national emancipation, and this has in every instance been the result of the creation or improvement of a vernacular language and literature. No civilised people have *en masse* adopted a foreign language, and every people who have had a culture of their own and who have maintained their place among the world's communities for any length of time have also had a language and literature of their own during the time they have displayed and retained their vitality. The disappearance of the people has always more or less synchronised with that of their language and literature. Of course, this does not mean that, where there are different languages prevailing among the different peoples constituting a state, some one language should not be preferred for state purposes and even taught in schools, but even here the interests of civilization require that the state should give free play to the particular languages in use among the different races or nationalities comprised in the state. The great German writer on Political philosophy, Professor Bluntschli, says in words which require to be laid to heart that "language is the most peculiar possession of a people, is the strongest bond which unites its members, and the chief means by which it reveals its character." Hence it is "a barbarous violation of rights" and "a fearful abuse of the power of government," according to Professor Bluntschli, to forcibly suppress the language of any of the races or nationalities included within its scope. And we find also as already stated, that in every case in which the spirit of nationality has worked with beneficial effect among the people of Europe in recent times, the development and enrichment of the vernacular language has been one of the chiefest devices to which the national leaders have resorted to gain the support and co-operation of their countrymen in the struggle for liberty and to inspire them with their own stern resolve not to rest till they had wiped out the stain of foreign subjection and recommenced their career as an independent international state.

In Hungary, when the Austrian government, during the first quarter of this century ignored the constitution and tyrannised

over the people, collecting by force of arms arbitrary and illegal taxes, fettering the liberty of the press, &c., the indignation of the country was stirred and everywhere the natural reaction was fostered by the rising Hungarian literature in which a new era was inaugurated by a number of eminent writers whose works kindled the national feeling and public spirit of the Hungarians and awakened in them the resolve to achieve their independence and thereby their legitimate place among the nations of Europe. In this work of fostering the national language and literature, as in the work of fostering the material interest of his countrymen, Count Szecheny stood forth as a worthy patriotic leader. When taking his seat in the Diet of 1825, he introduced a memorable innovation. Hitherto Latin had been in use as the official language of the House of Magnates, but Count Szecheny boldly broke through the established tradition and spoke in Hungarian; and although he was at first severely criticised and reprimanded, he had soon many imitators, and in truth his bold and manly bearing on this occasion largely contributed to the subsequent rapid development of the Hungarian language. Soon after, Szecheny at a session of the Lower House and with the support of many of his influential countrymen in it, inaugurated a scheme for the foundation of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences,—an institution which still flourishes and whose activity has immensely contributed to the development of the Hungarian language and the advancement of science in Hungary. Count Szecheny was a prolific writer and some of his works are reckoned among the gems of Hungarian literature, one of the best known of them being a treatise on Credit. In that work occurs a well-known passage which deserves to be carved and enshrined in the hearts of all who are animated by the patriotic or humanitarian resolve to labour for the advancement of their fellowmen: "Do not constantly trouble yourselves with the vanished glories of the past, but rather let your determined patriotism bring about the prosperity of the beloved fatherland. Many there are who think that *Hungary has been*, but for my part I like to think that *Hungary shall be*." Hungary has not been what he thought it would be, but its position is very different from, and an enormous improvement upon what it was in his time, and one of the chief instruments of its elevation and improvement was the development and enrichment of its vernacular language and literature—a field of work in

which it was his privilege to give an impetus, the influence of which is still beneficently active even though half a century has since passed away.

In Greece, to Koraes belongs the glory and the privilege of giving to the reviving nationality of his people the literature and the form of expression which "every civilised people reckons among its most cherished bonds of unity." Koraes first edited and illustrated a selection of the writings of the leading Hellenic authors whom he considered to be best suited to his countrymen in their actual condition. He also made an attempt to purify the Greek language of his time, of which the vocabulary had been barbarised under Turkish and Albanian influences. He took the best written Greek of his day as his material, and where the forms of classical Greek were not wholly obsolete, he recommended that they should be fixed in the grammar of the language; and he proposed that all foreign words should be expunged, and he replaced them by Hellenic words formed according to the natural laws of language. His plan has succeeded, and the renovated Greek language of to-day is daily approximating more and more to the forms of classical Greek and serving to unite the various sections of the Hellenic people and widen the sphere of Hellenic civilisation in the Eastern Mediterranean.

In Italy, the language and literature which reckon one of the most priceless treasures of humanity—Dante—among its glories still remained, but it had lost all its old life and spirit, and from the depths of its despair rose the dawn of a new life. Have we not often witnessed the spectacle of a trodden and bruised flower regaining its erect posture and its enrapturing bloom and charging the blissful breeze of morn with its sweet-scented treasures? So has Italy risen slowly and painfully from her degradation through long ages of political and spiritual tyranny, and we find the national literature slowly, but steadily, contributing to this progress of evolution. The dawn of national revival appears in the 18th century when Italian literature began to assimilate to the general type prevailing in European countries. As in Germany and France, so in Italy all the best intellects turned towards philosophical criticism, history, moral science and social and state economy. Vico laid the foundations of the modern European philosophy of history by enunciating and applying the principle that human society is an organism. Giannone, the jurist, started the movement which later on tended

to subject the church to the civil power. Beccaria pressed forward the reform of criminal law, and Filangieri denounced the excessive interference of governments and advocated the codification of law. Genovesi stood forth as the first to show the pressing need of Italian unity. Several men kept up the tradition of poetry, though none wrote any work of great merit. In the drama, however, many writers acquired a European renown, the greatest being Alfieri, who had also, unlike other gifted men of letters in Italy at this period, that passionate hatred of tyranny and love of freedom which was to become later on an inspiring force for popular and national emancipation in Italy. His *Misogallo*, though aimed at the French after the downfall of Napoleon, served as an effective onslaught against all sorts of foreign domination and foreign interference, whether political, intellectual or moral. The degenerate Italian people whom ages of slavery had unnerved and who had lost all faith in themselves did not fail to be healthily and nobly influenced by Alfieri's gentle reminder and remonstrance, "shall we learn liberty of the Gauls, we who taught every lofty thing to others?" All this while, however, Italy lacked writers of genius and originality, but she was enabled soon to successfully associate herself with the new enlightenment of Europe. In Italy, as elsewhere, the new movement was foreign, and it was forced upon her by one who not only went thither as an invader, but committed many unjustifiable acts of rapine. But Napoleon taught Italians the idea of national unity, and, when the idea took root and developed, they cordially welcomed revolutionary principles. In Alfieri's denunciations of tyranny and plaudits of freedom we see in Italy the germs of the revolutionary idea; but Napoleon's advent and exploits and, above all, his stirring appeals to Italian national sentiment and his proclamation and inauguration of the Cispadane and other republics had laid the foundation, and quickened the growth, of the national idea. Monti, indeed, played a base and unworthy part as a flatterer and courtier of Napoleon, but even while adulating Napoleon, he was explaining why he did not give his voice to the liberties of his country:—"It would be *vox clamantis in deserto*: besides, how can the grievances of Italy be made known? No one dares to write—scarcely to think—politics." And again:—"Italy will soon be nothing but a lifeless carcase." Monti showed that he too had a spark of patriotism in his composition, when he had the courage to remind Napoleon

that no man could be rightly praised till he was dead and to demand of him that he should deserve the praise bestowed upon him by helping to establish the independence of Italy. Again, when Austrian rule was re-established in Italy he went into voluntary exile and finally took refuge in England. Foscolo, on the other hand, was untainted by any sinister influences, clerical or despotic, and, in spite of all his follies, whims, and vehemence of passion, genuinely patriotic. Monti and Foscolo were both sceptics in religion. But no great and inspiring force for popular movement has ever come from scepticism and we find the revival of religious sentiment and spiritual purity brought to Italy by the importation of the Romantic movement from N. Europe, which is almost mediæval in its religious spirit but without any admixture of the grotesqueness or grossness attaching to religion in its mediæval form. The gentle and retiring, but truly patriotic, Manzoni is the representative of this side of the new movement in Italian literature and claimed the universal veneration of his countrymen by those splendid lyrics and dramas in which he gave expression to the deepest feelings of Italian hearts. Manzoni also refined the Italian language and formed a style equally acceptable to the lettered and unlettered among his countrymen,—a style free from all pedantic restrictions while maintaining its ancient dignity. In the wake of Foscolo and Manzoni came a generation of whom Byron has said:—“They talk Dante, write Dante, and dream Dante to an extent that would be ridiculous but that he deserves it”; and such a generation, such a people, could not but awake to the stern realities of life and develop lofty conceptions of duty and patriotism. Soon a prophet of national unity arose in Mazzini, and with his “thoughts that breathe and words that burn” he inspired his countrymen with the resolve not to rest till they had achieved their national emancipation. Gioberti was another great writer, and he did a noble service to his countrymen by turning them away from conspiracies and rebellion and teaching them the necessity of a great moral reformation. But as Mazzini erred in holding that unity was possible for Italy only under a republic, so Gioberti was bent on pursuing an impossible and unnatural ideal of unity by means of a federation of Italian States. All such crude ideas, however, vanished when there appeared in Cavour a statesman of unexampled sagacity, foresight, knowledge and resource and in Garibaldi a soldier and general of unmatched

fertility of resource and unfailing and dogged persistence of resolution. Still, the great writers of Italy, its poets, dramatists, romancists and essayists contributed largely to the increase of their countrymen's mental and emotional activity, and thus proved the destined precursor of a new life of national independence and honour. Italian music, too, revived and deluged the land with a flood of national song and so served to infuse a new spirit into the national character.

IV.

Passing on to another phase of the movement, we find that everywhere its development has been helped by the renovation of the martial spirit of the people and the effective introduction of military reforms. An unwarlike people has nowhere been a great power for good or evil among human societies. It may indeed be held that courage in war has never been a monopoly among men. All communities of men have shown aptitude for war, and after all it is no great merit, when we remember that superior militancy is an indication of an inferior social evolution. Still we must not forget the lesson taught by history that no modern community has ever been able to attain to, or maintain, its status as a nation unless it has kept up its military spirit and organisation in a state of thorough efficiency. A heroic struggle of arms has almost invariably preceded the birth of a nation, and no victory can be achieved without the acquisition of military strength by means of effective military organisation.

In France, we find that Carnot is the leading spirit of the movement for military revival. The allied foreign governments were threatening to overthrow the national government, and the military situation of France seemed most critical and almost desperate. Dumouriez' treachery had completely demoralised the army of the north; the armies of the Alps, the Rhine, the Moselle, and the Pyrenees were either starving or retreating, or threatened by the enemies; the English were threatening Brest, Cherbourg, and the coast of Brittany; in the south the Mediterranean fleet was under repair. It was at this time that the Convention bestirred itself and seized the direction of the military affairs of France and not only placed the entire male population of France between the ages of 18 and 25 at the disposal of the government and thereby turned the whole country into one great camp and arsenal of war, but also entrusted the operations of the army to Carnot, one of the members of the

Committee of Public Safety, who soon showed a genius for organisation absolutely unmatched in military annals: It was Carnot's democratic army, with its inexhaustible supply of newly-formed battalions, officered by men chosen by the recruits themselves, and led by soldiers who had served in the ranks and who had been selected by the Committee for their natural gifts, energy, experience and patriotism,—it was this new and tremendous engine of power that retrieved the cause of French nationality at a time when its fortunes were at the lowest ebb.—In Spain, there was no doubt a national rising, but the work of organising victory against the French received its inspiration from Andalusia which comprised half the disposable Spanish army with the redoubtable generals, Reding and Castanos, at its head, and thus we may say that the work of liberation was largely accomplished when these generals defeated Marshal Dupont and brought about his famous capitulation at Baylen.—In Germany, Scharnhorst proposed, and Stein accepted, a series of military reforms which resulted in giving new life to the Prussian army. These reforms provided for a regular army of 40,000 men, a reserve comprising all soldiers removed out of the regular army after a short period of service, a volunteer force for employment in internal defence, and a general arming of the entire population comprising all Russians between the ages of 17 and 44 for a species of guerilla warfare. These reforms resulted in converting the Prussian army into a school of patriotism. In Greece we have already had occasion to explain how there came to exist the armed mercantile marine which rendered yeoman's service to the national movement. Moreover the old militia of the Armatoli and the energetic organisation of the Klephts helped to maintain unimpaired the physical vigour of the Greek peasantry on the mainland. There is no need to multiply examples. It may be shown that everywhere military strength has been developed and organised before the national movement has been pushed on to victory and placed on a secure basis. It is absurd to suppose that a nation can be formed or developed or maintained without fighting capacity and forces of overwhelming strength. Throughout history, we see that even politically organised communities of considerable strength run to seed when they neglect their military strength and sea-power, and it does not require to be elaborately demonstrated that rising national ambitions among subject, renovated or newly-forming peoples can only attain to any measure of fruition by the

acquisition of military power and the readiness to pass their best and most vigorous manhood through the baptism of blood and fire. The great strategist who won the prize of German Unity has enunciated one of the fundamental axioms of European political philosophy in the following memorable sentences:—"War is a holy and divine institution; it is one of the sacred laws of the world; it keeps alive in man such great and noble sentiments as virtue and courage, and in a word it prevents them from falling into the most deadly materialism." A people's national existence is assured only when every one of the individuals composing it is ready to sink into the abyss in order that the nation may live. Given the virtue of heroic courage in war and the genius for military organisation, we have one of the most essential requisites for making a living nation. If a people disregard these, they may be great in art, science, literature or spiritual power, but political pre-eminence may not be their portion on earth, and there is no use whatever in rending the air with passionate lamentations against the lovelessness of the human heart or with senseless and piteous appeals to a charity that does not fail to make itself conspicuous by its absence among men when vested interests are imperilled and worldly prestige is at stake.

V.

Another lesson taught by the history of the national movement in Europe is that foreign help has in every case been found necessary in more or less extent for its successful prosecution. Where an alien rule has been established, it is not easy to disestablish it, even though it may press on the subject populations with the weight of an intolerable burden. It often happens that subject populations do not possess political capacity; and, even where this is not wanting, a people may not feel the impulse, and therefore does not possess the right, to found and maintain an independent national state. But when this need is felt and the mission is recognised, the ruling race is not willing to abdicate its power. It is not in ordinary human nature voluntarily to renounce advantages of any kind, and more especially the advantages of sovereign power which is the greatest and most valuable of all earthly possessions and the end for which knowledge, wealth, character and all else is sought here. A struggle then becomes inevitable, and in no case that we know of has a national state been founded without a struggle. But in all such struggles, the present possessors of power must necessarily

have the advantage in every respect. If the machinery of law and justice, the revenue resources of the state, the services of the loyal, peaceful and industrial sections of the subject population are all at the disposal of alien rulers, the national struggle has to be fought under exceptional disadvantages as to military and financial resources and has been won only when foreign rule has fallen into a state of extreme corruption and decay and exists more by habit than by the willing acquiescence of the subject people, and then even the slightest pressure of rebellion or attack is enough to pull down the machinery of the state, as in the case of Garibaldi's attack on the Sicilian and Neapolitan governments. But where the subject populations or portions of them have a political machinery of some kind, as in most of the cases we are now studying, military and financial resources of some kind and extent do exist, but they are so inadequate that any attempt at achieving national independence can always be easily overthrown by the superior forces of the supreme power, and the condition of the subordinate state is, after every such effort, rendered worse than previously by the imposition of fresh restraints and disabilities, calculated to repress or render futile the promptings of future ambition. In all these cases, we find that subject states and peoples have had recourse to foreign help and undergone sacrifices of various kinds in order to secure such help. Let us first take the case of Italy. Napoleon III., having as a youth been a member of the Secret Society of the Carbonari had a genuine sympathy with the national cause, but he would not have assisted the Italians by arms against Austria if he had not been seized with the desire to regain Savoy for France. Savoy had formed part of France between 1792 and 1815, and the Savoyards were more French than Italian in feeling and even in language, and Napoleon's heart was set on its acquisition. Napoleon was also anxious to negotiate a marriage which would ally him with one of the oldest families in Europe. Count Cavour in an interview with the French Emperor at Plombieres proposed to satisfy him in both points and gained his adhesion to the cause of Italian national unity and freedom. To Victor Emmanuel the sacrifice of his ancient family principality of Savoy was a painful one to make, but it was still more painful to him to consent to the giving away of his daughter's hand to an odious character like Prince Napoleon, the French Emperor's cousin, and he made the sacrifice only when the Princess Clotilde, on hearing of the proposal, cheerfully accepted it,

saying :—"This marriage will be useful to my family and country, and I accept." Moreover, Count Cavour, during the Crimean war, with the firm and cordial support of his sovereign, had joined France and England unsolicited in the Crimean war, and his Italian contingent had covered itself with glory by its gallant conduct in the battle of Techernaya. Cavour's policy was condemned as insane at the time, but it enabled Cavour to bring forward the political condition of Italy for examination at a special meeting of the Congress of Paris in 1856, and in fact we may say that it was on that occasion that Cavour won the cause of Italian unity and freedom. In Germany, we find that in 1866 Prince Bismarck had fully in mind the recollection of Napoleon's transactions with Cavour when he carried on his own negotiations with him at Biarritz and hoodwinked the French Emperor by all sorts of promises into permitting him to secure the active alliance of Italy and his own neutrality in the war which he had projected against Austria for the acquisition of Holstein and Schleswig. Then, as to Greece, all Europe sympathised with her cause, and societies were freely formed in England, France, Germany and elsewhere to assist the Greeks with arms, stores, and money; and when her actual struggle for independence against Turkey commenced, the governments of England, France and Russia jointly intervened on her behalf with their forces and gained for her her long and vainly-sought freedom by the Treaty of Adrianople. Finally, the cause of Spain against Napoleon was championed by England, as is well known to every student of English history.

At the same time, we find that where no foreign aid is forthcoming and a foreign state gives its support to the existing alien ruler, the cause of national freedom and independence is, as it must be, necessarily lost. In the Hungarian national struggle of 1848-9, the victories of Kossuth, Gorgei, Klapka, Bem, and others had resulted in driving the Austrians out of Hungary, and the Hungarian Diet, at the instance of Kossuth, had, at one point of the struggle, been even encouraged to proclaim Hungary as an independent state. But when the Russian Emperor's offer of help was accepted by Francis Joseph and one formidable army of 80,000 Russians marched across Galicia and other Russian divisions entered Transylvania the Hungarians found themselves opposed by forces of overwhelming strength, all was soon lost, and with the surrender of Gorgei to the Russian general at Vilagos the cause of Hungarian independence was lost, though later

on Austria's disaster on the battle-field of Koniggratz led Francis Joseph to seek a reconciliation with his Hungarian subjects on the basis of the existing Dual Monarchy.

VI.

In our review of the conditions under which Nation-states have been forged and hammered into existence, in Modern Europe, we have seen that work of a multifarious character has to be done. A community has to be made to advance harmoniously along several different lines of activity, intellectual, economic, military, &c.; and not only concerted action is indispensable, but leaders are wanted who can accomplish all such work so as to secure to their community a place of honor and importance among the powers of the world. Every community must have its prophets and teachers, its statesmen and its soldiers, and also enlightened men in authority and with power to co-ordinate the activities of the leaders in the several departments of social life so as to produce, or maintain in efficiency, the organised nation-state. To be leaders of men, to shine forth as the lights of your community, to be able to inspire your fellow-men to activities along the lines of work on which you have set your heart as the most desirable for them in their present evolution, to make them implicitly and trustfully follow your guidance,—that is no doubt the proudest lot of man on earth and elevates one almost to a celestial eminence even during one's life here below. No reason can be given why such men appear at particular epochs of a nation's history and at no others, and there is no known means or machinery for producing them to order. All that we can say is that with the hour always come the men who are needed, that when the times are ripe great leaders of men are born who guide their race onwards and upwards nearer their destined goal. If it is not possible for us to ascertain by what experimental processes we can produce great leaders of men whenever we would like, to have them, we can at least observe and analyse the characteristics of the men to whom it has been given to do great things for humanity by way of illuminating their minds, inspiring their consciences, or enriching them with an ample endowment of the means and materials which are needed for the enjoyment of plenty and peace on earth. These characteristics may be summed up in two words,—culture and character. What, is culture? Various definitions have been given, but it will be well, instead

of indulging in vague generalities, to seek out the visible marks by which we can distinguish the man of real culture from him who has none, or is merely a simulacrum. To be able to understand one's epoch, to believe in progress, and to be always ready manfully to bear one's own part in active life,—that is real culture. And then as to character, it may be summed up as consisting in independence of all sinister influences and in honest, unwavering enthusiasm for all that makes for progress in freedom and peace.

K. SUNDARARAMAN.

FINANCIAL MACHINERY OF INDIA.

THE recent Royal Commission on the administration of the expenditure of India divided their inquiry into three sections: (1), The Financial Machinery of the Government of India; (2), The Progress of Expenditure during recent years; and (3), The Apportionment of Expenditure between India and the United Kingdom. It is in regard to the last branch of their inquiry that the Commission have made a few unimportant suggestions, while in regard to the other two branches, the conclusions of the Commission are virtually a flattering testimonial to the Government of India. In regard to the Financial Machinery, the Commission consider it to be "well organized" and "its action effectively controlled." The controlling power of the Financial Member of Council in India is, theoretically complete, and as regards his power in practice, a good deal must depend on his personality. Sir David Barbour and Sir Auckland Colvin, two of the more recent ex-Financial Members of the Government of India, who gave very valuable evidence before the Commission, were of opinion that more attention should be given by the Members of Council to general financial considerations, but the Commission have accepted the evidence of Lord Northbrook, Lord Ripon, Lord Lansdowne, and Lord Cromer, that "Members of Council fully recognize their collective responsibility in financial questions." The Commission recognize the power of the Viceroy as the predominant factor in Indian administration. If he should not give sufficient weight to financial considerations, the Commission observe, a check can only be found in the Secretary of State in England. The important question of the relation between the Financial Member of the Government of India and the Secretary of State in Council was considered by the Commission, who approve of the suggestion made by Lord Cromer that "the Financial Member (in common with other Members of Council) should be at liberty, if he wishes it, to state his opinion, in a confidential memorandum, which should not be published without his consent, but should be forwarded through the Viceroy to the Secretary of State. The Commission had their attention drawn to the fact

that two out of the seven members who, including the Commander-in-Chief, constitute the Council of the Governor-General, are military men, and it was contended by Sir David Barbour and Sir Auckland Colvin that the military element had in consequence a somewhat disproportionate weight in the Council. It was argued on the other side that the Military Member of Council is rather a check on, than an ally of the Commander-in-Chief. Lord Lytton was of opinion that the Commander-in-Chief should not be a Member of Council and Sir Ashley Eden's commission on Army organization in India made a recommendation to this effect. But Lord Welby and his colleagues express no opinion on this point as they do not consider that it falls within their order of reference.

Of the numerous witnesses of great weight that were examined by the commission, Sir David Barbour and Sir Auckland Colvin had the most recent experience of the working of the financial machinery of India, and it is evident that their opinions made a deep impression on the Commission. A reference to their evidence in some detail, will not be without interest to the readers of the *Madras Review*. It is with the Military Department that the Finance Department comes most often into conflict. The Military Department is a very strong department in India; and has the control of a great deal of expenditure. The Viceroy is of course the chief and the pivot of Government. His power is very great. If, as Sir David Barbour says, "the Viceroy supports the Military Department, the Military Department is the strongest; and whether great attention is paid to financial considerations or not, depends entirely—almost entirely—on the Governor-General for the time being. If he is favourable to economy, the Government is economical; if he is inclined to be, not extravagant, but liberal, we will say—the Government is liberal." Unlike other departments, the Military Department has the special advantage of having two representatives in the Council, the Commander-in-Chief and the Military Member. In theory, the Military Member is supposed to exercise a check on the expenditure of the Commander-in-Chief, which is enormous, but practically they often vote together, and the original intention of the arrangement is not fulfilled. The Military Member of the Council is a military officer, though he is not bound to be so by the law. When Lord Welby asked Sir David Barbour whether the Military Mem-

ber could not be a civilian, Sir David Barbour replied, he could not be. What circumstances in the Government of the country render the incumbency of a military man necessary, it is difficult to see, more especially when it is remembered that, in England, Her Majesty's ministers at the head of the army and navy are civilians. If the Military Member of the Council is there as a check on the Commander-in-Chief rather than as his supporter, a civilian with the help of military subordinates should be quite able to exercise this function and will have besides the great advantage of being free from the usual military bias. Even if the Viceroy should lean too much towards the Military side, the minister for war or the Military Member might join the Finance Minister whose hands may thus be occasionally strengthened.

The Viceroy naturally exercises a dominant influence in the Council. In the Indian Cabinet, he is the Prime-Minister, only the Indian Prime-Minister is secure against the searching influence of an open and effective criticism in Parliament. The decision of the British Prime-Minister, is originally the outcome of a discussion among the members of the Cabinet, and then it takes the form of a vote in Parliament. His measures are thus subject to the direct criticism of Parliament, more especially of the House of Commons—a great advantage from the public point of view, which is absent in India. On the other hand, the decisions of the Viceroy and his Council are entirely secret, the public having no means of knowing anything about them until they take effect in action, when, in the great majority of instances, any expression of public opinion is too late. From what Sir David Barbour said before the Welby Commission, it would appear that the decisions in course of formation in the Military are unknown to the responsible head of the Finance Department, and when he comes to know of them, he finds it too late to raise his voice in behalf of economy.

Everybody knows that during the last twenty years scores of money have been spent on frontier wars—small and great. Although a petty punitive expedition may not in itself cost very much, still, the collective effect of a number of such expeditions undertaken in the same year or in successive years may produce a disturbing effect on the financial equilibrium of the State. Yet, the Finance Member is not in a position to raise his voice in time to avert such an effect. Of course, before an expedition is actually undertaken, the question is discussed by the whole

Council, but, as Sir David Barbour said, "the proceedings that led up to that expedition or made that expedition necessary, might not have come before the Financial Member in Council." When a proposal to have an expedition comes before the Council and the Financial Member, the Viceroy has generally made up his mind about it. He is in charge of the Foreign Department, and matters may have got into such a position that the expedition may be unavoidable, or, at any rate, the Viceroy may have made up his mind on the subject. The Viceroy's influence being very great, it is easy for him to carry out his decision when he once makes up his mind. And then, if the Viceroy happens to be a statesman of Lord Elgin's Stamp, diffident of his own judgment and ready to place implicit reliance on the judgment of departmental chiefs, or the so-called "experts," or if he is fired by the ambition of territorial acquisition, or adding fresh "spheres of influence" on the frontier, and has allowed himself to be captured by the Military clique, the Finance Minister has no chance of securing attention to the claims of economy in expenditure. Nor is it of much avail that he can express his dissent from the decision of the council.

"It is only rarely that he records a minute of dissent, for the simple reason that he has no surety whatever that his dissent will influence the Secretary of State's decision. To save his own reputation, he is content with having it said in the despatch that the Finance Member does not concur in the decision. He might be of opinion that things looked rather threatening financially and yet he could not easily indicate his views to the Secretary of State and the India Office; he has got nothing but the formal despatches before him. There is a want of touch between the authorities in England and the Financial Member of Council. The Viceroy, of course, corresponds confidentially with the authorities in this country (England), and I cannot say that I would recommend that the Financial Member of Council should correspond with the Secretary of State, as it were, getting behind the Viceroy. I think it is very necessary to maintain the authority of the Viceroy, but there is that difficulty, there is want of close touch between the Financial Department in India and the controlling financial authorities in this country."

These opinions expressed by Sir David Barbour were supported by his predecessor in the office of Indian Finance Minister, Sir Auckland Colvin. He agreed mainly in Sir David Barbour's criticism, "that in a country like India, where deficits are

more dangerous than they would be here; the Government, as a whole, does not give sufficient attention to what may be the financial results of measures which they bring forward," and added that in a country where the tax-payer is an alien, and is not able to make his voice directly heard, the need of giving close attention to economy in administration is greater than it would otherwise be. "I think," said Sir Auckland Colvin, "that since the events of 1885 and the establishment of Russian power in Central Asia, the balance of influence between the Financial Member of Council and the other Members of Council,—more especially, I should say the Military Members,—chiefly the Military Members—has been radically disturbed by the very great preponderance given to Military considerations in consequence of the apprehensions raised in the minds of British officials in India." In Sir Auckland's as well as Sir David Barbour's opinion, the tendency of the Government of India, at present, is rather towards weakening the position of the Finance Minister, than strengthening it. Sir Auckland holds that with all the advantages of the scheme of financial decentralization since Lord Mayo's time, one effect of that scheme has been to weaken the Financial Member's power a good deal indirectly "by throwing the balance of the Viceroy's interest into a class of questions in which he has more direct concern and over which he has now exclusive direct control such as the Public Works, Military, and foreign matters." The Provincial Governments, since the decentralization scheme was introduced and elaborated, have taken the internal administration of India, from off the shoulders of the Council and of the Viceroy as representing the Government, in a degree which before was never dreamed of. The result is that the internal affairs of India occupy less the attention of the Viceroy than the external, which are costly."

The position of the Viceroy in the Executive Council explains the growing tendency of the Government of India towards excessive expenditure. His influence and power are very great, and he generally puts himself in charge of the Foreign Department. This costly department receives his patronage while the real internal administration of the country on which the prosperity and contentment of the people depend is neglected. He alone can strengthen the hands of the Finance Minister, and he does not. Cannot, then, the position of the Viceroy in the Executive Council be altered? He is the President of

the Council, and with the functions of that position he might be content. As President, he will exercise wholesome and judicial control over all the departments. His position should be such as will give him no interest in the expansion or the extraordinary activity of any particular department. The analogy with the British Cabinet in which the Prime Minister is the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or the Secretary for Foreign affairs, does not apply to India, where the decision of the Viceroy is not subject to the criticism of a large representative assembly like Parliament. If the Viceroy were detached from any particular department, he would think more of the interests of the country as a whole, which means the internal administration, and would think less of wars and annexations. More than one Viceroy has laid down his office with deep regret for his failure to give effect to his ambition to initiate measures of internal reform. Lord Dufferin regretted that he had been unable to do anything in the direction of establishing a well considered scheme of technical education. The record of Lord Lansdowne's Viceroyalty is blank in this direction, unless we reckon his currency legislation of 1893 as a measure of internal reform. As for Lord Elgin, frontier wars and famine took up nearly the whole of his time, and he publicly expressed his regret that he was unable to do what he had hoped to be able to do for the material improvement of the people. Lord Elgin had intended to consider the question of agricultural indebtedness, and all that he was able to do was to leave to his successor the legacy of a small palliative measure in the shape of an amendment of the Indian Contracts Act whereby the agricultural debtor can seek in the courts of justice redress against the cunning greed of the money-lender. Only the Indian official mind can imagine that the colossal evil of the poverty and indebtedness of the agricultural classes constituting from 80 to 90 per cent. of the population can be remedied by this feeble palliative. In accordance with the recommendation of the Famine Commission of 1880, Lord Ripon revived the agricultural department of the Government of India with the objects that were stated to be "in fine, agricultural inquiry, agricultural improvement, and famine relief." With the exception of the last, these objects, have, up to the moment, remained unfulfilled. Nothing has come of Dr. Voelker's report, of the numerous Conferences, Committees, and Resolutions, and of all the noise that Sir Edward Buck,

C. S. I., made. The country, by the way, has heard nothing of his successor. These and a score of other questions have had to be neglected, because the Viceroy's work has for some years lain in the Foreign department and his attention has been chiefly engrossed by Military enterprises, and the extension of Railways. The Supreme Government is not in touch with the local Governments, more especially those that are farther from the seat of the central Government, and questions involving the real prosperity and contentment of the people are either not considered or put off from year to year in favour of more influential interests in the Government. This is a great evil, of which one remedy will be to place the Viceroy in a position which will enable him to take a general and judicial survey of the needs of the empire from time to time.

The suggestion that the Viceroy should be merely the President of the Executive Council, and should not be entrusted with the charge of any particular department, was made before the Welby Commission by the Indian witnesses, and has received support from an unexpected quarter. The *Madras Mail* is a typical Anglo-Indian journal, and like many other Anglo-Indian journals it is convinced of the disastrous consequences of the forward policy and of the paramount necessity of finding some effective and self-working method of keeping it under check. In inquiring whether this can be done, this journal concludes that a change in the constitution of the Government of India's Executive Council will best secure this object. It is pointed out that the original object of two members of this Council being Military men, namely, that the Military member will moderate the ardour of the Commander-in-Chief by exhibiting tabulations of the cost, has not been fulfilled. On the other hand, as this journal points out, "the two find it much more profitable to hunt in couples" than fight each other, and there are two voices in the Council to start with for anything that involves gunpowder and glory." Nor does the Viceroy supply this much-needed check. As I have said, his association with the Foreign department, which is mainly military in its composition, is not calculated to detach military influence from him. "The first essential towards a more cautious and peaceful policy on the Frontier," the *Madras Mail* writes, "is to diminish the Military element in the Council, and to dissociate the Viceroy from direct charge of the Foreign department." The first step towards the

reform should be to abolish the Military secretariat, which as at present constituted is a dilatory and expensive post between the Commander-in-Chief and the separate Military departments, (Commissariat, Ordnance, and Military works) on the one side, and the Finance department on which the burden of criticising all Military proposals from the treasury point of view lies, on the other. If all the army departments were placed under the Commander-in-Chief, and he were allowed within budget limits larger powers of initiation and sanction than he now possesses, the Finance Department, with the help of the present Military accounts establishments, and a Military officer as an extra Deputy Secretary, could furnish all the financial control required." The Military Member might be replaced by a member in charge of Foreign affairs, leaving the Viceroy in the position of a Prime Minister without a special portfolio. This would certainly allow the Viceroy to see more of the machinery with his own eyes, and to take a more balanced view of any given question than he can possibly now take.

G. SUBRAMANIA IYER.

LAND ASSESSMENT IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

FOR the last forty years and more the question of land revenue settlement in India has always been more or less before the Government; and there exist at the present day a vast mass of literature—official and non-official—which would show the uncertain and wavering policy of the government in this matter from time to time. The Indian public have within recent years paid persistent attention to the subject. The Indian National Congress, ever since its organization, has been agitating the question; and the rapidly recurring famines and the general impoverished condition of the agricultural classes throughout the country have made it the problem of the day. In the eye of the Indian people no topic is of more vital importance as bearing on the economic condition of the people and their general well-being; and when Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt gave prominence to this particular subject in his Presidential address at the Lucknow Congress, he did so from a deep conviction of the importance which the subject had assumed in the minds of the people as a guiding factor in the Indian economic problem. Mr. Dutt's able and lucid representation of the case gave a fresh impetus to the agitation of the question; and he has himself by his letters to Lord Curzon, by his writings in the English Press, and by his recent publication on "Famines and Land Settlements in India," forced the attention of statesmen in England and of the authorities in India. And it remains to be seen whether the commission of enquiry promised by the Secretary of State for India, will be directed to go into the essential issues raised by Mr. Dutt.

In the meantime the Government of India has evidently felt that Mr. Dutt's criticisms cannot be long allowed to hold the field, for it has sent forth a sort of antidote in the form of a Resolution dealing with the resettlement of a single district in the Central Provinces. The object of this Resolution is to show that, so far as the Government of India has had occasion to test Mr. Dutt's criticisms in the light of ascertained facts, those criticisms are "without any foundation of fact." Uninformed people are likely to be led to believe, in their ignorance of the relative importance of the district of Nagpur to the extensive area covered

by Mr. Dutt's criticisms and of the special features of that single district, that the facts connected with the Nagpur settlement, assuming them to be correct, are typical of the facts that may be furnished with regard to other tracts of the country and as such calculated to demolish the vast superstructure built by Mr. Dutt on the slender foundation of challengeable facts. It is therefore in the first place important to remember, that *a priori* Nagpur ought to be the most prosperous and flourishing district in the Central Provinces, because in it is situated the capital city of the Provinces with its industry and commerce, the seat of Government, the sphere of many activities and occupations and the converging point of the surplus population of the rural parts of the district. It consequently stands on a different footing from that of other districts of the Provinces. Agriculture is not the only or the main occupation of the people. The capital city draws to itself that portion of the population which is thrown out of agriculture, and provides it with other means of livelihood such as cannot be found in other districts. Hence it is impossible to treat Nagpur as a typical district for demonstrating the agricultural prosperity of the masses or to deduce conclusions from it destructive of the entire position taken up by Mr. Dutt.

Even taking Nagpur by itself the contentions of the Government of India appear to us to rest on a number of assumptions which are not admitted by the people and which cannot stand the test of facts. The first point in Mr. Dutt's letter to Lord Curzon is that in determining the rate of assessment, the limit of 50 per cent. of the landlord's assets, fixed by Lord Canning's government as the proper and equitable government revenue, was exceeded in the settlement which followed. Mr. Dutt contends that that one-half of the landlord's assets should be demanded as revenue was repeatedly laid down and insisted upon in the orders of the Government of India; but that as a matter of fact the revenue demanded was sometimes 75 per cent. of the landlord's assets, a rate which would be ruinous to the landlords of any poor and agricultural country. The Government of India does not deny this fact, but replies that "there is no inherent right on the part of the Malghazars or landholders of the Central Provinces to any fixed share of the cultivators' rents, much less to a full moiety," and quotes the authority of Sir Antony McDonnell to the effect that "the assets or rental valuation of an estate was not the actually existing rental but the prospective or

potential figure which might hereafter be reached after rents had risen in process of time and the waste had been brought under cultivation." We dare say that Mr. Dutt will have his own say with regard to this novel and curious method of calculating the landlord's assets. But except the solitary authority of Sir Antony Macdonnel, the Government has not been able to adduce a scrap of evidence justifying its contention. On the other hand it admits that such a method was neither right in principle nor fair to the cultivator when it says that the present settlement rule restricts the settlement officer to the rental valuation as it exists to-day. We are therefore disposed to think that the method of calculating the assets on the prospective or potential figure to be reached in the course of years is only a theory to which Sir Antony Macdonnel thought it proper to give the weight of his authority, and not an intelligible or equitable principle applied in actual practice. It may serve a purpose as a means of intellectual fencing, but not as a convincing or satisfactory explanation of arbitrary assessment. An argument like this can at best show that the Government is not restrained from appropriating as much as it likes out of the produce of the soil; but it does not recognise considerations of equity or the ability of the taxpayer to bear the burdens imposed upon him. Yet the latter point has the most important bearing on the issues raised by Mr. Dutt, and it is that that has found the most emphatic illustration in the successive famines that have ravaged the Central Provinces. The Government assumes that the people are well able to pay the assessment fixed and that the country has prospered under it, but the famines and the general normal condition of the people tell an entirely different tale.

Mr. Dutt has called attention to the vicious system under which the settlement officer not only fixes the land-revenue payable by the landlord, but fixes also the rents of all classes of tenants according to his own arbitrary calculation not understood either by the landlord or by the tenant. The result of such a calculation is that the rents payable by cultivators, to landlords are fixed too high and the revenue payable by landlords to Government is fixed too high. When we remember that the rent is calculated at one-half of the net profits of the soil and the net produce is ascertained by deducting from the gross produce the supposed cost of cultivation, and that the calculations about the actual cost of cultivation

can never be made with sufficient accuracy, it becomes apparent that the settlement officer working with an eye to the Government revenue cannot be particularly favourable to the cultivators. In 1860, as Mr. Dutt has pointed out, about one-third of the gross produce was deducted as the cost of cultivation and one-half of the remainder was fixed as the rent payable by cultivators to landlords. Hence virtually the rent fixed was about one-third of the gross produce. The Government of India does not justify the system, but "agrees that the fixation of rents simultaneously with revenue may in unskilful hands lead to great mistakes and that this part of a settlement in the Central Provinces demands the closest scrutiny"; and as regards excessive rent fixed under this system, the Government's answer is that "the district (Nagpur) had paid the same or a higher sum for 40 years and had prospered under it and that there was no expectation of better terms in the minds of the Revenue-payers who, on the contrary, considered the settlement extremely favourable to them." It is an important point gained when the Government of India admits the possibility of "GREAT MISTAKES" being made in rental valuation under the prevailing system in the Central Provinces, a possibility which can be prevented only by extreme care and skill on the part of the settlement-officers. Mr. Dutt contends that great evil has resulted from this system; the Government admits the evil, but argues that it has not affected the Nagpur district which, as we have pointed out above, forms but a small part of the wide area covered by Mr. Dutt's criticisms and which presents exceptional features of prosperity and well-being. But even in regard to such a district it is only an assumption that it has not been affected by the evil, and even if this assumption is well founded it is too much to assume that the result of the settlement work in the Nagpur district is a correct reflex of what has been done in other districts or that to the extent to which the settlement of Nagpur has refuted the conclusions and criticisms of Mr. Dutt it has refuted them as regards other parts of the Central Provinces.

Positive evidence was adduced by the Hon'ble B. K. Bose in the Supreme Legislative Council, on the occasion of the last Budget Debate, to show how depressive have been the effects of the Revenue settlement over large tracts of the country in the Central Provinces. We do not know whether Mr. Bose particularly included Nagpur in his criticism of the Central Provinces Land

Revenue settlement. But speaking of the condition of the Provinces as a whole he contended that, in view to the economic condition of the people, a change was called for in the principles which had hitherto regulated the resettlement of the Land Revenue demand; and he also pointed out that in some tracts affected by famine, where the payment of enlarged demand had almost become an impossibility, a change in the shape of an abatement had already been introduced and that liberal remissions had also been given. But he contended that something more than makeshifts such as temporary remissions or reductions was needed in the best interests of the country. It is most important to note that, in making these remarks, he had at his back the testimony of several responsible officers of Government as recorded in the Revenue Reports for 1897-98. The Commissioner of Jubbalpore writes: "the Revenue management of certain tracts will require careful handling; in the Khurai Tehsil and in the open country of the Domah district, very liberal general remissions will be required this year and a resettlement will be necessary as soon as there are signs of an upward turn. The abatements granted last year have proved inadequate." Regarding Hoshungabad district which, according to Mr. Bose, was once thought to be one of the richest in the Province, the Deputy Commissioner records that the tenants owe heavy arrears and large sums on account of *takavi* in addition to their ordinary debts, and a considerable area of land has become overgrown with "kans," grass which it is difficult and expensive to extirpate; and he concludes that "the district is bankrupt and requires at least two good crops to become solvent." The Deputy Commissioner of Balaghat says that a large percentage of tenants and Malguzars are heavily in debt and that it is greatly to be regretted that a few years could not have been given to the district before the imposition of the new settlement to give time to the people to recover themselves and to prevent the transfer of Malguzari rights to the money-lending classes. This, we believe, is conclusive of the fact that the new settlement is greatly responsible for the poverty and debt to which the landholders have been reduced; and consistently with the policy reflected in the Punjab Land Alienation Act, the Government ought to have seen that its own sole settlement policy did not necessitate the transfer of lands from the Malguzars to the money lenders. Again the Deputy Commissioner of Bilaspur points out that it will require at least

two or three good harvests, perhaps more, before normal conditions would be restored. And the Famine Report of the Central Provinces concludes as follows: "But the ground lost during the last four years will not all be recovered in a season or two. It is a popular saying among cultivators that three good years are necessary to make up for one bad year. The saying may be tinged by the over-despondent tone which the farmer in all parts of the world uses in speaking of the prospects of his agriculture; but it is not unlikely that three years may pass before the Province throws off the last signs of the greatest famine of the century." All this, as Mr. Bose observed in the Legislative Council, was said in 1898, but since then the country has been smitten with the full force of an even greater famine; and yet we are told that in the Bhandara district the new assessments just completed are to be brought into force next year and that proceedings with a view to a second new settlement are also in progress in Bilaspur and Raipur, although they were both newly assessed only about 10 years ago and they were very hard hit during the last famine. These are not facts which will induce one to believe with the Government of India that there is nothing wrong with the settlement in the Central Provinces; and they entirely negative the fine optimism which forms the warp and woof of the Government Resolution.

As regards the settlement which has been effected in the Central Provinces Mr. Dutt says that he has made careful inquiry and has obtained his facts from the best sources of information available to him, and the result is thus stated by him:—"My information is that the rents now fixed can with difficulty be paid even in years of good harvest, that they leave no fair margin for saving for bad years and that they can never be realised by Malguzars from year to year. Large tracts of the country which were previously under cultivation have gone out of cultivation owing to over-assessment; and instances have occurred in which Malguzars have applied to surrender their estates in order to be relieved of their liability to pay a Government revenue which they cannot pay and their applications have not been granted." These allegations have not been refuted by the Government of India except to the extent of stating that so far as the Nagpur district is concerned everything has been right and that no evil consequences have followed. No inquiry has been made into these allegations, and as for the want of

staying-power of the people, it has been most painfully demonstrated by the late and the present famine. The condition of the peasantry under the stress of the famine is a most striking refutation of the assumptions which the Government of India has made to do duty for arguments. Is it a fact that large tracts of country have been thrown out of cultivation owing to the heaviness of assessments? Is it true that Malguzars have applied to surrender their estates owing to their inability to pay the Government revenue and that their applications have not been granted? It is the duty of the Government of India to furnish an answer to these simple questions, for, if these allegations are true, they constitute a state of things which it is impossible to justify even though the effect of the settlement in the Nagpur district has been what the Government of India tells us it is.

Everybody knows that no settlement is undertaken without the idea of enhancing the assessment, and everybody knows also by what method this enhancement is effected in practice. Mr. Dutt calls special attention to the practice of classifying soils which is done in a very arbitrary manner. We cannot here go in detail into the method of classification adopted in the Central Provinces; but it is significant that the Government of India admits "that by no device can soils be so accurately compared and arranged in proportionate order of merit as invariably to lead to a correct arithmetical result or to obviate the necessity for the use of judgment and personal observation by the settlement officer or to free him from the obligation of placing his rental valuation in an intelligible form before the persons whom they affect and of giving a patient hearing to the objections which they urge." This we regard merely as a counsel of perfection so far as the settlement department is concerned; for the settlement officer must really be a very extraordinary man, almost a divine being, to be able to do all that is here insisted on. It is not likely that the high officials who constitute the Government of India have a right conception of the ways of settlement subordinates. Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjee, C. S. I., the President of the British Indian Association, in detailing the hardships of the people in the course of his annual address, told us of "the money which the people are compelled to spend in order to protect themselves from the oppressions of subordinate settlement officers who do not scruple to overstate the areas

of holdings, to wrongly classify the land and assess it unjustly." The system affords scope for such dishonesty and corruption, and no effort of the settlement officer can effectually grapple with the evil. It is rampant everywhere and is felt by the people. The Government of India further contends that in 1894 the occupied area in Nagpur was found to have increased at 12 per cent., and that prices of agricultural profits had more than doubled in the 30 years. But in the statement presented by Mr. Bose in the Supreme Legislative Council the area under crop had diminished by 26,119 acres; and in 13 Districts in the Central Provinces it had diminished altogether by 1,476,907 acres or nearly one million and half in 1898-99 as compared with 1893-94. This fact considerably detracts from the estimate made by the Government of India for the 30 years preceding 1893-94, and confirms Mr. Bose's assertion that large tracts of the country have gone out of cultivation owing to over-assessment.

The rise of prices is always a favourite plea of settlement officers in this country; but a careful investigation into the records of Civil Courts and into the transactions of people as evidenced by registered documents will show that this is very much exaggerated. In famine times perhaps it may be possible to say that prices have doubled; but in ordinary seasons, when the crops are normal or even plentiful, there is no justification whatever for assuming that prices have doubled. From the ordinary Civil Court records it can be ascertained what prices were fixed for commodities 30 years ago and what they are now. Besides, as pointed out by Mr. Bose, the rise in prices, when an agriculturist gets involved in debt and is forced to borrow his seed and his subsistence grain till harvest and his cost of cultivation at a high rate of interest or by agreeing to sell his expected crops in advance at a sacrifice, cannot benefit him much. What profit accrues to him from this cause is consumed by grain dealers whose organisation covers the whole country. The settlement officers, while they are particular about the rise in prices, do not make allowance for the corresponding rise in the price of necessities without which the ryot cannot live, the increased charges on account of the cost and keep of plough bullocks and the higher wages that have to be paid for such farm labour as they have to employ. It is no wonder therefore that, in spite of favourable prices, only a fourth of the tenants in the Central

Provinces were found to be prosperous and free from debt, while another fourth, were deeply involved in debt and the remaining half were in a constant state of indebtedness carrying on their agriculture with borrowed capital (*vide* the Central Provinces Famine Report, May 1898). It can be imagined what the condition of the people should be when another serious famine has come over them hardly two years after.

Thus whatever the theories and the assumptions of the Government of India may be, these stern facts point to a quite different conclusion; and the only satisfaction of the Government is that it believes to have gained a literary victory over Mr. Dutt.

Since writing the above we have seen the Hon'ble B. K. Bose's letter to the "*Times of India*" thoroughly controverting the conclusions sought to be established by the Governor-General in Council in regard to two important points. Mr. Bose shows conclusively that the half-assets rule, which the Government of India repudiates, is binding on it, by furnishing quotations from the records of Government which has repeatedly affirmed the fact that "the Settlement Code lays down 50 per cent. as the Government share." And as regards the curious method, referred to by the Government, of estimating the average net-assets, he establishes by the same means that the average is calculated on the basis of something actual and tangible rather than a fictitious or imaginary future average. The Famine Code itself contains the instruction that "the assessment should be with reference to a well-ascertained rental and not that the rents of fields should be left to be subsequently calculated, so as to furnish the means of meeting an assessment which had been conjecturally fixed by the settlement officer." These knock the bottom out of the sanguine assumptions made by the Government of India.

THE CULTIVATION OF THE VERNACULAR.

NEXT to thought the greatest gift of the Creator is language which is the means of expressing and communicating thought. The capacity for language resides in the soul of man as an essential of its constitution, in the same manner as the power of constructing the hive resides in the bee. A lad born in Italy, and brought up among Italian associations (Breschi), becomes by intercourse with Tamilians a distinguished Tamil poet, and the author of a poem (Thêmbavaṇi) which impartial critics rank with the best productions of Thâyoomanavar. Similarly, a Bengalee lad brought up among Hindu associations (Romesli Chunder Dutt) becomes by intercourse with Englishmen capable of producing a history and a poem in English (Ancient India, and Days of Ancient India), which are scarcely inferior in style and diction to similar productions of standard English authors. These two instances are enough to shew that the capacity for the acquisition of any and every language is inborn in man.

2. The origin of language is as follows:—

A body of traditional signs having been adopted in remote antiquity to express certain thoughts, these signs gradually change into different forms, and assume different meanings. Again the same forms acquire a plurality of meanings. By abbreviation, assimilation, combination and multiplication of meanings, dialects are formed; and by the co-operation of a third process, *viz.*, the introduction of foreign material, the different languages in the world have come into existence. Of these languages that one which grew up among our ancestors, which records their thoughts and feelings and experiences, which we have been accustomed to from the cradle, which gives the readiest expression to our conceptions, and which is a distinguishing mark of our national existence, this language is our vernacular, and the improvement of this language is the subject of this paper.

3. It may be asked, is language capable of improvement and development? Language is simply the tool in the hands of man for the expression of thought. Where a nation is learning more accurately to define and distinguish, where new thoughts arise

in the horizon of its mind, there will language be growing and advancing. The various shades of fresh thought, the embodiment of which becomes necessary with the march of enlightenment, are expressed either with the old words and their altered forms, or with borrowed phraseology. The intercourse of one nation with another gives occasion to borrowing and lending as in the case of individuals. This intercourse may be purely commercial as in the case of the Arabs, or literary, as in the case of the Aryan races from whom the Tamilians, (a non-Aryan race), imported a flood of Sanskrit words with their philosophy and social polity. So too when one nation conquers another, the latter becomes the pupil of the former, which assumes a despotic sway over the language as well as the possessions of the conquered, as in the case of the Romans whose language (Latin) dominated over the indigenous tongues of Western Europe and gave rise to what are called the Romance languages. To illustrate these processes of accession, we have only to refer to the English language. Of its enormous wealth of expression only one-fourth can be claimed by the native element, the Anglo-Saxon. The remaining three-fourths was acquired under the various circumstances above noted from Latin, Greek, Arabic, and other languages, *i.e.*, from as wide an area as is covered by English commerce and research. We need not go beyond English and Tamil to illustrate how a language may be amplified and developed in accordance with the widening of the range of idea of its speakers.

4. There is in fact no language so poor as not to be capable of greater improvement and higher perfection. The poverty of a language is really the poverty in ideas of its speakers. The extent of the capacity of a language depends mainly on the uses to which it is put by its speakers. Poor tools in skilful hands can do vastly better work than the best tools in unskilful hands, in the same manner as the Egyptians without steam or steel turned out works which, for colossal grandeur or exquisite finish, are the despair of modern Engineers and Artists. Differences of degree in the development of languages are due to differences in respect of education and intellectual advancement. Having, as already stated, the capacity for language by nature, man can improve it by culture.

5. Such culture is essential to our progress as a Nation. It is the duty of those who acquire fresh ideas by education in a foreign language to naturalize those ideas in their mother-tongue.

It will then be seen that the capacity of the vernacular becomes greater. In the latter half of the Seventeenth Century, the German language became poorer and poorer notwithstanding the existence of intellectual luminaries such as Kepler and Leibniz, because it was the fashion then, to produce learned works only in Latin. But in the next century a few distinguished productions in the vernacular drew attention to its innate wealth, which before that lay concealed because the language was not treated in a congenial manner; and since the revival there is no department of knowledge in which German is not as expressive as any other language.

6. If those who acquire knowledge by the study of English will speak and write only in English, the stagnation and ultimate decay of the vernacular are assured. If, on the other hand, they attempt to naturalize in the vernacular the fresh ideas that they acquire, that will be the surest means of educating the mass of their countrymen. English education is annually imparted to only one per cent. of the population of this state (Travancore), and out of this small fraction only one-half receive their instruction in Colleges and High Schools, *i.e.*, such instruction as will open their minds to the various departments of modern culture. The whole of the nation with the exception of this half per cent. depends for enlightenment on the vernacular alone. It is thus evident that our progress as a nation would be impossible unless the paths to knowledge are open to all through the medium of the vernacular.

7. Having made these general remarks to show that the vernacular is capable of development and that such development is an instrument of national progress, I will now proceed to point out some of the lines on which we must work for its improvement.

First and foremost of all, the earliest education of our children must be in the vernacular. The child should not leave the mother-tongue as soon as it leaves the mother's arms. Up to the age of eleven or twelve, our children must be familiarised in the national songs and traditions and in the leading facts of our national history, and these things should not be postponed for acquisition during the spare hours which they may command in the succeeding period of training in a foreign language.

Secondly, during the latter period when the energies of our young men are mainly devoted to the study of English, they

should make it a point to attend lectures and readings in the vernacular, and they should never allow English to supplant their mother-tongue in their mutual intercourse and at home.

Thirdly, after the completion of their English education, it is the duty of such of our Malayalee students as have a taste for literary pursuits to cultivate some acquaintance with Tamil and Sanskrit. The former is the mother of Malayalam which gave it life, and Sanskrit which gave the embellishments is now the acknowledged store-house nearest home from which Tamil and Malayalam scholars have to borrow considerably in giving shape to fresh ideas.

Fourthly, so equipped, they should devote a few hours a day to literary work, *i.e.*, to (a) translation, or (b) original composition, the object in both cases being to enrich the language by the embodiment of fresh thought.

8. With regard to (a) Translation, I take this opportunity to allude to the great service done to Malayalam literature by Kêrala Varma Valia Kôil Tampuran, in recognition of which the Malayalee community has subscribed for a University Memorial. Our earliest attention should be devoted to science primers of which only one has as yet made its appearance in Malayalam, *viz.*, The Chemistry Primer by Mr. Krishnan Pandalay, B.A., and B.L.

In this connection I may point out the desirability of adopting bodily modern technical terms of science, without any attempt at coining unintelligible monster compounds in Sanskrit which will only obscure the meaning and confound the student. If such terms as "Bacilli" and "Protozoa," may be adopted into English bodily from Latin and Greek, I fail to see why they may not be adopted into our vernacular too. Moreover, the language of science, like its subject matter, must be universal.

9. Along with translation, I may class adaptations, which, while re-producing the leading thoughts of the original, afford facilities for greater freedom of expression and grace of style.

10. Coming next to the field of original composition, our native scholars who have not studied English, would be rendering a very great service to their mother-tongue by collecting and editing our national songs and traditionary lore and by compiling a history of our national literature as well as our country.

11. Generally with respect to original composition I may

remark that an author should make it a point never to use a foreign word or a foreign idiom where national materials will do equally well. It is a remarkable fact that though the teachings of the Tamil Koorai, of Thiruvallûvar, are founded on Sanskrit philosophy and Sanskrit ethics, yet in all the 1330 distiches of which it is composed, the number of Sanskrit words used can be counted on one's fingers. So too in the works of the greatest English poet, the number of Latin words are very few, and both these masters are most forcible and effective when wielding the vernacular.

Secondly, with regard to original composition, as well as to translation, I may remark that the author must make it his sacred duty, in the matter of idiom and phraseology, strictly to conform to the laws of the language. As that man obtains best a command over nature, who knows its laws and submits to them, so that author will be most successful who can enrich the language without violating its essential laws as distinguished from non-essential rules. Thirdly, in non-essential matters, *i.e.*, in matters of mere form, such innovations may be allowed as will have an educative effect without being inconsistent with the genius of the language. The many-sidedness and sympathetic character of the English language are due to the large-mindedness and receptivity of Chaucer and his contemporaries.

One of the greatest stumbling blocks in the way of the development of the vernacular is the strict conservatism of native scholars, in matters where reason and convenience do not require too close an adherence to stereotyped forms and formulæ.

The Namool (the Tamil grammar) says "On whatsoever subjects, in whatsoever expressions, with whatsoever arrangements classical writers have written, so to write, is denoted propriety of style." This Procrustean rule most effectually checked innovations not only in the form of a work, but also in the choice of subjects, and even in the choice of words.

It is enough to say that it was conservatism such as this that long prevented natives from building good houses, and eating good nourishing food, and dressing in decent style. Now that we understand the folly of such restrictions, why should we still compose dramas in Malayalam with nothing but songs from beginning to end, interspersed with a few apologies for dialogues? If the drama is to be educative it must give ample room for facility of acting by representation of feeling and sentiment; and this

can be best done only by the dialogue form and not by our ordinary sing-song style. So again it was once thought a sin to write blank verse in the vernacular, and when a blooming literary genius of Bengal (Madu Sūdan Dutt) produced a work in blank verse, even the great and good Vidyasagar pronounced the attempt to be a failure. But Madu Sūdan Dutt persevered and produced a second work in blank verse, and the reading public came to understand that elegance and sublimity of style were by far to be preferred to the jingling sounds of like-endings, and blank verse has now obtained a permanent footing in Bengali, as in English since the date of Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Fourthly, I may in this connection notice another great defect in vernacular works, justly criticized by European scholars, viz., the preference given to elegance of style over strength, to euphony over truthfulness, a lack of power and purpose, a substitution of sound for sense. Even the best books of our old authors in Tamil and Malayalam are not free from this weakness, and it will be cured by the infusion of the spirit of the vigorous modern literature of the West.

12. Worked on the lines above noted, by English-educated native scholars, the Bengali and Marathi languages have been considerably enriched of late, and so too Telugu has not only been enriched, but has acquired a remarkably new style, by the efforts of one single man, Mr. Veraslingom Pantulu.

We are proud to claim as an alumnus, and Professor of our college, Mr. Soondram Pillay, the author of *Manonmaniyam*—a Tamil drama in the modern style, and in the field of fiction, the *Marthanda Varma* of Mr. C. V. Raman Pillai stands second only to the *Indulékha* of Mr. Chandoo Menon. An amusing adaptation of Goldsmith's "*She Stoops to Conquer*," shows that the author, Mr. K. R. Krishna Pillai, is a writer of promise.

It is, however, not very creditable to our College, that though it has been sending forth so many graduates for the last thirty years, there are very few who have given the benefit of their English education to their indigenous literature. It is to be hoped that, when the next College-day comes off, the chairman will be able to announce the appearance of some new work or works of acknowledged merit in the vernacular.

13. It is a truly ominous fact that our graduates would write essays and deliver speeches rather in English than in the vernacular. This partiality to English is, no doubt, due to a wish

to obtain a position in life : but too few are working to obtain a position in the minds of the future generation—a position far higher than that of any statesman, lawgiver, or conqueror. The laws of Solon and the conquests of Alexander the Great have now only an antiquarian interest. But the philosophy of Plato and the poems of Homer are soul-stirring at all times, and in all ages.

14. But apart from the acquisition of such immortality, which may be aimed at by many, though within the reach only of a few, our mother-tongue ought to claim the first place, in our reverence, our gratitude, and our love. Increased nationality, a higher development of the mind along congenial lines, and a closer affinity with the real concerns of life, are consequences which have been witnessed as resulting to a nation from the development of its national literature.

It is the duty of our educated men to preserve the purity of that literature, and if possible, to attempt to enrich it by their contributions. So long as we remember this duty, and work accordingly, it is a matter of indifference whether we preserve our national costume or change it, whether we grow the hair all over the head or only in a particular part of it, whether we wear shoes or slippers, and whether we salute each other by *Salaams*, or by *Namaskârams*. But if we forget that duty, these changes of fashion are so many steps towards denationalization and decay. A nation that allows its language to go to ruin is parting with the best half of her independence and testifies to her willingness to cease to exist.

I will close this paper with a quotation from one of the brothers Schlegel, a name famous for the translation of the *Bhagavatgītā* and of the plays of Shakespeare into the national literature of Germany.

Frederick von Schlegel, says :—

"Every free and independent nation may claim the right to a native literature—that is an idiomatic development of language. Without this, the national genius will never be self-possessed, or enjoy an immunity from certain barbaric associations. It would be absurd to misconstrue this assertion into undue and partial predilection, ignoring the utility of acquiring foreign idioms. For the purposes of ordinary mental culture and for private reasons, an acquisition of the classical languages of antiquity, as also of several of the modern, will always be

found desirable and proper by some of these, external circumstances will regulate a fitting selection.....When employed in administering state-affairs, and in the social intercourse of the upper classes, a foreign idiom cannot fail to exercise a fatal influence on the language which it has undertaken to supplant. But where such a proceeding is once established, it becomes an inevitable, though reluctant, necessity on the part of individuals to conform to a usage. It is then a matter for the influential interference of the upper classes to interpose the weight of their authority between two extremes, *viz.*, to render to stern necessity what necessity exacts, and not to be unmindful of the sacred duty to their country. The guardianship of the language of a country is, as it were, confided to the care of the upper classes of society—let them not abuse that trust. It should be the earliest endeavour of every educated person to maintain inviolate the purity of his native language by precept and practice. Pains should be taken to become familiar with the history of its rise and progress, equally with the history of his country. This resolution cannot but be facilitated by the acquisition of foreign idioms, since pursuits of this nature are calculated to increase intelligence generally, and to strengthen the faculty of expression. The practical application of all acquired tongues should be severely restricted to occasions when they are really indispensable. Upon the higher classes it is especially incumbent to do all in their power towards promoting the healthy growth of their native language. They have a peculiar interest in the welfare of their country, and their responsibility is in this respect commensurately proportioned. A nation whose idiom is in process of decay, or is sensibly on the road to deterioration, will itself eventually succumb to barbaric rudeness. A nation that tamely looks on while it is being despoiled of its idioms, forfeits the respect due to independence—is degraded in the ranks of civilization.”

A. GOVINDA PILLAY:

THE SVETASVATARA UPANISHAD.

WE are glad to say that Professor Max Müller has cleared the ground before us, of many misconceptions and fallacies which were entertained about this Upanishad. He meets in his own way the arguments adduced to show that this is a modern Upanishad and that it is a sectarian Upanishad, an Upanishad of the Sankhya and of Bhakti school and so on, and his conclusions are that “No real argument has ever been brought forward to invalidate the tradition which represents it as belonging to the Taittiriya or Black Yajur Veda,” and he points out that, it “holds a very high rank among Upanishads” and that its real drift is the same as the Doctrine of the Vedanta Philosophy.

Professor Garbe and Macdonnell however, in their recent works,* speak of this as a *Sivite* compilation, and the latter scholar refers to the Upanishad itself ascribing the authorship to a sage called Svetasvatara, unlike other Upanishads. But this is not characteristic of this Upanishad alone. The fifteenth khanda of the last *Prapathaka* of Chandogya Upanishad also traces the line of teachers in a similar way and there is a similar statement in the Munduka Upanishad and others. When each Hymn of the Rig Veda has its own author, it cannot be any surprise that each particular Upanishad should have an individual author; and we don't suppose the Professor inclines to the orthodox view, that the Veda and the Upanishads had no human authors, and were revealed.

In regard to the other and deep-rooted fallacy about its being a sectarian Upanishad, we shall speak here at length.

By taking this objection they mean to imply also that it is modern. And curiously enough we read of scholars ascribing dates for the rise of these sects commencing from the 10th and 12th centuries. And Sir W. W. Hunter seriously contends that Sankara was the great Apostle of Saivism. But these writers do not

* Garbe's *Philosophy of Ancient India* (1897) and Macdonnell's *History of Sanskrit Literature* (1900).

see that the History of Hindu Religion is as ancient as the History of the Hindu Philosophy, and that the people must have had a popular religion, even, in the very days, these Upanishads were composed, and that the Puranas which embodied the essence of the Upanishad teachings existed in a popular form even in those ancient days, and the words Itihasa, Purana, occur even in the oldest Upanishads.* These Upanishads are quoted by name in the Puranas and particular passages are also commented on.

And it will be an interesting study as to what was the religion of the people in the days of the Upanishads and Mahabharata and Ramayana and of the Puranas and to compare the same with the existing phases of Hindu Religion. We may briefly indicate our own conclusions on the subject though we could not give our reasons in detail—to wit—that so far as any room for comparisons exist,—the traditions and beliefs and ceremonials and faith of the modern day Saivas (among whom may be included all Saktas and Gāṇāpatyas), who form now the bulk of the Hindu Race, were exactly the same as those of the people of the days of the oldest Upanishads and Mahabharata and Ramayana. According to the opinions of many old scholars like Lassen, Wilson and Muir and others, the worship of Siva represented the cult of the Higher castes, Brahmans and Kshatriyas, and a text of Manu mentions that Siva is the God of the Brahmans, and it is remarkable how the picture of Siva is exactly the same as that of any ancient Rishi (*vide* some of the Poona Ravi Varma's pictures). Dr. W. W. Hunter remarks that Sankara in espousing Saivism combined in the system the highest Philosophy of the ancients and the most popular form of Religion.

Regarding the conception of Siva and its growth from Vedic times, scholars love to tell us that Rudra was nowhere called Siva in the Rig Veda and that he merely represented the storm God, with his thunder, lightning and the rains, rushing down from the snow-capped hills; and that this Rudra slowly grew into Siva of the Hindu Triad, and scholars have not failed to remark about His composite and contradictory aspects.

There is considerable truth in this, and we can clearly trace that in His person is slowly built up the conception of the various Vedic deities, Indra and Agni, Varuna and Vayu, Surya and Soma, Vishnu and Brahma, and by the time the Vedas were

arranged into Rig, Yajur and Saman and Atharvan, Rudra's position as the God of gods, had become assured; and by the time of the earliest Upanishads, when the purely sacrificial Yagnas were being given up, the worship of Rudra-Siva supplanted the worship of the Vedic Deities, and instead of a blind worship of the elements, a marked distinction was drawn between the Supreme God who dwelt in these elements and gave them special power and glory, and this conception was stereotyped later on by Siva being the Aṣṭamurti, the god who had for his body, the five elements, earth, air, water, fire and akas, sun and moon and the soul, and Siva has temples dedicated to him, in which He is worshipped in these eight forms.

Rudra is derived by Sayana from the roots, Rut-drāvāyita, meaning 'he who drives away sorrow.' And consistent with this derivation, Rudra is called in the Rig Veda itself, as the 'bountiful' and the 'Healer' possessed of various remedies (the later Vaidyanāth) 'benign' and 'gracious.' And the term *Siva* clearly appears in the following text of the Rig Veda (X. 92-9) "Stoman va adya Rudraya s'ikvase kshiyad-virāya namaśa didishtana yebhīh *sivah* svavan evayāvabhir divah sishakti svayasah nikamābhi."*

Those who are conversant with the actual performing of yagnas will know how the place of the respective priests, Adhvarya, Hotri, and Udgatri and Brahman are fixed as well as the place of the various gods. And the chief place is assigned to Rudra and apart from other gods. This will clearly explain the force of the epithet of "Medhapatim" in Rig Veda, 1-43-4 "Ga-thapatim, *Medhapatim* Rudram Jalashabhesajam, tat samyoh sumnam imahe" (We seek from Rudra, the lord of songs, the lord of sacrifices who possesses healing remedies, his auspicious favour) as also "king of sacrifices" (Rig. 4-3.) And *Medhapati* is the same word as the more popular word *Pasupati*, Pasu meaning the animal offered in sacrifice, Yagna-Pasu, and symbolically representing the bound soul-jiva. As the Pati of all sacrifices, He is the fulfiller of sacrifices, 'Vajna sādham' (Rig. I. 114-4) and 'Rudram yagnanām sadhad ishtim apasam' (III. 2-5). As the god of gods, He is said to "derive His renown from Himself." 'Rudraya *sva-yasase*' His glory is said to be inherent, independent

* "With reverence present your Hymn to-day to the mighty Rudra, the ruler of heroes, [and to the Maruts] those rapid and ardent deities with whom the gracious (Sivah) and opulent (Rudra) who derives his renown from himself, protects us from the sky."

* Brihad. Ar. Up. 2-4-10 and 4-1-2 Maitr. 6-32 and 33; Chandog. VII. 1-2.

or self-dependent God, 'Svadhavane' (Rig. VII. 46-1). He is also called *Svapivāla*, which is variously explained as meaning 'readily understanding,' 'accessible,' 'gracious,' 'he by whom life is conquered,' 'he whose command cannot be transgressed,' 'thou by whom prayers (words) are readily received.' He is called the 'father of the worlds' *Bhavanasya Pitaram*, VI. 49-10, and the Rich story of His becoming the Father of the fatherless Maruts can be recalled in many a Puranic story, and local legend and common folklore.

He is '*antar ichchanti*'—beyond all thought (VIII., 61-3). His form as described in the Rig Veda is almost the same as the Image of later days. He is called the Kapardin, with 'spirally braided hair.' He is of 'Hiranya Rupam' 'golden formed' and brilliant like the sun, and 'shining like gold' "Yah sukra iva Sūryo hiranyam iva ro'chati" (I. 43-5).^{*} And in Rig Veda, X. 136-1 to 7, He is the 'Long haired being who sustains the fire, water and the two worlds; who is to the view the entire sky; and who is called this 'Light' He is *wind clad* (naked) and drinks *Visha* (water or poison) and a Muni is identified with Rudra in this aspect.

When we come to Yajur Veda, His supreme Majesty is fully developed, and He is expressly called Siva by name 'Siva nāmā'si (Vaj. S. 3-63) and the famous mantra, the *Panchakshara*, is said to be placed in the very heart of the three Vedas, (the name occurs in Tait. S. IV. 5, 1-41 '*namah sambhave cha mayobave cha namah Sankaraya cha mayaskaraya'cha* NAMA SIVAYA *cha Sivataraya cha*'). And the famous Satarudriyam which is praised in the Upanishads and in the Mahabharat forms also a central 'portion' of this central Veda. And this is a description of God as the all, the all in all, and transcending all, 'Visvadevo, 'Viswaswarūpo, Visvādiko'; and anybody can see that the famous passage in the Gītā in chapters 10 and 11 merely parodies this other passage and these two chapters are respectively called '*Vibhcti Vistara Yoga* and '*Visvarupa Sandarshana Yoga* which is exactly the character of the Satarudriya. The Yogi who has reached the highest state "Sees all in God and God in all." In the Satarudriya and in the whole Veda, Rudra is called *Siva, Sankara Sambhu, Isana, Isa, Bhagavan, Bhava, Sarva, Ugra, Soma, Pasupati, Nilagriva, Girisa, Mahadeva, and Maheshwara*.

^{*} Note how often the Supreme is called the Golden-coloured, and Sunlike in the Upanishads.

And the most famous 'mantra' 'Ekam Eva Rudronadvitaya taste' whose very existence in the Vedas and Upanishads scholars doubted at one time, occurs in the Yajur Samhita (Tait.) in 1 Canto, 8 Prasna, 6 Anuvaka, 1 Panchasat and this very mantra is repeated in our Upanishad, (III 2,) and if the Upanishads did not precede the Vedas, it will be seen how this mantra is the original of the other famous Upanishad mantra, "Ekamevad vityam Brahma." In fact, we doubt if the word 'Brahma' occurs even once in the Rig Veda as meaning God and in the Yajur as meaning the Supreme Being. And Prof. Max Müller is no doubt correct in drawing attention to the fact that the conception of a mere Impersonal Self may be posterior to the conception of God as Siva, Rudra and Agni. And the texts we have above quoted will for once prove the danger of surmises as to the date of an Upanishad for the sole reason that it uses the words Siva or Isa or Isana and Rudra.

In the days of the Veda and Upanishads, these names Rudra, Siva, Sambhu, Mahadeva, Isa, Isana, Hara and Vishnu only meant the same as Deva or Brahman or Atman or Paramatman, and they had no prejudice against the use of the former set of words as some sectarians of to-day would seem to have. In the Gītā itself, the words Ishvara, Isa, Maheswara and Mahadeva and Parameshwara are freely used, and Siva is used in the Uttara Gītā, though the modern day Vaishnava exhibits the greatest prejudice even towards these names.

One word about the different aspects of Siva. As we pointed out before, as the idea of Rudra, as all the gods or the Powers of Nature, was fully evolved, in Him was also centralized the various aspects of Nature as good and bad, awful and beneficent. Kalidasa playfully brings out this idea in the following lines:

"The Gods, like clouds, are fierce and gentle too
Now hurl the bolt, now drop sweet heavenly dew
In summer heat the streamlet dies away
Beneath the fury of the God of day,
Then in due season comes the pleasant rain
And all is fresh and fair and full again."

However awful the aspects of a fierce storm, with its thunder and lightning, may be, yet no one can appreciate its beneficence more than the dwellers in the Indian soil, the land of so many famines. However fierce the sun may be, yet his existence is

absolutely essential to the growth and maturity of all vegetation in the tropics. It will be noted that not only in the case of Rudra but in the case of other gods, their beneficent and malevolent powers are brought out in the Vedas. The Supreme Double Personality of Siva is thus explained in the Mahabharata by Lord Krishna himself. "Large armed Yadhishthira, understand from me, the greatness of the glorious, *multiform*, many named Rudra. They called Mahadeva, Agni, Sthanu, Maheswara, one-eyed, Triyambaka, the *'Universal' formed* and Siva. Brahmans versed in the *Veda* know two bodies of this God, one awful, one auspicious; and these two bodies have again many forms. The dire and awful body is fire, lightning, the sun: the auspicious and beautiful body is virtue, water and the moon. The half of his essence is fire and the other half is called the moon. The one which is his auspicious body practises chastity, while the other which is his most dreadful body, destroys the world. From his being Lord and great he is called Maheswara. Since he consumes, since he is fiery, fierce, glorious, an eater of flesh, blood and marrow—he is called Rudra. As he is the greatest of the gods, as his domain is wide and as he preserves the vast Universe,—he is called Mahadeva. From his smoky colour, he is called Dhurjati. Since he constantly prospers all men in all their acts, seeking their welfare (Siva), he is therefore called Siva.* And in this, we see Him as not only the destroyer but as the Reproducer and Preserver and as such the conception of Siva transcends the conception of Rudra as one of the Trinity.

And it can be shown that the picture of God as the fierce and the terrible is not altogether an unchristian idea.

The following parāṣ. we cull from a book called "The Woodlands in Europe" intended for Christian readers; and we could not produce better arguments for the truth of our conception of the Supreme Siva, the Destroyer and the Creator and the Preserver (*vide* p. 6, Sivagnanabotham, English Edition).

"And how about the dead leaves which season after season, strew the ground beneath the trees? Is their work done because, when their bright summer life is over, they lie softly down to rest under the wintry boughs? Is it only death, and nothing beyond? Nay; if it is death, it is death giving place to life. Let us call it rather change, progress, transformation. It must

* 'Siva' is derived from 'Vasi' which occurs in Katha-Up. see Lalita Sahasranama Commentary under "Siva."

be progress, when the 'last year's leaves make the soil for the next year's flowers, and in so doing serve a set purpose and fulfil a given mission. *It must be transformation, when one thing passes into another, and instead of being annihilated, begins life again in a new shape and form.*

"It is interesting to remember that the same snow which weighs down and breaks those fir branches is the nursing mother of the flowers. Softly it comes down upon the tiny seeds and the tender buds and covers them up lovingly, so that from all the stern rigour of the world without, they are safely sheltered. Thus they are getting forward, as it were, and life is already swelling within them; so that, when the sun shines and the snow melts they are ready to burst forth with a rapidity which seems almost miraculous.

"*It is not the only force gifted with both preserving and destroying power, according to the aspect in which we view it. The fire refines and purifies, but it also destroys; and the same water which rushes down in the cataract with such overwhelming power, falls in the gentlest of drops upon the thirsty flower cup and fills the hollow of the leaf with just the quantity of dew which it needs for its refreshment and sustenance. And in those higher things of which nature is but the type and shadow, the same grand truth holds good; and from our Bibles we learn that the consuming fire and the love that passeth knowledge are but different sides of the same God:—Just and yet merciful; that will by no means clear the guilty, yet showing mercy unto thousands.*"

Badarayana also touches upon this subject in I., iii., 40 and we quote below the Purvapaksha and Sidhanta views on this question from the commentary of Srikantha.

"Because of trembling (I, iii, 40). In the Katha—Vallis, in the section treating of the thumbsized Purusha, it is said as follows:

"Whatever there is, the whole world when gone forth (from the Brahman) trembles in the breath; (it is) a great terror, the thunderbolt uplifted; those who know it become immortal." (cit. 6, 2).

Here a doubt arises as to whether the cause of trembling is the Paramesvara or some other being.

(Purvapaksha):—Here the Sruti speaks of the trembling of the whole universe by fear caused by the entity denoted by the word "breath." It is not right to say that the Paramesvara,

who is so sweet natured as to afford refuge to the whole universe and who is supremely gracious, is the cause of the trembling of the whole universe. Therefore, as the word 'thunderbolt' occurs here, it is the thunderbolt that is the cause of trembling. Or it is the vital air which is the cause of the trembling, because the word 'breath' occurs here. Since the vital air causes the motion of the body, this whole world which is the body as it were, moves on account of the vital air. Then we can explain the passage "whatever there is, the whole world, when gone forth (from the Brahman) trembles in the breath." Then we can also explain the statement that "it is a great terror, the thunderbolt uplifted," inasmuch as like lightning, cloud and rain, the thunderbolt which is the source of great terror is produced by action of the air itself. It is also possible to attain immortality by a knowledge of the air as the following S'ruti says:

"Air is everything itself and the air is all things together; he who knows this conquers death. (Bri. Up. 5-3-2).

(Siddhanta);—As against the foregoing, we say that Paramesvara himself is the cause of the trembling. It is possible that, as the Ruler, Paramesvara is the cause of trembling of the whole universe; and by the fear of His command all of us abstain from prohibited actions and engage in the prescribed duties; and it is by the fear of His command that Vayu and others perform their respective duties, as may be learned from such passages as the following:—

"By fear of Him, Vayu (the wind) blows." (Tait. Up. 2-8).
Though gracious in appearance, Paramesvara becomes awful as the Ruler of all. Hence the S'ruti

Hence the King's face has to be awful! (Tait. Brâ. 3-8-23).
Wherefore as the Master, Isvara Himself is the cause of the trembling of the whole universe."

J. M. NALLASWAMI PILLAI.

(To be continued.)

THE LUCK OF NIZAM ALI.

"And whoever shall have wrought good of the weight of an ant shall behold the same"—ALKORAN, Chapter XCIX.

A disappointing figure was that of Nizam Ali, student of the St. Xavier's College at Bombay, as he paced the University Gardens. The noises of the great city were about his ears, but he seemed oblivious of all save the patch of the green path which met his bent eyes, as he trod it to and fro. A lean lanky boy badly shod, a nondescript Turkish fez on the top of long unkempt hair, worn in the Lucknow fashion, a long "ackhan" of some cheap material, descending to below his knees, buttoned up closely to the neck, tight pyjamas which showed his spare limbs, —the 'entourage' was not satisfactory. It was only on looking more closely at this ungainliness, that some redeeming features became evident. He was yet young, certainly under twenty. The eyes invited attention; fine Oriental eyes, they looked steady and unwavering. There was no shiftiness in them, and their expression was accentuated by the thick set eye-brows which told of some Northern blood in him. The skin clear, the face oval and clean cut. Occasionally the palms of his hands met, and his fingers interlaced each other; then his eyes would travel to a large and motley group of young men crowding at the small window, located a few feet above the ground, and embedded in the massive walls of the University buildings.

Some four thousand youths were waiting to hear the Matriculation results declared that evening. As many hearts were throbbing with hopes and fears. The account of seven years of application or idleness was to be settled within the hour. Nizam Ali pacing the path away from the mob, seemed scarcely to participate in this excitement; nevertheless the results were a matter of life and death to him; and as he raised his eyes and looked towards the West already crimsoned by the sun setting across the broad expanse of the sea, his hands involuntarily went up in an appeal which does not concern the reader, but which seemed to stir him deeply. Suddenly the clock tower bells struck

their five o'clock chimes, and as the deep sonorous beats rang out, a hush grew on the multitude. Just then the tiny window from which their fate was to be spoken, opened, showing the weary face of the Registrar of the University holding a big scroll of paper in his hand, with a look on him that chilled the crowd.

"The following numbers have passed, number one-five-fourteen,"—a gasp from somewhere. "Sixteen-nineteen"—and so on. The terrible gaps were like a rapier stabbing them, wielded by some pitiless invisible sprite. Boys who had passed moping their faces with relief, boys not successful appearing to collapse, trying to push their way in a dazed way out of the crowd, and that almost cynical face at the window going on with his rapier thrusts, blenching many hearts, kindling but a few. When number 3,482 was called—that was Nizam Ali's number—the young man who had moved up to hear, was going away, with a certain peace about him, when he stood rivetted to the spot, by hearing that even, almost callous, voice at the window. "This number gets the Sir Frank Souter scholarship, the Jairaj Peerbhai prize, the Cowasjee Jehangir Latin scholarship, and stands *first* on the list." A moment of suspense—a moment when he thought he would reel and fall—a tightening of the lips, then a shout, a cheer; and four thousand young throats sent up a rousing call for the unknown student who had done so well; for few knew poor Nizam Ali, the widow's son who lived in a garret in No. 4, Kamatipoora Lane on Rs. 50 a month; Government pension, for the services of her soldier-husband, who gave his life away in trying to save a wounded British Officer in Tochi Valley.

The boy slipped away unrecognised. The old fighting spirit was astir. So he had won! They had approved, the men who judge. "The poor mother! to-night at last I shall be able to tell her something which will cheer her, something which will atone for all her sacrifices for me."

He stepped out on the road and went along, scarcely aware of the direction he took; when from the distance the Western breeze brought him the notes of English music from the bandstand. It was some piece he had heard before and liked much, something lulling and comforting. Occasionally the notes would move in more rapid measure, quickening his blood. There was inspiration in them. They carried a hope, a message, and he drew near. By no means a very taking figure for such as saw

him in a casual manner, something awkward about his gait, his costume frayed, but scrupulously clean. Grave, almost stern, he moved up. It was but rarely that his eyes were raised and then the thin face revealed its great intelligence. He came up to the railings, which surrounded the stand, took the quietest corner and stood listening, when behind him a carriage suddenly pulled up, and the pair of high stepping horses were reined in so close to him, that he could almost hear the voices within. It was a closed brougham. The curtains were down. These must be Moslem ladies, he thought. The appointments of the carriage were in the most modern taste and indicated the occupants to be of a considerable station in life. From the stout Mussalman coachman in livery down to the silver about the harness, every detail was in exquisite harmony, and many an eye was turned with inquisitive interest in that direction. Nizam Ali thoughtlessly turned round to make sure that his surmise was correct, in which case it was his duty to retire, but as he moved round, the spring-curtain shot up and revealed to his almost charmed gaze, a startled countenance of such loveliness, that this poor dweller of the garret believed himself for the moment to be looking at some creature begotten of his dreams and not there in flesh and blood within a few feet of him; but, as suddenly as it had ascended, the curtain was pulled down, leaving, nothing before him but a square of dark blue silk; and at that moment came to him the ignominious reflection of his tattered garments, his patched shoes, his soiled cap, and almost shamefacedly he fled from the spot, and went his way homewards.

CHAPTER II.

On Khumballa-Hill, one of the most select residential quarters of Bombay, stands the mansion of Abd-ul-Aziz, an Arab pearl-merchant. His great pearl-fisheries at Bahrein had made him the leading man in his trade. A true Arab—he hailed from the plateaus of Nejran—his business had descended to him from his ancestors, and the name of Abd-ul-Aziz passed from the lips of men from New York to Peking. His wealth was fabulous. Keen as the edge of the djambias of his native land, few could boast of having got the better of him in a bargain. Men knew him to be a man of his word, one who never broke a promise, or forgot a kindness. He had voyaged round the globe more than he remembered, was familiar with many languages and was a great admirer of English Institutions.

This evening, he is sitting on a divan—in his private rooms—a spare figure enveloped in a soft white robe, with a plain skull-cap on his head, a slight beard, lending dignity to features somewhat masterly.

There is a tap at the door—"May I come in?" "Yes, come in, come in, "Kurrat ul-Ainee," * what wert thou doing in this gay costume? come near, sit down, now tell me, whom didst thou visit to-day. Let me hear thy voice, girl, for I am weary." She nestled up close to him, a sweet girlish figure. "Mother, and I took a drive to-day. We went round to the bandstand. It was very nice. You never come with us now."

"Did you like the music?"

"Very much, and to my delight, I heard that piece to-day, the one my music-mistress despairs of ever teaching me. Oh! I hate these new-fangled notions. Why do you want me to learn English? Why wish me to play their music? Indeed, I long for the days when my old Ustadnee used to make me recite a Sura of the Holy book, and thought that enough education for a Moslem maid. And you, father, an Arab of the Arabs!"—Then in a lower key, somewhat bitterly—"but you know best, father, don't you; only-only-for whom is it? for me, or do you desire that the man of your choice shall marry an accomplished woman; but I am much afraid father that it may not be like that tale I read the other day, a learned wife mated to ignorance, one of your sleek fat clients, or better still to your young friend the Nawab of Tussore, with his royal income, though he be but a dullard who abuses a trust, and lives the most meaningless life I know."

He was looking at her all the time—the flash of those eyes, the loveliness of every part of her, the tender grace of the sweet face, the beauty of which had no equal in Bombay. He was almost tempted to let her go on.

This Arab loved his daughter—his only child—as old men sometimes will, when all passions are at rest, and the heart gives of its best to the object which alone links it to things mundane. She had been brought up under his immediate care, and her education had been ever his chief anxiety.

"We will see—we will see—trust thy father, girl—stick to thy reading—stick to thy music. The old days are slipping by, the days of the oriental Harem; Men want companions now, and not

* Light of my eyes.

play-things, and rather than give thee to Tussore—call him not my friend, girl—I should wish thee die an old maid."

At this, she raised her eyes and looked at him lovingly, much pleased and, curiously enough, came at this moment to her mind, an incident at the Bandstand.

"We had a miraculous escape to-day, father," a certain note of sarcasm in her voice; "Just as we drove up to the Bandstand, I happened to touch the spring and the curtain flew up; and before us stood a young Mussalman poorly costumed, staring at us as if all the wit had left his poor head. He seemed to have sprung out of the ground just to show his pretty face—"Well"—and she blushed apparently ashamed of her caustic manner—"I don't want to be witty at his expense, but we saw him gazing as if stricken and then, suddenly as if a scorpion had bitten him, he turned round and ran away. Now tell me, father, you who see us every day, is there anything really so horrible about us? am I so terrible to look at, that men should flee at the sight of me?" And she drew herself up and for a moment—a spectacle of proud, insulted womanhood—confronted him.

He knew her of old, was master of the moods that possessed her; so he affected to take her seriously. "This is very serious, must be looked into—"he said with well affected concern which drew a ripple of laughter from her, the music of which was the joy of his days.

"Now tell me, was the lad crazy or why did he run?" She pretended carelessness, but the boy's strange looks and manner had appealed to her—"What did the mother say?" "Well she said the poor boy looks ill, but he looks *najeeb**, while all the time I thought him *ajeck*†. Fancy calling him *najeeb* on such slight acquaintance. Their mother said he must have a fond mother, because although poorly clad, his clothes had received the tender care of a woman.

"She must be right if she said so, dear, for she seldom makes a mistake in such matters."

"Well, father, it was good of him to have gone away."

"And what if he had stayed?"

"Well, it was a rare specimen wasn't it father? Most of his tribe would have lingered with that healthy curiosity they possess to look at the forbidden."

"That shows a good turn of mind, doesn't it?"

* Well brought up. † Strange, eccentric.

"Perhaps it does, but one can't say, he might be crazy."

"Will let the poor fellow alone. Have you heard of something that has made me very proud to-day?"

"What? dear father."

"The Matric. results were declared this evening, in which as you know nearly four thousand boys attended, and a young unknown Moslem boy heads the list and carries off the most coveted scholarships."

"Impossible."

"....." "So I said when I heard it, but here is the English paper."

She picked it up, and her eyes wandered to the long column, where the names of the successful candidates were printed, and sure enough the preliminary paragraph bore out her father's statement that one Nizam Ali had carried off the honours of the examination.

She who took a great interest in all matters affecting the progress of her race, she let her eyes linger over the name of the young student.

"Nizam Ali," she repeated slowly, and then her eyes travelled to meet those of her father, "indeed, I too feel proud of Nizam Ali's, father."

CHAPTER III.

And not a drop that from our cups we throw
For earth to drink of, but may steal below
To quench the fire of anguish in some eye
There,—hidden—far beneath and long ago.

—Omar Khayam.

Seldom had the Jesuit Father Meyer, the Principal of the St. Xavier's College, been so astonished. He was reading a card just presented to him. It bore the legend Abd-ul-Aziz "not the pearl king surely" he thought, "what could he want here?"

He received him in the College reception-room, for this Father had his practical side. A cheque for prizes always followed such visits.

"Father Meyer, I took the liberty of calling to make some inquiries. I dare say you have heard of me." And Father Meyer felt instinctively as he looked at that spare tall figure, clad in a Cashmere robe, that this could be no other but the man he had imagined.

"I am honoured, Sir. I am honoured—what is the information that I can give you."

"I understand that Nizam Ali, the young student who has passed his Matriculation so brilliantly, belongs to your College." Father Meyer's face was all smiles.

"So he does. Sir, one of those retiring dispositions, which prevent us from getting an accurate idea of the boys' powers. His result was a surprise to most of us, though not to his own master. May I ask if you are interested in him?"

"My interest is only that of a co-religionist wishing well to such as bring lustre to the name of Moslem."

The old father thought inwardly that the man before him must be something more than a trader of pearls.

"Would you like to see Father Walsh, his class master?"

Father Meyer rang the bell, and in response to his message, a few moments brought Nizam Ali's master to them.

Father Walsh was one of those rare teachers who had the gift of bringing out the best qualities in the boys in their charge. He touched some chords in their characters which lesser men could never have reached or discovered. A boy under him never felt the humiliation of an exposure before the class. But there were private talks in his room where this man spoke out his mind. The memory of his words lay like a lash on the lad's soul for ever after and bettered him. It was by such a man that Nizam Ali's qualities had been discovered and developed. His teacher had from the first detected the latent powers of the boy, his great enthusiasm, his ambition. The rich soil was there and the willing ploughman.

So that Abd-ul-Aziz soon grew convinced that the boy deserved support; that if he could be sent to Oxford and ultimately assisted to qualify for the bar, for which he showed a special aptitude, he would distinguish himself. Father Walsh smilingly concluded, "And you, sir, will have the satisfaction of feeling that you have helped to give to your community a life of great promise. Did I tell you the boy is very poor and very proud? He comes of an old stock. A Rohilla." Father Walsh was an Irishman, who came from a poor but proud stock himself.

"We shall see what can be done," said Abd-ul-Aziz.

Elsewhere, mother and son were talking in their garret; a quite tired-looking woman was addressing her son. "Thou must go, son. 'Tis a polite letter." "But mother, what is the

use of it? Look at these, and I will not let thee make me expensive garments out of that slender purse of thine. Shall I ask Father Walsh?" And his master knowing the inner history of the matter, saw no objection to his making a call.

So it came about, that we find Nizam Ali making his way, in a halting nervous fashion, through the long winding sweep of carriage-road which lead to Abd-ul-Aziz's mansion. Nothing that the lad saw, lessened his disquiet. The spacious gardens surrounding him, the retinue of servants moving about, the extensive house which in the distance revealed itself through the great trees, were things new to him, and troubled him. A young servant marching past asked him what his business was, somewhat impudently, which sent the blood rushing to his face. As he came in view of the house he stopped, looking round anxiously. Not for long, for the master of the house just then accosted him, in that gentle even voice of his.

"Is that you Nizam Ali, come near, come near, give me your hand. Barak *-Alla; Masha-Alla," he called his secretary near him. "See you, this is the boy, the lad of whom I spoke. We want some such boys, don't we? I like him, I like his looks.

"Then smiling he turned again to the boy—come with me, we shall walk in the garden—and you Haneef, see that the tea is ready for us near the roses, we shall be coming there."

What happened in the interview need not be repeated, but when Abd-ul-Aziz led him to the Kiosk amongst the roses, any one could see that the lad was much affected. Tea was served with that regard for detail which took the Arabs and Persians a thousand years in perfecting; then Nizam Ali rose to take his leave.

"What, going so soon, lad? so soon—but I suppose thou hast thy studies to look after; I will not detain thee. Well—think over what I have said, consult thy mother, thy school master, take time, there is no hurry lad, thou wilt forgive me that on such slight acquaintance, I am so free." But—"with a new found tenderness in his voice,"—"Come here whenever thou art tired, consider this thy house. Take me unto thy confidence, lad."

"Good bye Sir, and thank you" was all that Nizam Ali said. His heart was too deeply stirred for words. He turned away only to find, that he had to pass the whole front of the house to get the carriage drive which lead out, and it required

* Praise be to God.

all his resolution to walk past, without showing his perturbation of spirit; just as he gained the drive, he could not help brushing away the tears that would not stay, and just then, as bad luck would have it, a carriage swept past him towards the house—he looked at it and started, for it came on him, that he had seen it before—was it the same which has stopped behind him at the bandstand?

IV.

Abd-ul-Aziz was reading "The Suraiya," a Persian paper published at Cairo, when she came into his reading room. That same hour, Nizam Ali had left him. She kissed her father's hand, the customary morning salutation, and sat down in a low cane chair always ready for her by his side. A little pale and nervous she looked, and he noticing inquired—"Why what's the matter; why are we restless this morning."

"Would you believe it, I saw him again just now, and you will be surprised, in our *oaze* garden, and strangest of all, I think I saw tears in his eyes." He smiled,—"*Ahem!* Who is this mysterious *Him*? Some shade of my ancestors, or was it Jelal whom I had to punish for a neglect of duty to-day."

"No, no, no, the poor youth that we saw at the bandstand the other evening."

A sudden movement about Abd-ul-Aziz.

"What do you say?" he asked eagerly. "Was it the same boy that you met."

"It could not be any other."

"An old Fez, long hair, a lean figure, dressed in a dark green *Achkan*."

"The same, father—that very man."

"Praise be to God"—He sank back in his chair.

"Extraordinary, isn't it girl?" But the next moment he recovered himself and looked smiling into her questioning face.

"Do you know ought of him father? Was he here to beg?"

"Surely daughter" rallying her "Do you object to his taking a stroll through the gardens?—perhaps he loves the shade of trees, the scents of flowers—who knows? Perhaps his craziness is limited to the sin of looking at Purda-women, for half a second, when the carriage curtains fly up, perhaps in other departments of life, he is not crazy."

There was a twinkle in his grey eye, which she knew meant

mischievous. He was making fun of her, and womanlike she refused to join in. Rather—she preferred seriousness. A look of reproach crept to her face, when the more she tried to learn, the less communicative did he become.

"Evidently, girl, the lad is crazy—did you say he looked so, now I am sure you read him well. What am I to know of his movements daughter. Dost think, I am in charge of all the lunatics of this town? The boy was wandering, girl. He saw the green trees, possibly, yon avenue of gold-mohor with their wealth of scarlet petals drew him—he strolled in—that's all."

She left him in a pet, determined to know more about it; meanwhile the master's bell rang in the servant's quarters.

"I wish it to be known" said the master addressing his steward who stood bowing before him, "that the visit of the young gentleman who called this morning, should be considered private—If it comes to be known in the ladies' quarters, you will suffer.—See to it—Leave me." The visit remained a sealed book.

She was standing at the window in her own room, gazing in abstraction at the expanse of lawn and shrubbery which stretched before her—yonder was the gold-mohor-avenue lush with its rich hued flowers; the fallen petals had transformed the ground below to a crimson-carpet worthy of a king to step upon. A mali* was sweeping them up—the petals—she thought he must be mad to mar so such beauty. Then by a natural process her thoughts reverted to that other crazy type about whom her father knew something more than he wished to tell. "But why those tears in his eyes—poor chap"—she was asking herself. "Did he seek an interview with father, and was denied; but he looked too proud to ask for favours, and father could not but have seen that he was much above the station which his appearance indicated."

Nizam Ali was much perplexed—the colourless horizon of his life had suddenly taken the hues of sunrise—when he narrated the strange story, his mother first stared him in the face unbelievably, and then, pulled the boy to her and passed her hand tenderly over his hair—With a certain pride, she turned him towards her and kissed him.

"Tis Providence! 'Tis the wish of the Holy Pantj-e-tun.

* Gardener.

At thy birth a passing Jogi told me, thy father's star had set, and thine arisen! The month after, he met his death, the letter which conveyed to him the news of thy birth, was found in his breast-pocket unopened. The ghazi-rush in which he fell gave him no time to read of the birth of the first-born. It was our *naseeb*—*Kismet*. It was well.—He was a brave man and he met the death he loved. People said he cared more for his sword than me. The boy's hand sought hers.—

"Haice! Son, 'tis hard, but it must be—

"Thou must accept the kind offer and go to *Vilayet*. When thy ship sails, I shall go to my Pir's tomb at Ajmere, and at his shrine will seek comfort. When thou see'st Jenab Abd-ul-Aziz convey to him the grateful thanks of a poor widow, who can do nothing towards requital of her great indebtedness.—She can only remember him in her prayers."

So it came to pass that Nizam Ali was to go to *Vilayet*. He stipulated with his benefactor that the outlay on him should be treated as a loan, to be repaid when possible; if ever such a time came. Abd-ul-Aziz consented.

"Agreed," he said, "but in turn thou must promise that except thy mother and thy master, none should know of this." Nizam Ali remonstrated, but the old man was adamant.

Later on in the evening Abd-ul-Aziz met his daughter. "News for thee my comfort." He took the dainty little figure clad in costly raiment, a graceful white silk skirt, trimmed with a heavy goldwork border, a soft creamy gauze *orhnce* (Veil) descending from her head, and wrapped up in graceful folds about her person, a loop of pearls round her waist holding the *Kurta* gently, as in a clasp, a costume, as picturesque and lovely as any in the world, a blend of the Arab, the Persian and the Indian manner, which would have looked becoming on any figure, but on—Naseema—! One forgot one's cares—and longed to look at her for ever.

"News for thee daughter—Nizam Ali of whom I spoke the other night is to leave by this mail for England, to qualify for the Bar."

"Indeed, I am so pleased. But I thought you said he was poor."

"Did I? Oh well—a boy like that was sure to find somebody to help him on."

"I should say was sure not to find somebody to be kind to him—Do you know who has helped him?"

"I! surely daughter, I must protest—Am I a depository for all the charitable transactions going on here?"

"Of a great many you are—Of a great many *more*, about which we suspect *you* to be the prop and pillar, though you have always denied. I know father what is behind that rather stern exterior of yours, the kindest and the gentlest heart which ever beat in a man."

"Fie, Fie, girl, stop this flattery. By the bye, your uncles are coming on Thursday to dinner—thou must receive them and see to their entertainment; for I will be rather late."

"With pleasure, father."

And so, on that eventful Thursday, she arrayed herself in a manner befitting the daughter of Abd-ul-Aziz and played her part of hostess. Her mother was ill—Just as the dinner bell rang she heard her father's carriage wheels, and ran out to the porch to meet him. He stepped out, but instead of *salaaming* as usual, asked her to come near and to her dismay begged leave to introduce her to an acquaintance—A young man alighted from the carriage and as their eyes met she recognized the face. It was of the boy who had brushed his tears away in her father's grounds.

"Naseema, Mr. Nizam Ali."

Her heart stood still for a moment, and she flushed crimson as she slightly acknowledged the salutation of him whose trouble was perhaps greater than hers.

Were it not that her father had held her hand, she would have fled—Abd-ul-Aziz was in his bantering mood—"Acquaintances I presume" he said with rare well subdued humour—"They say, Nizam Ali, that first impressions are everything. You will grieve to learn that they were not flattering in your case. My daughter discovered in you the incipient traces of insanity!"

She was pulling at his hand—almost feverishly anxious that he should not go on in that strain—and release her.

Abd-ul-Aziz behind this light mood concealed not a little anxiety. It was a bold move, this breaking through the iron bonds of tradition. *He*, a Moslem, to introduce his daughter to a stranger! It would rouse the fiercest fires of orthodoxy. He had pondered on it, and made up his mind. He relied on his brothers also, men of liberal minds, who could be trusted to back him up

"I don't mean to say," continued Abd-ul-Aziz as if weighing the charge judicially, "that it was a case of complete mental derangement—the word she used was *crazy*—so that you stand convicted by one, whose verdict in this house at least is final."

"I did *not*, I did not say he was crazy—I said he looked so, all the same, let me go father, oh pray release me."

Meanwhile, within Nizam Ali, an old inheritance had quickened into life. The old spirit was astir—the spirit which had made his forebears the trusted courtiers of Akbar and Jehangier—the men who intervened between the king and his heir-apparent, who pacified the queen when a new scandal was in the air, men of courtly ways and graceful carriage, to whom life was not worth a candle if it was not carried on the palm of their soft hands, to whom death was sweet if in the king's cause, and if their lady's eyes would fill at the hearing of it.

So that, even Abd-ul-Aziz stood dumb, when in an even but incisive voice, the lad opened his lips, more as if, speaking to himself than addressing them.

"What wonder, lady, that you found me with all the appearance of an unsound mind. It may occur to some that the sight of one like you, unexpected, and sudden, would have its effect upon one, whose only associates had been the silent company of books. Such men should be mercifully dealt with, madam."

The deliberateness, the self-possession of his manner, put her at her ease, and imperiously demanded that she should look to herself.

While the introductions were taking place she had time to steal a glance—there was a tumult about her heart. That her crazy hero of the bandstand should be Nizam Ali—whose name was in every young man's mouth, he who now stood so quiet and at ease before her! but how did it come about? how had her father come to know him, and why—oh mystery of mysteries—had he brought him here and introduce *her*, a Moslem woman in Purda, to him? Then something flitted through her mind, and she blushed to the roots of her hair. She looked up. He stood in the candle light, a young slim figure, clad becomingly, looking oh! how different from what she remembered—Delicate features, bright with intelligence, a charm about the eyes, that would make the winning of hearts such easy work if he tried.

When the time came to say Good Bye, then only did she realize that he was to leave in a day or two for far off England—one of

his uncles was addressing him, "Well—win your spurs and come back soon—your place is empty here and *insha'lla* much good will come of it—may you prosper ;"

And he stood before her—a low salutation—My mother sent her respectful salutations and prayers to you and the lady your mother—Goodbye—Sleep and Nizam Ali were at war that night.

V.

Some years have passed away. We shift the scene to a morning in January when Bombay wears perhaps its pleasantest aspect.

The Sessions of the High Court are on. The Judge is in his seat. Mr. Nizam Ali, a young Barrister, is conducting the defence in a case of murder. The trial had excited extraordinary interest, as the accused man belonged to a high station—It was a remarkable defence culminating in a verdict of "not guilty" for the accused, who was acquitted.

But the greatest sensation was yet to come. The next morning Justice W— on taking his seat on the bench, addressed the young advocate as follows :—

"Mr. Nizam Ali,* I am glad to see you here and also the reporter of the—as I wish to make some observations, upon the report of the case, which was concluded yesterday. The paper represents you to have made a "rigmarole and a nonsensical speech," in defence of your client. As these remarks are not only unfair but likely to do harm to a young Barrister, I deem it my duty to observe that, in my opinion, there is not the slightest foundation for those remarks.

I consider the case was most ably conducted by you, and that the acquittal of the prisoner was mainly due to the ability and skill with which you addressed the Jury."

It is not often that a Puisne Judge of the High Court goes so much out of his way ; no wonder, that Nizam Ali found his right place very soon ; all the honors and emoluments of his profession were soon within his reach.

At this time his greatest happiness was to get an excuse to call at Abd-ul-Aziz's. On such occasions, a young woman whose acquaintance we have already made, was the first to hear his carriage wheels, though except by a slightly lightened color, she would not betray the knowledge.

Once he came, and instead of joining the family circle

* A fact.

closeted himself with her father. Some excitement in his manner as he stood facing his old supporter.

"Yes Sir ! do not pretend to deny it—In our hour of trial you stretched out your hand to save my poor mother, by befriending her son. It was more than generous. What did you know of us—what, if—as is so often the case you had made a mistake ?"

Abd-ul-Aziz had taken his chair, His eyes bent low, his finger tapping the table as if in protest at so much "Ado about Nothing."

"But, thank God, that in my case you had no cause to regret your impulses. I came to you Sir, to-day, to repay the material part of your kindness,"—He placed a cheque on the table—"though how infinitely small that is to the sum total of it, none knows better than your servant."

A moment of silence—Abd-ul-Aziz essayed to speak, but let a moment pass. Then with a certain catch in his voice—

"I will take it lad, though I need it not, for that was our contract. I did for thee what any man of means would have done, and I pray thou may be spared, for the good work which thou can do in the regeneration of our poor race.

And he would have risen, but Nizam Ali's hand was on his shoulder, and Nizam Ali's eyes looked at him in a manner that made him pause.

"But Sir, before you rise, one more petition remains to be submitted. "I had not dared"—a strange agitation in his manner—"to speak earlier, but now that I feel a free man, and somewhat in your favour—as I take it—dare I hope, dare I ask for your daughter's hand in marriage" ? His hand still lingered in most loving manner on the old man's shoulder—for they were very intimate now—"say not that it is impudence, say rather, that it was you who put these mad thoughts into my head ; in such complete envelopment of kindness have you kept me, that I grow bold, Sir, day by day. I know not, if she will take me.—I know that the highest in the land have sought her in vain. She may not deign to look with favour on a struggling Barrister, but—but—if it be so, if she will not have me then I shall feel that indeed the day was accursed, when first I came within your notice."

"Hush boy—such words are unjust to thyself. "Why ! his level eyes were fixed with shrewd humour on the young man—is it Nizam Ali the noted cross-examiner, or some timid conscious criminal who stands before me ! Thou should'st know

better—boy, we love thee, are proud to feel that thou carest for her and will take her as thy wife.

"The yearning of my old age it was to see this come to pass. From that very morning when thou first called, I liked thee, and with better acquaintance, the blessed idea grew in my mind. Come to me"—

Then he embraced him—"Thou need not have any fears, Nizam Ali—she will take thee, if I have read aright the heart of my daughter."

And she took him, with a great thankfulness—and when these two met later on, the lovelight in her eyes made Nizam Ali feel the truth that was in the passing Jogi—His star *was* indeed auspicious; and never perhaps before, did the heart of a woman feel so truly proud and grateful to Providence, as did the heart of Nizam Ali's mother, when she took him gently by the hand, and lifted before his eyes the clinging veil which drooped over the face of his blushing bride.

It was from Nizam Ali, that Naseema came to know that the man who had befriended her husband was her father; and the scene when she went up to the old man, and while tenderly rebuking him for his secrecy burst into tears,—tears we should all like to shed—saying that there were fathers and fathers, but none like hers on the face of the earth—all this—to Abd-ul-Aziz, was like as manna to the starving Israelites.

Daughter, thou art spoiling me—and drew her to himself and kissed her tenderly. Then after a moment of silence he spoke.

"Indeed, Indeed, children"—and whoever hath wrought good of the weight of an ant, shall behold the same, "and I behold it to-day."

ALI.

A VEXATA QUÆSTIO IN TRAVANCORE.

IF there is one remark, applicable to Travancore, invariably made by people who have seen the country and know something of its institutions it is, that it is "intensely conservative." And not without good cause. It *is* a conservative country! conservative in its customs; in its local laws; in its religion; and in its social aspects. And yet curiously enough it is in this conservative land that Christianity, with its caste-disintegrating, and civilizing influences, has taken the very strongest hold on the minds of a comparatively large section of its population. Even under the fostering sway of a confessedly Christian Government—taking the Madras Presidency, for preference, as affording conditions similar, in many respects, to Travancore—the progress of Christian conversion in British India bears no comparison with that in the Land of Charity; for, whereas, the proportion which Christian converts bear to the total population in the Madras Presidency is 2.57 per cent. it is 20.60 per cent. in Travancore. From this it follows that the Hindu Government of conservative Travancore must be acknowledged to be very liberal in respect to the degree of liberty of thought and action the subjects of the State enjoy; and it must consequently be absolved from the charge of "religious intolerance" brought against it, in connection with a Travancore High Court decision which declared that "a convert from Hinduism to Christianity loses *ipso facto* all rights to the property of the family to which he was entitled before his conversion."

This dictum of the Travancore High Court was a full bench decision—a bench composed of Mr. Krishnaswamy Rao, Chief Justice, and Justices W. E. Ormsby, Narayana Pillai, Kunhiraman Nair, and Aryanayagam Pillai,—and, it is scarcely necessary to say, caused quite a sensation in the Christian camp. St. Paul tells us that, "where there is no law, there is no sin," and when the Travancore Government in its law courts had promulgated no specific law regarding the inheritance of converts from Hinduism to Christianity, there was no recognised procedure; and, obviously, there were all kinds of possibilities. The dictum of the High Court changed all that; and distinctly

laid a disability on the converts. It must not be understood, however, that it promulgated a *new* law—as the Venerable Archdeacon Caley, who, as the mouthpiece of the Church Mission Society and the Travancore and Cochin Mission Conference, declared in his representation to the Government of Fort St. George. It was *not* new. The High Court simply interpreted, and gave expression to, the Hind Law of Inheritance, to which there had been no occasion to appeal in the absence of any previous necessity to do so. When the progress of Christian conversion impinged on the question of the Hindu right of inheritance—under a changed environment—the Travancore High Court, after a due consideration of the circumstances, did nothing more than give expression, in so many words, to an existent and ancient law of the land—an unrepealed Hindu Law—which as the outcome of spiritual interests and social obligations was, and continued to be, sacred to every Hindu and to every Hindu Government.

I have said that the dictum of the High Court distinctly laid a disability on the Christian convert. It is, in the sense, that, whereas, in the ignorance of, and absence of such a law in the modern statute book of Travancore the convert was not absolutely debarred previously from sharing the family property, his disability to inherit it was, for the first time, clearly made manifest. This disability is considered to be a very great grievance by the Protestant European Missionaries and their converts; for it must be remembered that neither the Syrian Christian community, who, from the dawn of the Christian era has been resident in Travancore, nor the Roman Catholic Christian community who outnumber by far its Protestant brethren, have agitated for a remedy in this connection. The main question to be decided was, whether it is more desirable to introduce a legislative measure in Travancore similar to the British Indian Act XXI of 1850, or, whether the *lex loci* of Travancore, as formulated by the Judges of the High Court, should continue unrepealed? The British Indian Act is embodied in the following section:—“So much of any law or usage now in force within the territories subject to the Government of the East India Company as inflicts, on any person, forfeiture of rights of property, or may be held, in any way, to impair or affect any right of inheritance by reason of his, or her, renouncing, or having been excluded from, the communion of any religion, or being deprived of caste, shall cease to be enforced as law, in the Courts of the East India

Company, and in the Courts established by Royal Charter within the said territories.” After exhaustive consultation and enquiry, the Madras Government formed the conclusion that the introduction of some law, analogous to Act XXI of 1850, appeared to be necessary in the interests of the Christian convert, and indicated, to the Travancore Government, the line of legislation it was desirable to adopt in the following G. O.:—“The same protection should be secured to Christian converts in the Travancore and Cochin States as is afforded to that class in British India and the Resident will be requested to advise the Durbars of these States accordingly, and to propose to them, the introduction of a regulation securing to a Nair Convert to Christianity his right to maintenance, from his Tarwad property, whilst declaring him, at the same time, ineligible, by reason of his change of faith, to become the Karnavan of the Tarwad, or the Trustee of a Hindu institution.” That is, the Madras Government shirked the responsibility of advising the introduction of the British Indian Act XXI as it stood, but suggested its introduction *mutatis mutandis*, briefly indicating the changes required.

From a close and careful study of the many opinions expressed for, and against, the need for legislation in Travancore, to secure to a convert to Christianity the right of inheritance, the preponderance and weight of opinion, it seems to me, is enormously against the introduction of any such measure. The *Madras Mail*, in commenting upon a judgment of the High Court of Mysore, and Mr. Krishna Murthi's question as to the intention of the Legislature with regards to the Acts of 1850 and 1866 says:—“Surely there was no deliberate intention that when any Hindu subject of His Highness, in the exercise of his rights and liberty of conscience, embraced Christianity he should be deprived of all his Civil and Natural rights, even of the custody and guardianship of his own children. Such inference would be a libel on any Government worthy of the name.” I may be permitted to remark that no question of right, or liberty of conscience, is involved. On the other hand, it is indubitably wrong that a convert to Christianity should lose his inheritance. That is not the real question at issue. What may be right is not always expedient, and in legislation particularly, expediency is of the first importance. The question for decision in Travancore was, whether legislation to *enforce* the right of a convert to inheritance is

necessary; and I think that all who have given the subject the consideration it deserves will agree with me in thinking that the time has not arrived to give effect to such legislation; and that, when the time is ripe for it, legislation will have become superfluous. Mr. Shaugra Soobyer who, as Dewan of Travancore, placed the views of His Highness the Maharaja's Government before His Excellency the Governor in Council represented that:—
 "If a measure like Act XXI of 1850 were to be introduced now for the first time, it might be reasonably doubted whether it would pass into law under the altered circumstances. It is not like the law abolishing Süttee or Slavery, or any measure of the kind demanded by humanising principles. It goes deeper, impinging on the vital springs of the social and religious system of the Hindu community, which has stood its ground for untold ages and which represents the most sacred and cherished traditions bound up with property rights. The proposal under discussion appears to be taken as involving the question of religious toleration. There seems to be little necessary connection between the two subjects. The rights of property are merely incidental. The bulk of converts are dependent on no such rights. Converts from property-owning families, if actuated by sincere conviction, would not be deterred by any difficulties in this direction. In other cases, the law would only encourage people to play fast and loose with religion and have a demoralising influence. Be this as it may, the Hindu religion knows no intolerance. It stands singular in this respect. It seeks no votaries. It is not aggressive. It allows no admission. There is no Hindu unless he is born as such. It permits apostasy but rigidly disowns apostates. According to the principles of Hindu law and religion, every member of a Hindu family has inherent rights, but these rights are inseparable from the obligations which they impose. The obligations are interwoven with spiritual interests. When a Hindu renders himself incapable of discharging his obligations, he forfeits his rights. This is the simple principle that operates. The convert would have his rights without the connected obligations. When the one is no longer possible, the other ceases. So, virtually, the claim is for forfeited rights and the aid of law is invoked to secure the lost position in regard to the privilege minus the counterpart. The head of a Hindu family might argue thus:—'I individually have no power to disinherit any member. He has recog-

nised rights to the property by virtue of his birth and these rights are secure to him so long as he is, under the system. In the case of persons of other nationalities and creeds, they have absolute testamentary power which they can use against offending juniors or successors. I do not desire that power, nor can I have it according to the tenets of my religion. But the system under which I live has a safeguarding principle which is its peculiarity. When one renounces the system and offends it, it outcasts him and cancels his rights. You would now take away this safeguard—this power in the system—while you would leave me individually just where I was before, without the testamentary power which you hold. I am thus placed at a positive disadvantage.' This is by no means an imaginary evil. Strictly speaking, it is not the convert that has grievance, but his advocates who put the idea into him on the wrong analogy of their own system. The convert brought up under Hinduism instinctively knows his true position and breaks through the ties, fully prepared for the consequences. It is a community of reciprocal rights and obligations that is formed, and individualism is sunk in the general interests which all the members are bound to maintain and promote. The family stock handed down from generation to generation is intended to be preserved against those who secede from the union. When a Hindu, by partition or other cause, becomes absolute owner of a property, there is nothing to stand in the way of his enjoying it, with his change of faith. But the case is different where the member of a joint family becomes a convert. The conversion itself is regarded as a social disgrace. It is felt far more keenly than a death calamity. The convert would naturally avoid the presence of his Hindu relatives, who in their turn would tolerate no contact, much less any dealings with him. These sentiments are strong in the case of respectable and well-to-do families. To call in the machinery of law for the purpose of setting up the convert to fight against his home-ties and enforce his intrusion in one shape or other, so odious to Hindu feelings, would be viewed as adding insult to injury."

Mr. Shaugra Soobyer is unanswerable. The Missionaries lay great stress on the point that as the Christian convert is willing to live with his unconverted brethren it is the duty of the latter to, either live with him or yield him maintenance. This idea of living together is obviously impracticable. Let

us take for example the case of an Englishman whose property is entailed. Under English law the eldest son would inherit. But supposing the eldest son embraces Islamism and fills his ancestral halls with a multiplicity of wives and a heterogeneous family, is it to be imagined that the younger sons and other members of the family dependent on him would care to live with such an unnatural relative? They would rather starve! And yet Missionaries think it quite natural and proper, and feasible, that a convert—an outcaste from every possible point of view—should live with his unconverted relatives in the Tarwad house! There is, it is true, a difference between a Right and a state of helplessness dependence, but I only cite the case to illustrate how impossible it is that such joint occupation should be. “Why,” asks the Missionary, “if the Hindu relatives cruelly thrust out a convert”—a convert willing to live with his unconverted relatives—“does the law not force them to provide the convert with a house at the cost of the Tarwad?” Their Lordships of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in Case I. M. H. C. R. 372 answered this satisfactorily in the following words:—A convert by reason of his change of faith “becomes at once severed from his family and regarded by them as an outcaste. The tie which bound the family together is, so far as he is concerned, not only loosened but dissolved.” The obligations consequent upon, and connected with, the tie are also, as held by their Lordships, “dissolved with it.” Mr. Anantan Nair, B.A., B.L., the District Munsiff of Kutnad, is of the opinion that “the convert becomes, from the moment of his conversion, incapable of living in the Tarwad house in joint commensality with the rest of his family, and he is debarred from taking part in the social, religious, and ceremonial concerns of a Tarwad.” “According to Malabar law residence in the Tarwad house in joint commensality with the other members is the inexorable condition of an Anandaravan’s right to maintenance from the Tarwad; and this condition the convert is unable to discharge.” The corollary is that he cannot claim maintenance. The trespass against established law and custom is clearly on the part of the convert, and it really does not seem equitable, though theoretically it may be right, that an express law should be created to repeal an ancient one which the majority of people in Travancore subscribe to, and which is indissolubly bound up with their religious and social life.

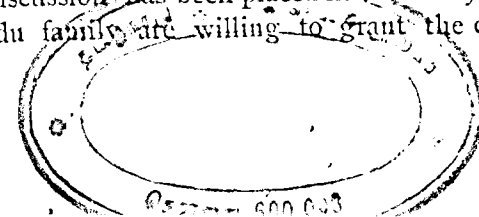
Act XXI of 1850 is far from comprehensive, and Mr. Justice Wilkinson, as District Judge of Malabar, in a claim for maintenance made by a Nambudri who, after having been turned out of caste for adultery, embraced Islamism, in his judgment observes:—“In my opinion Act XXI of 1850 is not applicable. That Act (in the words of Glower J.) is meant for the relief of those who from conscientious motives have found it necessary to abandon the faith of their ancestors. I cannot imagine that the law should still be entitled to maintain in the Courts all the rights which he or she possessed when in communion with the caste. *Still less do I think, that it was intended that an outcaste Brahman who renounced the religion of his ancestors and became a Mahomedan should still be entitled to claim, as a Member of the Illom in which he was born, all the rights and privileges which belonged to him as a Brahman.* What Act XXI of 1850 does mean is not very clear; but I am of opinion that it has no application in the present case and that the Plaintiff, an outcaste and a Mahomedan, has no right, title or interest in the Puzhempureth Illom. I must reverse the decree of the Lower Court and dismiss the plaintiff’s suit with costs throughout.” The italics in the above are mine.

Again, Act XXI of 1850 is wholly, in the opinion of many competent Judges, inoperative when the change of faith and loss of caste involves forfeiture of legal rights, or incapacity to enforce or exercise them. A Member of a Hindu family becomes disqualified to perform funeral and other rites by his conversion; and thus he voluntarily, and with prescience of the consequences, renders himself unfit to fulfil obligations which are part and parcel of the Hindu family system, and he should therefore be the last person to cry out for protection under a new law, more especially, as he, by his conduct, has transgressed a prior law which is held sacred by his people. In my opinion the true Christian having by his own act severed his connection with his “heathen” relatives should disdain to accept the smallest modicum of help from them. It should be a case of forsaking the whole world to save his own soul. Mr. Mayne, who is an admitted authority, speaking of Hindu law observes:—“The Brahmanical theory of wealth is that it is conferred for the sake of defraying the expense of sacrifices.....Consequently one who is unable, or unwilling to perform the necessary sacrifices is incapable of inheriting.” Again:—“Naturally degradation

from caste, the highest penalty for sin, was itself accompanied with forfeiture of inheritance." Under the Hindu law an outcaste is deprived of all Civil and Social rights, and on this Sir Thomas Strange remarks :—"a man under these circumstances might as well be dead which in the Hindu law he is considered to be." "Act XXI of 1850 must be construed as simply removing, a disqualification, arising from change of religious beliefs, not involving the commission of any offences which create a disability under the Hindu law, independent of degradation from caste. To hold otherwise would lead to the absurdity that apostasy would be a means, far more potent than all expiatory penances, of purging all crimes denounced by Hindu sages as crimes in the highest degree," says Mr. Kannan Nambiar, District Munsiff. There is very much more which could be cited in support of the decision of the High Court of Travancore, and it is creditable to, and praiseworthy on the part of, the Government of India that it has finally decided to let well alone, and that it has turned a deaf ear to the complaint of the Travancore Missionaries. As far as the Province of Travancore is concerned, it is a question of the greatest good of the greatest number. As yet, the Hindus in Travancore vastly outnumber the converts who are immediately concerned in seeking a forfeited inheritance; and until the position is reversed, the necessity for legislation is not apparent. Even if it were not so, the necessity for legislation should be approached with the greatest concern and the utmost caution. Her Majesty's Proclamation of 1858 reads thus : "And We will that, generally, in framing and administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages and customs of India." Act XXI, it is significant to remember, was made law seven years previous to the great Indian Mutiny, and eight years prior to the Queen's Proclamation. That the passing of Act XXI was very strongly opposed, even half a century ago when the strength of public opinion was nothing like what it is now, is a fact which is indisputable; and, with this in mind, the Travancore Durbar is to be warmly commended for its temerity in so ably, respectfully and convincingly representing its inability to follow in the footsteps of Lord Dalhousie's Government. Mr. Grigg, the late lamented Resident in Travancore and Cochin, a man of consistent Christian mind and character, in writing to the Madras Government stated :—"I am extremely doubtful whether the State (Travancore) would be justified in introducing a law in-

volving a fundamental change in the (Marumakkathayam) system in the present state of social progress among the Marumakkathayam people to remedy the disabilities of a stray convert to Christianity or Mahomedanism." I may here quote a paragraph from a Judgment of the Judicial Committee which seems applicable to the subject. Their Lordship say :—"In India, however, all or almost all the great religious communities of the world exist side by side. Under the impartial rule of the British Government, Brahmin, Buddhist, Christian, Mahomedan, Parsi, Sikh, are one nation, enjoying equal political rights, and having perfect equality before the tribunals; they co-exist as separate and very distinct communities, having distinct laws affecting every relation of life. The law of husband and wife, parent and child, the descent, devolution and disposition of property are all different, depending in each case on the body to which the individual is deemed to belong; and the difference of religion pervades and governs all domestic usages and social relations." (I.L.R. 16 Bombay, page 332.) One more quotation and I have done! Sir Fitz-James Stephen says :—"No law should be made till it is distinctly perceived and felt to be necessary. No one can admit more fully or feel more strongly than I do, the evils and dangers of mere speculative legislation.....No one can feel more strongly than I do the madness of the smallest unnecessary interference with the social habits and religious opinions of the country. I would not touch one of them except in cases of extreme necessity."

Apart from the legal aspect of the question, the Christian communities would be the richer for converts who, for the privilege of following Christ, surrender wealth and property and assume the Cross of poverty for conscience' sake. The young man who wished to become a disciple of Christ was told to "sell all that he had and give it to the poor"—and then follow Him. But he, like many of the would-be converts of Travancore apparently, "went away sorrowing"—for he had great possessions. The introduction of a law like Act XXI would inevitably result in strong opposition, a vast amount of ill feeling, ruinous litigation, and in the upheaval of the Hindu social strata without benefitting the spread of Christianity one whit. The greater the difficulties that Christianity meets with, the better for its stability in the long run. Missionaries should rejoice that a stumbling block of the kind under discussion has been placed in their way! If the members of a Hindu family are willing to grant the convert



maintenance, or inheritance, the *lex loci* of the land does not prevent such a concession. It simply upholds the inalienable right of the Tarwad to resist the illegal claims of a convert and outcaste. If the members of a Christian community really welcome a convert, they should combine to provide for him if necessary. It is well known that the early Christians held all things in common, and if a member of a Christian community in those days kept back anything from his brethren he was condemned utterly. Witness the case of Ananias and Sapphira who paid the penalty of death for perpetrating an acted and uttered lie. The Christian sentiment of these days most certainly would not inflict so heavy a punishment for so trifling a crime. To call the beliefs of Hindus superstition and bigotry, their law and traditions nonsense, and their ceremonies and customs obnoxious and indecent is not Christian in the first place, is decidedly ungentlemanly in the second, and is altogether indicative of a narrow mind and superficial culture. There are many people who cannot realise an idea till it takes the form of a homely illustration, and I hope I may be pardoned for putting the case in a very simple way. Let us suppose that the Reverend Mr. A., a staunch Church of England Clergyman who honestly believes Roman Catholics and Mahomedans are altogether outside the pale of Salvation. Let us suppose that he is wealthy, having inherited the wealth from his progenitors; that he has three sons to whom he had willed his wealth, on the condition that they remain true to the Faith of their Fathers. Let us then suppose that the first son turned a Roman Catholic and married a Native girl; that son no. 2 became a Mahomedan and Polygamist; and that, thereupon, the Reverend gentleman disinherited his sons nos. 1 and 2, and left the whole of his property to son no. 3. We should, probably, pity and sympathise with—some of us at least would—the converted Catholic and converted Mahomedan, more especially if we knew that they had changed their faith through conviction; but no one out of a madhouse, I imagine, could dispute the right of the Clergyman to alter his will; and it would be ridiculous to hold that the State would be justified in interfering and in compelling the Reverend gentleman to maintain his sons, or to leave them his wealth. If the case is so clear regarding the individual, the contention is still clearer in the case of a people—a people whose habits, customs and religion have become established and sanctified by time, tradition, and law; and whose

property-rights are interwoven with and inseparable from spiritual interests, and ceremonial obligations. Lord Salisbury lately warned Christian Missionaries against unwise speech and impolitic action when dealing with races of alien religions, and it is much to be desired that the advice will not fall on deaf ears. The people of India, and especially of Travancore, are extremely tolerant of all religions, but their patient attitude of apparent unconcern should not be taken to mean their readiness to acquiesce in changes which, if brought about, would shake Native society to its foundations, and which are likely to undermine the strong confidence which the people have, not without reason, learned to place in the religious neutrality of the British Government. That neutrality once again doubted, or misunderstood, is likely to end in the disturbance of the peace, if not, the disruption of the Queen's Indian Empire.

In conclusion, I wish to say that I claim very little originality to the views herein advanced. My humble task has been to place before the general public, which seldom has access to official papers, and more seldom still, the patience to wade through them, in a readable form, the pros and cons of a much debated, and much misunderstood, question. I have not set forth the views of the advocates of the Christian convert's case, because from an abstract point of view it is unjust that a change of faith should involve a loss of inheritance. That being conceded, the question of expedience alone demanded enquiry, and from all that is gone before, I hope I have succeeded in convincing my readers that the Government of India has acted wisely in giving a deaf ear to the clamour raised by the Missionaries of Travancore. Personally, I confess to a feeling of disappointment that Christian converts should be so insistent on endeavouring to obtain that which they have voluntarily abandoned. If the *lex loci* of Travancore will tend to shut out, from the Christian fold, converts who, under other circumstances, would become Christians, then indeed the Missionary societies in the land have reason to be thankful. But a vast majority of those Christian gentlemen, I fear, will not agree with me.

A. P. SMITH.

AGRICULTURE IN MALABAR.

THE trite saying "that India is a purely agricultural country" applies with greater force to Malabar. Few natives of the district except some Mahomedans and Tamil Brahmins who are settlers from the East coast are engaged in trade. Even among the Mappilas, only a small proportion of them living on the coast is engaged in commercial pursuits. The bulk of the people depend upon agriculture alone for their livelihood. The aristocracy of the land, the Rajahs and Namiboodri Brahmins, who are the leisured classes in Malabar though they do not cultivate their lands themselves entirely live upon the produce of the land. The people do not know any other business. They are so strongly attached to their ancestral homes and the land of their birth that the idea of emigration never enters into their heads. The peculiar customs and manners, the peculiar system of inheritance, the too numerous caste system, and several other things of a like nature also render emigration difficult. The result then is that the ever increasing population of the district has to live upon the limited food supply which the land yields.

Let us now see what stimulus has been given by the state to this all important branch of industry.

Ever since the Government of the country passed from the Company to the Queen Empress the legislative machinery has been very active. Not a year passes without adding an enactment or two or even more to the statute book and no enactment fails to bring a new source of income to the state. Fiscal laws we have plenty. We have the Stamp law, the Court Fees Act, the Registration Act, the Revenue Recovery Act, the Sea Customs Act, the Salt and Abkary Act, the Forest Act, the Local Board's Act, the Municipal Act, the Petroleum Act, the Tariff Act, the Income-tax Act and a host of other Acts passed in rapid succession, and not one of them fails to add substantially to the public coffers. There are some additional burdens to Malabar, for instance the road cess is double of what it is in other districts. In none of these Acts passed ungrudgingly by the legislature do we find any provision that gives the slightest help or encouragement to the real producers of wealth. The only act intended for the

good of the tillers of the soil viz., "the Land Improvement Loans Act" is hedged round with so many complicated and unintelligible "*standing orders*" that no one would venture to apply for any help under that Act. To effect a necessary improvement on the land one would rather borrow money at 12 per cent. or even 24 per cent. interest from a money-lender than approach the revenue authorities for a loan at 5 or even 3 per cent. The reason is plain. From a money-lender the borrower can get money whenever he wants, and he has not to propitiate many persons. If an application is made to the Government for a loan under the Act, then the applicant's difficulties just begin. He has to subject himself to examinations and inspections and scrutinies at the hands of village officials, Revenue Inspectors, Tahsildar, and a lot of other officials whom it is not easy, but sometimes even costly, to satisfy. Add to this the difficulty and inconvenience of dancing attendance upon these officers moving from camp to camp. The result is, no one ever cares to profit by the benevolent provisions of that Act.

I do not forget the Malabar Compensation for Tenants' Improvements Act, 1899. This act, I gratefully acknowledge, does give some encouragement to the agricultural classes, but the mode of working it is very unsatisfactory. The valuation of the improvements effected by the tenants entirely depends upon the irresponsible Commissioners sent out by the Courts. The Commissioners are mostly hangers-on of the Judges and have little or no experience of the business they are called upon to do. Their honesty is also questionable. Who are the Judges to check their valuation? The policy of the Government and of the High Court, by which Judges are transferred from place to place without any principle and without any regard to the qualifications of the individuals concerned, has rendered them incompetent to undertake the duties they have to perform. It would seem that the authorities take care to transfer the Judges to places, the vernacular language and the customs and manners of which they are quite innocent of.

"The Forest Law" has done what it can to injure the prospects of the cultivators living in the vicinity of the Ghauts. It has deprived them of the valuable leaf manure which is so indispensable for improving the soil. It has deprived them of the timber with which they used to make their tools of husbandry. It has deprived them of the pasture for their cattle. Things

they used to get as a free gift of nature they have now to purchase at great cost.

What the forest law has done to the up-country people, the salt law has done with greater success to the people of the coast. Coconut is the staple produce of the West coast. It is well-known that salt is the best manure for coconut trees, and Providence has created a large supply of it on this coast, which can be manufactured in large quantities in a very short time at a nominal cost of time and money. The salt so extensively manufactured was freely used for human consumption also. This manufacture our Government, solely for fiscal purposes, has put a stop to. A large number of honest and hard-working people, who are thrown out of employ by the enactment of the Salt law, now presses upon the land, and those who cannot find work as cultivators have turned beggars or robbers.

"*Abkary Law*" has also deprived several thousands of persons of their means of sustenance, and they also share the same fate.

A large number of artisans who find their avocation unprofitable on account of the competition with machinery are also thrown upon the lands.

I may here quote with advantage the observation of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ranade :

"Every class of artisans; the spinners, weavers and dyers, the oilsmen, the paper makers, the silk and sugar and metal workers, &c., who are unable to bear up against western competition, resort to the land, leave the towns and go into the country and are lost in the masses of helpless people who were unable to bear up against scarcity and famine."

To no part of India is this remark more applicable than to Malabar,

Thus it will be seen that the ever increasing population of Malabar entirely depend upon land and land alone for their livelihood, and it is painful to consider that the State renders no help to the cultivators in their struggle for existence.

Add to all this, the strained relationship between the landlords and tenants which is rendered more strained by the ill-advised and irresolute policy of the Government. The Government at one time appreciated the gravity of the situation and proposed to remedy the evil by legislation. A special commission, now remembered as "Logan's Commission" was appointed to enquire into the matter, and suggest to the Government on what lines the

Legislature should proceed. The Commission collected a large mass of evidence and made an elaborate report. The members who constituted the commission differed very widely and submitted dissentient minutes. The Government of the day was not able to find out what ought to be done under the circumstances, and the result was that the whole thing was dropped. But the Commission has not failed to leave its effect behind; much bad blood has been created between the landlords and tenants; false hopes were raised in the minds of the tenants, and the minds of the landlords were filled with alarm.

In all contracts entered into between landlord and tenants subsequent to the appointment of the "*Special Commission*"—all possible contingencies were provided for and clauses highly injurious to the tenants introduced. Several petitions were presented to the Commission by the tenants against the landlords in the hope of getting immediate relief. The Commission, and for the matter of that, the Government were unable to grant any relief, and the landlords against whom the complaints were made never forgave the tenants who made the complaints.

Some years rolled on, and the Government again thought it expedient to create a Tenancy Law for Malabar defining clearly the relation between landlords and tenants, and Mr. Ross was appointed a special Commissioner. That estimable gentleman collected a large quantity of useful information and submitted to the Government a draft bill which has not yet seen the light of day. Fortunately for the people, Mr. Ross did not receive petitions, and the unpleasantness consequent upon it was avoided. Nevertheless the public mind was agitated. The tenants hoped for much, and the landlords feared much, and the evil consequence is left behind and it shall perhaps never die out.

I beg to ask, why should the Government show such marked weakness? If it cannot legislate in the direction it considers proper, why should it create alarm in the one and false hopes in the other. Such a step has a very demoralising influence which will create, and has created unforeseen and untold difficulties.

I have mentioned these facts simply to show that the Government has done more harm than good to the cultivators by the half-hearted and faltering steps hitherto taken.

Judge-made law has also contributed its share to the misfortunes of the cultivating classes. Courts have given, perhaps unwittingly, sufficient encouragement to frequent evictions. Mal-

charth," wrongly termed second mortgage, was almost unknown until recently. The distinction between an ordinary mortgage, which is only a security for the money advanced by the mortgagee and which could be redeemed by the mortgagor at any time, and the Kanom which was in fact a tenure in land with vested rights was well-known and carefully recognised by courts. In the case of ordinary mortgage the interest, &c., was left to be decided by competition. In the case of Kanom the relation between landlord and tenant was regulated by custom. Now by an indiscriminate application of the rules and laws of ordinary mortgage, in utter defiance of the time-honored customs, the tenant's right has lost its market value, since the tenure has become very precarious. The fear of eviction always unsettles his mind and paralyses his energy. He has accordingly no inducement to improve the soil and to make the mother earth yield more and more.

Now our benign Government, as if to atone for all the existing evils, is going to give the cultivator and landholder the benefit of a "*revenue settlement*."

Let not the reader suppose it is a permanent settlement that is proposed to be given, but only an enhancement of revenue with a promise that a periodical revision will take place—which will never fail to bring more money to the public purse.

The survey, the precursor of a revised revenue settlement, commenced some years ago, and landholders had from time to time to spend large sums of money for survey expenses and for purchasing demarcation stones prepared by the favoured contractor of the Survey officer. There was survey and resurvey and corrections of mistakes already made by survey officials, and all this at the expense of the ryots.

Owing to frequent evictions resorted to by the landlords, all the subordinate tenures have already lost their market value. A Kanom holding does not now fetch a fourth of the value which it fetched some years ago. The market value of the proprietary or Jenmam right is also fast falling owing to the apprehension that the state is going to increase the land tax.

Thus the credit of the landholder is gone, and he cannot even get a loan on the security of his holding.

The immediate effect of this proposed settlement is that the small capital which finds circulation among the agricultural classes is already being withdrawn, and after the completion of the settlement no intelligent and educated capitalist will invest a

single pie in land and in agricultural pursuits, but will divert it to more profitable and less precarious channels. The land will be in the hands of day labourers who have neither capital nor energy nor skill to carry on agricultural operations with any degree of efficiency. There will be no inducement to improve the land which will thereby become less and less fertile.

One important canon of land tax is that the tax on land ought to fall on the owner of the land and not on the cultivator. This rule is reversed in Malabar. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred it is the tenant that pays the land revenue. Even in cases where the assessment stands in the name of the landlord, the latter takes care by special contract with the tenant to make him pay the tax. The Government has not yet been able, although repeated attempts have been made, to regulate the relation between landlords and tenants by clearly defining their legal rights and duties.

Another important rule that is maintained more in the breach than in the observance is that the improvement effected by the ryot at his expense is not to be taxed. In Malabar not a pie is spent by the State for improving the land, yet as soon as any tract of waste land is reclaimed and rendered cultivable at considerable expense by any individual, the revenue authorities at once find it out and heavy assessment is imposed upon it.

In the above pages I have briefly given a true description of the existing state of affairs, and I have not at all overdrawn the picture.

"The *Agricultural Department*" and "*model farms*" and such other names are useless from the cultivator's point of view, and they do not render him any practical help in his daily struggle.

"*Fixity of Land tenure*," "*Permanent Settlement of Land Revenue*," "*Agricultural Bank*," &c., do tempt the cultivator like a mirage tempts a traveller in an African desert. It is very doubtful if the cultivator in the near future will be able to derive any practical benefit from such things. I fear he will simply have to rest satisfied with reading elaborate reports and minutes couched in pedantic language.

It is, perhaps useless to suggest any scheme for rendering practical help to the cultivators which will necessitate an expenditure of Government money. The usual reply of "want of funds" is the only one that can be expected.

Let me venture to suggest a very modest scheme for render-

ing some small degree of help to the cultivator which can be worked with little or no expense to the estate.

My suggestions are:—

1. To supply to the cultivator at cost price the improved implements of agriculture approved by experts as suited to this country.

2. To supply to them at cost price small machines suited to their means and adapted to their requirements for raising water from wells, tanks and rivers to irrigate their fields.

3. To appoint a few hands—two or three for the whole district will suffice—to teach the cultivators how to use them and how to make the necessary repairs when the machines get out of order.

It is the fashion for official report writers, platform speakers, &c., to denounce the people as ignorant, indolent, apathetic and non-progressive.

They never take into consideration the state of the existing society, the material condition of the people and the want of opportunities for them to find out and study any method other than the one they have been used to from generation to generation.

I am aware that several persons in Malabar want to purchase some water-lifting machine to irrigate their fields. It is a pitiable sight to see excellent crops withering away on the banks of rivers through which large volume of water finds its way to the sea. The owners of the fields have no idea as to what machine they ought to purchase and where they can obtain it. Even if they secure one they do not know how to fit up and use it and much less to repair it if it gets out of order.

May not the Government render some help to the cultivator in this direction at least without spending any money from public treasury, but charging the whole expense on him? If a petition or memorial goes to the authorities, the usual reply, "declined to interfere" might be given.

I make this representation through the pages of this Review so that the Government of its accord might be pleased to do something on the lines indicated above.

CALICUT, }
October 1900.

P. A. KRISHNA MENON.

MADRAS UNDER SIR ARTHUR HAVELOCK.

BEFORE the close of the current year Madras will bid farewell to Sir Arthur Havelock before he will have completed his full term of five years. He succeeded Lord Wenlock on the 18th of March 1896, and is resolved to retire from office towards the close of December instead of in the second half of March next is understood to have been made to suit personal convenience as well as public necessity. In Sir Arthur Havelock's case his movement to the Hills immediately after his arrival in the country was not of much consequence inasmuch as he had not been new to eastern countries or even to Madras. His successor comes fresh from home and has to know for the first time everything about the country which he is coming to govern and about the officials and the people with whom he will have to deal. In his case, therefore, it is not desirable that his first Indian experience should be gained on the heights of the Nilgiris instead of on the plains; and the interval between his arrival in this country and the departure of the Government to the Hills can be advantageously spent in gaining his first impressions of Indian administration of Indian life and of Indian idiosyncracies of character and sentiment. The advent of a new Governor is always regarded with the opposite feelings of hope and fear; while the retirement of the old one is comparatively a matter of little concern to the people at large. A retiring Governor, if he has been absolutely good, is bidden farewell with genuine regret and with enthusiastic demonstrations of gratitude; but if he has been absolutely bad, is dismissed with a sigh of relief. Sir Arthur Havelock has gone near neither extremes. He has not attained the ideal excellence which the best Governor could aspire to; nor has he fallen back to the opposite extreme which is the portion of the most perverse and misdirected agents of British Power. His administration has possessed attributes which we are bound to gratefully acknowledge; while at the same time it has shown a great falling off in several respects from the ideal which a steadily watchful public ever keeps before its mind. Of great or marked achievements

there has been none during Sir Arthur Havelock's administration; of serious faults and failings there have been a few.

Sir Arthur came to Madras at a time when public opinion had expressed itself in singular unanimity that the head of the Government had failed to make his own will the predominant factor in the councils of Government and that the misdirected obstinacy of his civilian colleagues had compelled him to acquiesce in measures or proceedings which were highly unpopular with certain sections of the people or unacceptable to the general public. Lord Wenlock was personally a man of excellent traits of character and temperament. He was amiable, kind and obliging; but he lacked practical knowledge of administrative work and was very likely deficient in self-reliance, a quality which is acquired only by a confidence in one's own ability and judgment. Such a man could not have been well expected to dominate over his veteran colleagues who had spent years of their life in India and had everything connected with the administration on their finger's ends. But when he had to make a choice between his colleagues in any matter of importance, he had the good sense and discrimination to enlist the weight of his authority on the side of sympathy and justice to the people of the country. In spite of his general good nature and his good intentions, he was therefore led into mistakes which contributed more or less to the unpopularity of his administration; and when Sir Arthur Havelock arrived in Madras with an established reputation as a successful ruler of Ceylon, hopes were raised that the head of the Government would be something more than a figurehead, a potent force in the administration and an effective antidote to the perverse obstinacy of his Council; and with his long experience and acquaintance with administrative details, he could have had no difficulty in seeing things for himself. It must be acknowledged that so far as circumstances could permit, Sir Arthur Havelock has shown himself the head of the Government rather than a willing instrument of his colleagues. He has held the reins in his own hands and has shown a laudable desire to see into things himself. Indeed under the present constitution of the Madras Government, with the Commander-in-Chief out of it, with the civilian members in the majority, and the Governor without the casting vote, it is not always possible for the latter to assert himself with authority and effect; and where his civilian colleagues stand

firm and together, he is more or less powerless to carry out his own policy or wishes. This, to a certain extent, has diminished the value of higher statesmanship in the Governor and must compel him at times to acquiesce in arrangements which are not acceptable to him personally. In judging of the career of a Governor, therefore, we have to make sufficient allowance for the difficulties which confront him in this respect. He is not his own master in many things and has consequently to bear the odium for the joint mistakes or blunders of his colleagues in whom the sense of responsibility to the public is not particularly strong owing partly to their inadequate appreciation of the value of public opinion and their inherent disinclination to defer to it, and partly to their consciousness of the difficulty of fixing the personal responsibility for particular acts and measures. Sir Arthur Havelock has had his share of the difficulties of this description, more especially during the earlier period of his rule; but it is our belief that, when he yielded, he did so with reluctance. Expediency often suggests conciliation even when it involves a sacrifice of personal independence. When prompted by the fear of facing a conflict, expediency becomes another name for timidity and want of decision; but when suggested by prudential considerations which have no element of personal selfishness in them, it becomes statesmanship. We believe that Sir Arthur Havelock was not influenced by the former kind of expediency, and was too shrewd to lose sight of the latter.

The degree of reliance which a Governor is prepared to place in his Councillors or advisers is in proportion to the amount of confidence which their ability, sagacity and prudence inspire in his mind. The situation when Sir Arthur Havelock took charge of the administration in Madras was such that His Excellency was disposed to look at every question with an independent mind and with a conviction that his watchful attention and scrutiny were necessary to avoid errors and to command public confidence. A man placed among advisers who are accustomed to have their own way and whose judgment he has reason to distrust is bound to approach questions with a critical mind and with a natural desire to hear the other side and to give due weight to it; but when he is surrounded by advisers in whose loyalty and judgment he has the most absolute confidence and whom he believes to be incapable of doing anything calculated

to detract from his reputation or popularity, the importance of hearing the other side does not appeal to him with the same force as it does under the opposite circumstances. We suspect that Sir Arthur Havelock has had to carry on his rule under both these conditions; and the measure of success has depended, to a certain degree, upon the predominance of one or the other conditions. It cannot however be said that he has at any time been altogether indifferent to the trend of public opinion. He has always tried to hear both sides of every question and has on occasions sought to take the public into his confidence; and if nevertheless mistakes have been made, they are due, we think, to his latter day over-confidence in official views. Comparing the first half of His Excellency's administration with the latter half of it, we cannot but wish that he had continued as he had begun.

Looking over the whole period of his administration, it is impossible to find anything which will remain as an abiding landmark in the history of Madras during his five years' term of office. He has attempted nothing great and has achieved nothing remarkable, nothing in fact for which a whole people will long remember him with enthusiasm. The fault for this cannot be wholly laid to his account, for great measures of administrative reform cannot be attempted without an adequate provision of funds, and of this necessary resource the Madras Government has not had during his term a superfluity. And no Governor is likely to be more fortunate in this respect unless the Government of India agree to a more equitable readjustment of their existing financial relations with the local Government. At the same time it is possible to conceive several things which His Excellency could have done, independently of financial considerations, for the good of the people. He could have, for example, insisted on a juster and more generous policy in regard to the Land-revenue Settlement of this Presidency. He could have done something for the development of Lord Ripon's scheme of local Self-Government. He could have been more generous in regard to the representation of the popular element in the Legislative Council. He could have been more conciliatory and more considerate in regard to certain measures of legislation upon which the people concerned have felt strongly and which they regard as involving serious detriment to their interests. He could have done something for the better recognition of Native talent in the public service of the country even in accordance with the recommenda-

tions of the public service commission as accepted by the Indian and the Home Governments. He could have also avoided some of the mistakes made latterly both in the matter of important appointments and in regard to the liberty of the subject.

It must be acknowledged that Sir Arthur Havelock has felt a very genuine sympathy with the ryots and has in his public utterances given expression to that sympathy, but he has apparently been unable to translate his sympathy into practical action owing to the established policy of the Government of India in the matter of land assessment. He has however done his best to hear individual grievances and to rectify them so far as possible. Any man with a just grievance was sure of getting a hearing from Sir Arthur Havelock; and in all matters he has used his independent judgment in arriving at a conclusion. Rack-rented ryots, injured people seeking justice, public servants who were harshly and unjustly treated, have all according to the merits of their case more or less successfully appealed to His Excellency, and in many instances men who had lost their promotions, who had been suspended or degraded, have had justice done to them by a proper representation of their case to him. Departmental jobbery received no conscious encouragement from His Excellency, and timely ventilation in the public press of contemplated acts of injustice and wrong rarely failed to produce the desired effect.

The first and perhaps the only act of any political significance which can be credited to His Excellency's regime was the appointment of the Honorable Mr. Bhashyam Aiyangar as the Advocate-General of Madras. This was an important step, a rare recognition of superior Native talent and capacity, a wise and politic application of the fundamental principle of the Parliamentary Enactment of 1833, and of the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 to the actualities of Indian administration. To appoint a native of India as the highest Law Officer of the Crown was itself a first step; to appoint a Vakil of the High Court was perfectly a new idea. To make this entirely new move required courage, and it is singular that in this matter His Excellency had the full support of both his civilian colleagues. Indeed, it is true that there was no man on any side of the legal profession who surpassed or even equalled Sir V. Bhashyam Aiyangar in ability and attainments, and among Barristers in particular there was a singular lack of eligible candidates, acceptable to

the Government. In these circumstances the choice of the Government lay between importing a Barrister from elsewhere, and availing itself of the services of the towering forensic genius in the whole bar. But this fact, in our opinion, does not detract from the credit due to His Excellency for broad-mindedness and right political perception. Sir Bashyam Aiyangar had not only rendered conspicuous service to the Government, but had made himself invaluable to it in matters of law and legislation. If this triumph of the Queen's Proclamation had been allowed to prevail, its political effect would have been great throughout India; but there were under-currents at work and racial prejudice animated by self-interest which prevailed with the India Office and prevented the permanent appointment of the distinguished Vakil. It must however be said that Sir Arthur Havelock's Government did everything it could to secure the confirmation of his appointment and its ill-success in the matter, brought about by circumstances over which it had no control, ought not to deprive the Governor of the credit justly due to him.

It is to be regretted however that the wonderful effect produced by the above step was marred by two other acts of His Excellency's Government, both grave enough for serious criticism—the one more than the other. We refer to the supersession of Mr. M. O. Parthasarathy Aiyangar, M.A., M.L., in regard to the appointment of the Chief Judgeship of the Madras Small Cause Court and the temporary effacement of the native element from the High Court Bench during the absence of Sir S. Subramania Iyer, K.C.I.E., on leave for six months. We cannot overlook the first, because looked at in any way it presents no justification unless we are to accept the difference of race as a determining factor; and we cannot overlook the second because it was a grave departure from the declared policy of the Government, ratified, so far as this Presidency is concerned, by the consistent practice of nearly a quarter of a century. In regard to both these matters we are compelled to say that Sir Arthur Havelock took leave of his political perception, infringed a principle, and did a grave wrong to an individual in the one case and to the community in the other. To Mr. Parthasarathy Aiyangar personally it was an injustice that he should have been superseded by another whose position at the bar was decidedly inferior to his and who had even acted as a Small Cause Court Judge while he

was acting as Chief Judge of the same Court. And the way in which it was brought about, namely, by amending the Small Cause Courts' Act so as to appoint an outsider over Mr. Parthasarathy, imparted to it the character of a personal jobbery or racial partiality which could not fail to strike interested or impartial observers. Indeed, even if Mr. Parthasarathy Aiyangar had been appointed to the temporary vacancy, European influence would have been still directed in favour of a European being the permanent incumbent of the office, but Sir Arthur Havelock at any rate would have avoided the unpopularity since he has had no occasion to make a permanent appointment in his time.

The High Court appointment was, from every point of view, a much more serious matter inasmuch as it involved the taking away—albeit temporarily—of what had been conceded as a matter of right and what has been always regarded as essential for the satisfactory administration of justice. The public had not even the remotest suspicion that a practice so long and so consistently followed would be departed from; and the surprise was therefore all the greater when it was known that the High Court was to remain without a native judge, not for a week or two, but for six months. We do not hesitate to call this a grave mistake on the part of Sir Arthur Havelock's Government, a mistake for which there could be no justification and there was no explanation. That the step was taken without justifiable grounds was made evident when His Excellency in the exercise of his power declined to admit or answer the interpellations submitted to him by an Hon'ble Member of the Legislative Council; and the Secretary of State, on the motion of the Mahajana Sabha, had even to tell the Madras Government that no rule made by him contemplated that a temporary appointment for such a period as six months could not be filled up by the appointment of a practising Vakil. It was a bad precedent that the Local Government sought to establish; and the public will always associate it with Sir Arthur Havelock's administration.

Credit is due to Sir Arthur Havelock for his order in regard to the Local Fund Engineers who claimed to be free from the control of District Boards. His Excellency very rightly decided that to constitute Local Fund Engineers into a separate Department and to free them from the control of Local Fund authorities would go against the grain of Local Self-Government. He

further ordered that old men and pensioners should not be appointed Local Fund Engineers, but that so far as possible men trained in the Local Engineering College should be selected. This was a very wholesome injunction inasmuch as great jobbery had been perpetrated in the Local Fund Department to the exclusion of locally trained men; and we hope it has been consistently observed in practice.

In the more important matters of Famine and Plague, His Excellency was watchful and circumspect. When Famine had declared itself in the Ceded Districts and when relief measures had been set on foot, things did not go on as satisfactorily and smoothly as could have been expected. Government in its ignorance of the extent of suffering and love of economy was pulling in one direction, and the Famine Commissioner with a full knowledge of the situation and sympathy for the suffering was pulling in the other. The tug-of-war went on for sometime, and it was not till His Excellency visited the affected districts and saw things for himself that harmonious co-operation and working was established. His Excellency's visit was followed by a relaxation of the unsympathetic rigidity at the headquarters; money was more liberally spent; relief measures were more effectively carried out; and what might have been a scandal and a calamity was averted. This result would have been impossible but for Sir Arthur Havelock's personal attention and sympathy, and we believe that His Excellency himself will admit that he was helped in this matter by timely representations in the public press.

Fortunately for this Presidency plague did not obtain a footing anywhere within its limits: but the Government had been sufficiently forewarned and, be it also said to its credit, was sufficiently forearmed. We think it is fairly possible to say that if the disease had spread over Madras His Excellency would not have been found unequal to the situation, but that he would have grappled with it with foresight and wisdom and without committing himself to the blundering policy which in every way proved disastrous in the Western Presidency. His Excellency did everything to conciliate public opinion, to take the public into his confidence, and to carry out the preventive and precautionary measures in accordance with the conservative but enlightened sense of the people. The rigorous way in which he dealt with the delinquencies of Plague subordinates at the Tad-

patri Camp showed at once his determination to tolerate no oppression or illegalities on the part of Plague officials and his earnest desire to respect public sentiment and conciliate public opinion. We have no doubt that, if similar infringements of the intentions and injunctions of Government had been brought to His Excellency's notice, he would have dealt with the delinquents with the same measured severity and rigour. And if it had unfortunately fallen to His Excellency's lot to confront a serious outbreak of the Plague, we think we are justified in believing that His Excellency would have grappled with the situation with insight, sympathy and tact. With regard to the social life and prejudices of the Hindus Sir Arthur Havelock showed the instinct of the Hindus; and with his safe, conservative temperament there was no fear of his consciously contemplating offence to the feelings or sentiments of the people.

The earnest support he gave to the proposal for undertaking fresh legislation in regard to Hindu Religious endowments was an instance of his sympathy with the enlightened sentiment of the Hindus. It was the result of his conviction that these endowments are grossly mismanaged at present and of his knowledge that, so far as this Presidency is concerned, Hindu public opinion is unanimous in asking for legislation and that legislation can be effected without any harm or injury either to the State or to the public. The Government of India have in their wisdom thought it fit to disregard the weight of authority and opinion in Madras; but their fears have been unnecessarily excited by considerations which have no application to the state of this Presidency. The public will acknowledge with gratitude Sir Arthur Havelock's sympathy and support which, it may be hoped, will still help in the removal of a standing cause of grievance to the Hindu community of Madras, especially in the Southern districts.

A similar attitude in regard to the question of Land Revenue Settlement and a similar representation of his views to the Government of India and the Secretary of State would not have been incompatible with the feeling of sympathy which His Excellency is known to entertain towards the agricultural classes and cultivators. Such an attitude would have been widely appreciated by the public. We have a suspicion, and we believe it is well founded, that the excessive claims which the Government of India make upon the revenues of this Presidency and upon land in particular have

been due to the weakness shown by the Local Government in quietly yielding to every mandate emanating from Calcutta or Simla and in failing to represent the actual condition of the people who are at each successive settlement called upon to pay an enhanced revenue much beyond their means and their resources. It was expected that Sir Arthur Havelock would make a strong representation on behalf of the ryots of this Presidency against the present system of perpetually recurring settlements with all their attendant expenditure and annoyance and the inevitable enhancement of existing burdens. There was a rumour some time back that Sir Arthur Havelock was prepared to do something in this behalf. But so far at any rate as the public are aware nothing seems to have been done in this direction. If His Excellency had left a weighty minute or made a strong remonstrance it could not have failed to command attention at the hands of the higher authorities. We cannot help wishing that His Excellency expressed on this subject an opinion as earnest and emphatic as the protest which he repeatedly made in the Legislative Council against the vicious system known as Provincial Contract. But our information, which we believe to be reliable, is that Sir Arthur Havelock has endorsed every bit of the past policy of the Government in regard to land assessment.

On the negative side of Sir Arthur Havelock's administration must be placed his extreme unwillingness to extend the scheme of Local Self-Government. In public addresses, in the proceedings of public bodies, and in representations from other public sources, this important subject had been pressed upon His Excellency's attention. In the constitution of the Taluk and District Boards, in particular, defects had been pointed out, which militated against the fundamental principles of representation and Local Self-Government. We believe it was quite possible and practical for His Excellency to have attempted and effected an extension of the scheme on an elective basis, at least in some of the more advanced districts. Such a concession, while it would have made no material change in the existing arrangements, would have been received with gratitude and favour by the entire educated public. Its political effect would have been greater than its practical significance. Not only was nothing done in this direction, but the course of policy under His Excellency's rule in regard to District Municipalities was not more generous or lenient than it had been under the previous *regime*. Municipalities

were, unless we are very much mistaken, as frequently disfranchised; the power to elect their chairmen was as frequently taken away; and in no case does it appear that excessive sympathy was shown. Everybody knows that these so-called self-governing bodies are judged absolutely and entirely on the one-sided reports of the Divisional or the District Officer; and it always happens that the Municipalities condemned have their own version which is in conflict with the official report, but which is not given any weight in the deliberations of the Government. In Tellicherry, for example, it was the Sub-Collector's Head Clerk who became Chairman-delegate, who quarrelled with the Councillors, and ultimately made up a case against his adversaries who formed the majority of the Council. And it was on this man's report, backed up of course by his official master, that the Municipality received its doom at the hands of the Government. Such treatment of Municipalities bears no trace of sympathy. It lacks impartiality. Local Self-Government in this country is still a tender plant. The powers vested in the local bodies are not sufficient to develop the sense of responsibility, and the complete official control deadens what little there is of it. It has therefore to be reared with sympathy and from a conviction of its usefulness as a preparation and training for a higher state of political existence. It was with this latter object that Lord Ripon inaugurated his great scheme; and it is with the same object that in England great indulgence is shown to Municipal bodies. There are, we have been told by competent authorities, more corruption and irregularities in England than here, but those evils are borne there as necessary, because these local bodies are essential for the training of the people for their Parliamentary life. Here there is no such recognition on the part of officials of the importance and value of the preliminary training which these Local Institutions afford for a higher political life; in fact such training is often regarded as not only unnecessary, but even inconvenient. Anglo-Indian officials who regard these institutions with sympathy and with a proper conception of their aims are very few. It is therefore all the more the duty of Viceroys and Governors, who are expected to fulfil the conditions of a much higher standard of statesmanship, to reconcile the official classes to a right conception of the aims and objects of Local Self-Government.

The wider representation of the popular element in the Local Legislative Council is another matter in regard to which

His Excellency could have been more generous, or at least, more consistent. In reply to the memorial of the Madras Mahajana Sabha praying that six seats might be thrown open for election by District Boards and District Municipalities instead of four as at present, His Excellency the Governor in Council after "careful consideration" wrote:—

"The fundamental principle of the scheme now in operation is *class* as opposed to *territorial* representation, the Government of India having declared that the recommending bodies should not (except in the case of the Presidency Towns) be determined with reference to locality or numbers, but should be so chosen as to afford a fair representation of all important classes in the Community. Moreover, the number of seats is limited by statute, and the Government of India has directed that the non-official seats to be filled, otherwise than on recommendation, be held in reserve with the view of redressing any inequality to which the system of recommendation may lead. Having regard to these considerations, His Excellency the Governor is not disposed to propose any further addition to the recommending bodies."

The reasons here given are explicit and definite. They show that the seats held in reserve are intended to secure the representation of classes or communities that have not obtained representation through the medium of recommendation by electoral bodies. We are therefore entitled to ask whether the two seats which the Mahajana Sabha desired to be thrown open for election have been utilised by the Government in accordance with the principle which is here laid down. Which class, for example, does the President of the Madras Municipality represent in the Legislative Council? Does he represent even any particular interest? The Municipality has always had its duly authorised representative in the Hon'ble Mr. Rungiah Naidu for the first six years and the Hon'ble Mr. Norton afterwards. It is clear therefore that the Government has virtually allowed its act to contradict its word; and more than that, the West Coast Districts which were represented uninterruptedly for eight years by the Hon'ble Mr. Sankaran Nayar and for two years by the Hon'ble Mr. Sankara Soobyer, have been deprived of representation after the latter's term was over. Among things that go to the debit side of Sir Arthur Havelock's administration this act of his Government must be one.

Neither can it be said that His Excellency always used his discretion rightly or justifiably in dealing with interpellations.

We do not refer to the way in which interpellations were answered or taken notice of, but to the manner in which they were, contrary to the spirit and intention of the rules made by the Government of India, rejected in important cases. These repeated rejections of interpellations received additional significance from the fact that they related to matters in which the action of the Government had been challenged. The inference is that Sir Arthur Havelock deliberately allowed things to be done which could not be justified in public, and that His Excellency solved the difficulty of having to explain matters by an arbitrary use of his discretion. There has also been latterly an impression that His Excellency has not been very considerate to the native non-official members. But we believe that he never intended to be unfair or inconsiderate to any Member of the Council, although at certain moments of impatience he may have been led to assume attitudes or use language liable to be misunderstood.

Immediately connected with the Legislative Council is the subject of legislation which it is impossible to recall without pain and disappointment. The Tenancy Bill which is the most important measure designed during Sir Arthur Havelock's term of office is still a distant possibility. In spite of the hubbub made of holding a special Legislative Session at Ooty, the Bill still remains in its incipient stage, and there is no information to the public as to when it is going to be taken up. Among measures passed into law the Malabar Compensation for Tenants' Improvements Act and the Irrigation Cess Act claim special notice. The former was designed as a substitute for the bigger Tenancy legislation which presented complications and difficulties suggesting the necessity for deliberation and delay. In a country where rights of private property in land are so well established by immemorial usage and custom, arbitrary State interference is not easily made without injustice. But the substitute now adopted does not avoid the injustice which the more comprehensive measure would have involved. The Compensation Act is as much an injustice to the owner of landed property, though in a limited form, as a Tenancy Act would have been. It involves the virtual confiscation of private property inasmuch as it makes it impossible for the owner to redeem his land when once a tenant has effected improvements on it on a fairly large scale. We do not think that in this matter the representations

from the opposite party received sufficient attention. The result is that there has been added to the Statute Book, a law which it is impossible to justify on the grounds of equity or justice. The Irrigation Cess Act is even a more important measure in that it affects a much larger area and a much larger number of the land-owning and cultivating classes. It was passed in the face of a most serious and unanimous opposition from the people, in utter disregard of the principles accepted by the Government of India and the Secretary of State in the past, in direct opposition to all former official declarations to the contrary, and in deliberate defiance of the rights of private property. The debate in the Legislative Council on this measure was characterised by a striking unanimity on the part of the accredited representatives of the people and the most unreasoning persistence on the part of the official members. The clause authorising the levy of a charge for percolation, though it was opposed even by such men as the Hon'ble Sir V. Bhashyam Iyengar and the Hon'ble Dr. Miller, was yet allowed to remain even in spite of the fact that the absurdity of such a provision and the practical difficulty of working it without serious injustice and wrong to the cultivator, had been pointed out and emphasised by such men as Lord Hobhouse, Sir George Campbell and even by His Excellency the Viceroy himself in connection with the Northern India Canal Act. It appears to us therefore that this piece of legislation will remain as a serious blot on the Legislative side of Sir Arthur Havelock's administration.

Having ungrudgingly acknowledged His Excellency's desire to respect public opinion and to hear both sides of a case we think we need not hesitate to point out what appears to us as, somewhat seriously detracting from his general impartial attitude and desire to benefit by public opinion. There are instances in regard to which His Excellency, either himself or in concert with his colleagues, betrayed impatience of legitimate criticism when the critics happened or appeared to be those who were liable to be brought under the control of his authority. We have recollection of an order issued by his Government not only to all officials, but even to independent men who happened to be members of Local Boards and Municipalities, enjoining on them the duty of abstaining from participation in movements or criticisms directed against servants of Government. The matter referred to a public meeting held under the Chairmanship of a District

Munsif to complain against a Medical Subordinate, a Civil Apothecary. The order of the Government was right so far as it concerned public servants, but its extension to members of Local Boards and Municipalities was an attempt to diminish the liberty of independent men who volunteered to render gratuitous service to the state and the public. Of a more objectionable description was the G. O. of 27th April 1898 directed against two Mahommedan Public Servants who had been present at a meeting of the Madras Central Mahommedan Association held to protest against the appointment of Mr. Ghulam Mahommed as the Mahommedan representative in the Legislative Council. That appointment was obviously a mistake; and it naturally provoked the resentment of the community. But the Government was unwilling to acknowledge its error and felt irritated by criticism. It was rather undignified, in our opinion, for His Excellency's Government to have instituted inquiries about the persons who attended the meeting and, much more so, to have betrayed its irritation in a special G. O. By doing so it showed more concern for its own delicate feelings than for the interests of the Mahommedan community which, including those of its members who are public servants, had a right to express its disapproval in any manner it thought fit. The G. O. ran—"It has come to the notice of the Government that at a meeting held in January last under the auspices of the Mahommedan Association to protest against the selection made of a Mahommedan gentleman to serve as an additional member of the Legislative Council———and———were among those present, and after considering the explanations submitted, the Government considers that the conduct of these two public servants in taking part in such a meeting is deserving of censure. Similar breaches of an elementary rule of discipline in future will be severely dealt with." This was an illogical position for the Government to take in the face of the fact that Government officials are allowed to vote at public elections and even to make speeches for or against candidates; and in the case of the Mahommedan community which has been allowed a special representative in the Legislative Council, it is absurd to say that any member of it, official or non-official, has not the right to express his free and independent opinion for or against a particular candidate. In this case, further, the officials concerned did not take any part in the meeting, but merely attended

as spectators—an act which is not prohibited even by the orders of the Government of India in regard to their conduct in the matter of political meetings. The Madras Government not only committed a mistake in the first instance, but advertised its irritation at criticism in the next. We would not have referred to the above two matters but for the principle which the action of the Government infringed in both.

A mistake of a graver nature and of graver political significance was made by His Excellency's Government when it introduced new rules in the Educational Grant-in-Aid Code prohibiting pupils, teachers and managers of Aided Institutions from taking part in political meetings or agitation. People could not at first believe that a Government like that of Sir Arthur Havelock could have contemplated such a serious attack on the liberty of the subject. They were even disposed to suspect that the rules had been by some accident incorporated into the Code without the cognizance of the Government. Dr. Duncan was unjustly suspected to have been the author of them, and it was not until the publication of the G. O. that the public came to know of the real source of their origin. The Government at first placed the retiring Director of Public Instruction in a very awkward and unenviable position by its reticence and refusal to give any information in reply to the questions asked in the Legislative Council. It is not possible to say what led the local Government to import into our politics the peculiar political ideas of Bombay Officialdom and to cause a commotion in the calm and serene atmosphere of Madras. A statesman of Sir Arthur Havelock's sagacity and political foresight should not have allowed his Government to be identified with a policy of repression for which, whatever justification there was in Bombay, there was none in this Presidency. But even in Bombay they never went to the extent that our Government did here. Sir Arthur Havelock however soon found that his Government had taken an untenable position in the matter; for it found no supporters outside the circle of those who had originally devised the surprise. On the other hand the volume of public opinion against it was too great to be brushed aside easily. His Excellency, it must be acknowledged, showed practical good sense in withdrawing, in a spirit of compromise, from the position which his Government had assumed and in agreeing to so modify the rules as to limit the prohibition to political meetings and movements directed against the authority

of Government. The prohibition as regards the latter is however superfluous as there is adequate provision in the Penal Code to deal with matters of that sort. The only object of the modified rules, therefore, is to show that the Government has not altogether acknowledged its mistake, and their only effect is to remind the public that the Government once perpetrated a mistake which it could not persist in or uphold.

In the matter of higher appointments in the Public Service we are not satisfied that His Excellency's policy has been above criticism. The six higher appointments, two of Collectors, and four of District Judges, have not all been made yet. Considering that native claims for these offices first accrued with the creation of the Statutory Civil Service and considering also that the first Statutory Civilian was appointed in 1880, these six appointments should have in the ordinary course been excluded from the preserve of the Covenanted Civil Service, and natives of India should have been permanently appointed to them long before this. The Civilians who came after the statutory service was created, have no preferential claims to that proportion of the appointments which, if statutory civilians had been regularly recruited, would have gone to natives of India. In these circumstances we do not think that the Provincial Service scheme has been fully or properly given effect to so far as the six higher appointments are concerned; and as regards the post of Under Secretary to Government, no shadow of a preferential claim now remains for the Covenanted Civil Service; and the Government showed neither justice nor generosity when it suggested in reply to an interpellation in the Legislative Council that there were no Indians competent to hold the place. This was adding insult to injury. We can administer native states with success and distinction, we can be successful Judges and Collectors, and successful heads of departments. Our men can do the duties of Secretaries and Under Secretaries as "Assistants" in the Government offices. Yet the Madras Government tells us that it is doubtful whether there can be found an Indian who is fit to be appointed as Under Secretary to Government! Certainly we should be sorry to think that Sir Arthur Havelock, with his innate sense of justice and fairness, assented to such a preposterous proposition.

Nor does this imperfect satisfaction of Indian claims in regard to the higher appointments stand alone. Among Deputy

Collectors not one of them has been promoted to any of the higher appointments. Considerable discontent has been caused by the introduction of outsiders into the higher grades. No less than three such appointments have been made to the prejudice of the claims of men in all but the first and second grades. The members of the Covenanted Civil Service would have never allowed a similar supersession of their claims; but the Deputy Collectors who possess neither their influence nor their importance were powerless to protest against the injustice done to them. It is even said that these new importations have a far deeper object than is apparent, that it is intended to fill the higher appointments in the Provincial Service, with a different class of men from those who now fill them. Whatever be the object or intention, there is no doubt of the injustice done to those who are already in the service. The Deputy Collectors have also reason to complain of the inconsiderate way in which some of them have been treated by Sir Arthur Havelock's Government. In dealing with irregularities or shortcomings on their part, in punishing them for faults which are by no means uncommon in the Covenanted Civil Service itself, the Government did not always show sufficient consideration for their position as members of an honorable service or for their feelings as educated and respectable gentlemen. Individual Deputy Collectors were degraded, or suspended, or dismissed in a manner that showed that the Government cared very little for their feelings or for their position. One Deputy Collector, Mr. G. Kothandarama Aiyar, was dismissed for what was said to be an infringement of certain Government rules. But after sometime, the Government found it necessary to restore him to office. This shows that Mr. Kothandarama Aiyar did not deserve the punishment meted out to him in the first instance, and that the Government was disposed to treat a Deputy Collector just in the same way that it would treat a menial or a peon. We must express our strong disapproval of treating officials of responsibility and position in this light fashion, without strong and sufficient grounds. We are of opinion that the Government has been too ready to deal harshly with Deputy Collectors; while it always thinks its duty to show more consideration for the members of the Civil Service. In the case of the latter, Government would not take such a step as dismissal or suspension without due consideration and without due regard

for the prestige of the service. This facts find a forcible illustration in the way some of the Tinnevely officials were treated in connection with the riots. While the superior officials through whose inattention and neglect the riots were allowed to take place did not suffer any serious consequences, a poor Mahommedan Deputy Collector, Mr. Syed Mustapha, who was not in the District at the time of the riots and who had therefore no responsibility of any kind, was suspended and degraded in connection with some ordinary riot that had occurred several months before. The charge against Mr. Mustapha was that he had made a delay of half an hour or so in proceeding to the spot after the Police had brought him information of the incident; and on such a charge, he who had been five years a Deputy Collector and who had risen to that position by 24 years of hard work and devotion to duty was suspended and afterwards degraded, not even to the position of a Tahsildar, but to that of a Collector's Head Clerk, and further declared ineligible for service as a Magistrate. While the Collector and Magistrate of the district who pool-pooled every warning about the impending riots and even left the district on leave while the riots were developing suffered no more serious consequence than that of stoppage of promotion for a year or two; and the Superintendent of Police who was not less responsible for the peace of the district obtained, we believe, his promotion a short time after. It was very much to be wished that Sir Arthur Havelock had reconsidered Mr. Syed Mustapha's case in the same manner as he had reconsidered the case of Mr. Kothandarama Aiyar. As it is, we cannot commend the act either from the point of view of individual justice or of the honor and prestige of Deputy Collectors as a class.

Such are the views which, on a somewhat rapid survey of Sir Arthur Havelock's administration, we feel bound to express. We have left out nothing which, to our knowledge, can be counted to his credit, which speaks for his good intentions, for his honesty of purpose, for his benevolence of motive, and for his foresight and statesmanship; while we have also thought it our duty to mark out and to comment on those acts and measures which have failed to meet with public approval and satisfaction and which have detracted from the general credit of his administration. We bid him farewell with mingled feelings; we feel grateful for what he has done for us; we regret that he has not done more and that he has done some things

