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Madras :

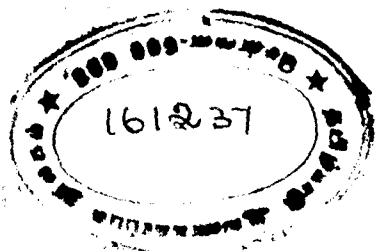
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OUR LATE QUEEN-EMPRESS VICTORIA.

THE world is very much poorer to-day by the death of our good Sovereign Lady Queen-Empress Victoria, which sad event was announced throughout India on the morning of the 23rd January and caused a thrill of sorrow and grief in every heart from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. The event took place at 6-30 the previous evening; and the sun had hardly risen from the Eastern horizon before there began the buzzle, the hurry, the anxiety and the emotion which are visible on the occurrence of a great mournful and national event. Everybody seemed to feel that a great figure which rivetted the respectful attention of the whole world, a mighty influence which operated for the good of mankind, and a great central unifying force had suddenly disappeared from these earthly scenes, and had cast a thick gloom over humanity at large and all that belonged to it. All feelings of caste, religion, race and colour which separate man from man were sunk in the one universal sentiment of reverence, of sympathy and of grief, evoked by the great mournful event. It is only in worship of the one Supreme Being that controls the destinies of the whole earth that all classes of mankind so unite and merge themselves as one; and next to the Almighty Power it was Queen Victoria that, in India at any rate, appeared as a common object of worship and devotion. That the supreme God is alike to all mankind, whether Hindu, Mahomedan, Christian or Buddhist, that He regards all His creatures alike without regard to man-made differences of caste or creed, is a truth accepted by the highest minds of all races; and Queen Victoria appeared to illustrate this

truth in her own attitude towards her subjects as the representative on earth of that Invisble Power. It is this character of our late sovereign that appeals most to the millions of her Indian subjects who, though separated from her by thousands of miles of sea and land, never failed to cherish in their minds an affection as intense as it was reverential. To her they paid a homage such as they had never before paid to any earthly sovereign, at least during any historic period in India; for no sovereign before her represented in himself such an embodiment of benevolence, virtue, charity and mercy. To every race and every nationality, to the representatives of every tradition and every custom, the life of Queen Victoria furnished instances of domestic virtue, filial duty and parental affection that appealed at once to their sympathy and admiration. As maiden, wife, daughter and mother, as a noble woman and ideal widow, she presented unblemished aspects of life and conduct. Long before she became a wife, and even before she became a Queen, she had begun to show the qualities of a maturer age, tact, wisdom and firmness of will. She worshipped her mother with true oriental reverence. She was dutiful to her husband like a Hindu wife, and sanctified her widowhood like a Hindu widow. Marriage as a sacrament is the highest ideal of Christians as well as of Hindus; and this ideal Queen Victoria maintained throughout not only in her own life, but in that of her family. Fond as she was as a mother, Her Majesty never lost sight of the future interests of her children in training and educating them. To their tutors she left the greatest latitude of correction and discipline, and they were brought up like other children who have to work out their future.

To the Queen as a stateswoman it is impossible for us to do justice. But it is permissible to us to say that she materially influenced the course of the world during the sixty-three years that she held the sceptre. Her name charmed Europe into peace and enlivened it into progress. It at once inspired reverence in foreign Courts and allayed foreign hostilities, so much so that the greatest fear that is now entertained everywhere is that the disappearance of her august and inspiring personality may revive the dormant animosities of nations. The Czar and the Kaiser alike adored her as a mother who restrained their ambition and their evil passions. The general political hostility towards England was subdued by reverence towards Queen Victoria. To the minds of the British people at large her reign was a

guarantee of peace; and even in India the popular notion was that so long as Queen Victoria lived there could be nothing to menace the greatness and glory of England, her worldwide influence and supremacy. By common consent she was the greatest sovereign of the 19th century, one of the greatest sovereigns that the world has ever known. The cause of freedom, of justice, of progress, and of humanity gained the largest measure of success during her reign. Not less was the advancement of arts, of industry, and of commerce. The future historian may not inappropriately describe the Victorian reign as a golden era in the world's history, as one which created general peace, secured general progress, and maintained general prosperity. In domestic and international politics, in her relation with her Ministers, in her attitude towards her subjects of all classes, Her Majesty maintained the ideal attitude of a sovereign. Young as she was when she became Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, she was too much impressed with the responsibility of her position to be charmed by the mere splendour of it. She felt that she had a great function to perform, requiring patience, sagacity and prudence; and the greatest claim of Queen Victoria to the gratitude of her subjects is that she performed it so as to serve the best interests of the country. Thier's maxim that the king never rules, but reigns, would be misleading if applied to Queen Victoria, for she exercised very great influence over the administration, guided it when she thought that her guidance was necessary. She was not merely content to give her assent to what her Ministers did without examining the matters placed before her. She, indeed, refrained from ill-judged or hasty interference; but in many cases she made her influence felt by suggestions and criticisms gently conveyed. There have been sovereigns of indomitable will who have dictated their policy to their Ministers and compelled them to carry out their wishes by the mere force of their position and authority. Queen Victoria never assumed such a domineering attitude nor did she give herself entirely away in absolute trust in her Ministers or from a mere delicate regard for their susceptibilities. Her Ministers knew well that she could form independent judgment on matters of importance and that she, as a rule, examined every question submitted to her with care. This by itself was sufficient to put her Ministers on their guard to make them anxious to get her intelligent approval to their proposals.

As we have said, she never dictated anything, but she suggested opinions in the form of doubts, and criticisms in the form of questions. There rarely was an occasion for her to openly insist on what a Minister's duty was towards her; but one notable incident is chronicled which will conclusively show that Her Majesty was not merely content to reign, but that she was determined to rule. Lord Palmerston was not, at one time, very much in favour at Court. As Secretary for Foreign Affairs he seems to have entertained exaggerated notions of Ministerial independence, notions which did not exactly accord with those of the Queen. In regard to the Hungarian crisis in 1849, Her Majesty disapproved of Palmerston's conduct in sending out despatches without reference to the Prime Minister, and told him that all despatches must pass through the hands of the latter. Palmerston assented, but again repeatedly disobeyed. In the following year, Palmerston's contumacy culminated in a well-worded protest by the Queen which, after his dismissal in 1852, was read by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons, and ran as follows:—

OSBORNE, 12th August 1850.

With reference to the conversation about Lord Palmerston which the Queen had with Lord John Russell the other day, and Lord Palmerston's disavowal that he ever intended any disrespect to her by the various neglects of which she has had so long and so often to complain, she thinks it right, in order to avoid any mistakes for the future, to explain what it is she expects from the Foreign Secretary.

She requires:—

(1) That he will distinctly state what he proposes in a given case, in order that the Queen may know as distinctly to what she has given her Royal sanction.

(2) Having given her sanction to a measure, that it be not arbitrarily altered or modified by the Minister. Such an act she must regard as failing in sincerity to the Crown, and justly to be visited by the exercise of her Constitutional right of dismissing that Minister. She expects to be kept informed of what passes between him and the Foreign Ministers, before important decisions are taken, based upon that intercourse; to receive the Foreign despatches in good time, and to have the drafts for her approval sent her in sufficient time to make herself acquainted with their contents before they must be sent off. The Queen thinks it best that Lord John Russell should show this letter to Lord Palmerston.

How much the Queen was dissatisfied with the conduct of Lord Palmerston will be seen from what Greville says of a conversation which Clarendon had while dining at the Palace in 1850: "The moment he came into the dining room after dinner

the Queen exploded and went with the utmost vehemence and bitterness into the whole of Palmerston's conduct, all the effects produced all over the world and all her feelings and sentiments about it." Facts such as this show conclusively how wrong is the popular impression that Queen was, in all matters, content to be guided by her Ministers. The wonder, on the other hand, is how, with so much assertion of authority, the Queen managed to pull on so smoothly in all matters of state and to gain the confidence and attachment of the nation. The truth is that her intellectual and moral qualities, her discretion and judgment were quite equal to the responsibilities of her high station, and that her wisdom was higher than that of her Ministers from whom she differed. Nor did she allow her aversion to a minister on a particular occasion to take the form of permanent hatred. Though Palmerston was sent out of office in disgrace, he returned as Prime Minister three years later, and enjoyed the confidence of the Queen, a confidence which was renewed once again when he became Prime Minister a second time. Similarly Sir Robert Peel who had insisted on the Queen dismissing the Ladies of the Bedchamber and incurred Her Majesty's displeasure received, when he returned to office some years later, marks of the highest favour and confidence. Royal persons, as a rule, do not so easily forget slight or offence caused to their feeling or authority. But Queen Victoria, far from sharing this weakness, displayed the highest magnanimity, subordinating her private feeling to the interests of the State.

In foreign and international affairs it is fully known and widely admitted that Her Majesty exercised the greatest influence. She had a firm hold on the affections of foreign potentates. To them, as to her subjects, she stood in the position of a mother whom all were bound to revere and whose wishes all were bound to obey; and for the present perhaps it is impossible to estimate the exact value of her influence or to say what the international relations of European States, both to England and to each other, would have been but for that influence. But one thing is certain, that she was revered throughout Europe as no other sovereign had been revered before, and that she furnished to all the ideal of kingly life as well as the ideal of kingly attitude in a great monarchy.

To the people of India she appeared not only as a perfect type of womanhood and widowhood, but as the highest embo-

diment of Queenly virtue and Queenly love. All races, all creeds, all castes, and all sects inhabiting this vast continent, who would not easily forget their differences and combine for any common purpose, were charmed into harmony and union by the very name of Queen-Empress Victoria—the common object, for all, of homage, reverence and gratitude. All differences and divers interests and feelings were merged in devotion and love to the Queen Empress; and the sentiment of nationality that now prevails in India may be said to have its origin in common loyalty and attachment to our late illustrious Sovereign. Monuments will be erected; public halls, libraries and museum will be created; schools and charitable institutions will be established, to commemorate the name and reign of Queen Victoria. But in the minds of the people of India, we venture to say, she will best live through her Proclamation of 1858, justly regarded by them as their Magna Charta. It is there that the Queen appears to them in the highest altitude of wisdom, thoroughly dominating all the failings and weaknesses of human nature, and rising almost to divine strength and divine detachment from the prevailing feelings of bitterness and revenge. Nothing but the highest wisdom, foresight and magnanimity could have dictated that incomparable document, breathing peace, good will and affection to all. That Her Majesty herself inspired the spirit and tenour of that document has been well known. Her own wishes were expressed in the following letter:—

BABELSBURY, 15th August, 1858.

HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN TO LORD DERBY.

The Queen has asked Lord Malmesbury to explain in detail to Lord Derby her objections to the draft of Proclamation for India. The Queen would be glad if Lord Derby would write it himself in his excellent language, bearing in mind that it is a female sovereign who speaks to more than hundred millions of Eastern people on assuming the direct Government over them, and after a bloody Civil War, giving them pledges which her future reign is to redeem, and explaining the principles of her Government. Such a document should breathe feelings of generosity, benevolence, and religious toleration, and point out the privileges which the Indians will receive in being placed on an equality with the subjects of the British Crown, and the prosperity following in the train of civilization.

It was in accordance with the desire here expressed and on the lines here indicated that the Proclamation was designed and written; and it is a remarkable fact that both in sentiment and language that document still remains unrivalled and unapproach-

ed. To the princes and people of India it gave the most solemn assurances and pledges; and those assurances and pledges Her Majesty's Ministers and Officers were strictly enjoined to carry out. It must be mentioned that Lord Malmesbury, in the draft of the Proclamation which he presented to Her Majesty, had spoken of her power of *undermining* the Indian religions. To this expression, says Mr. Bosworth Smith, the biographer of John Lawrence, the Queen at once and strongly objected, and proposed instead an admirable sentence beginning with "Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, &c.," to the effect that her attachment to her own religion would preclude her from any attempt to interfere with the religions and customs of the natives, which were equally dear to them. As regards the Princes she said: "We shall respect the right, dignity and honour of Native Princes as our own." And then she proceeded to assure the people of India in the following terms:—

"WE hold ourselves bound to the Natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil.

"FIRMLY relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. WE declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure.

"AND it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability and integrity, duly to discharge.

"WE know and respect the feelings of attachment with which Natives of India regard the lands inherited by them from their ancestors, and we desire to protect them in all rights connected therewith, subject to the equitable demands of the State; and we will that generally, in framing and administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India."

In conclusion, we have the memorable words: "In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, strength

try, and by their unity, energy and intelligence soon founded an empire vaster in extent than that governed by any Mogul or Magadha sovereign. Under the aegis of England, the Tamils now enjoy profound peace and present the unique spectacle of a race of people who have retained their language and civilisation almost unchanged for the last two thousand years or more.

Socially and politically however the Tamils of this day present a mournful contrast to their warlike ancestors. They are now a subject race. Their ancient royal families became extinct centuries ago. No longer the five Great Assemblies of priests, astrologers, ministers, military officers and physicians meet to advise and guide the ruling power. No more the minstrel tunes his lute at feasts and rejoicings, to sing of the martial deeds of their forefathers. No ships of foreign nations call at their seaports for fine spun cloths, and other articles manufactured by Tamil workmen. Not only are the Tamils dead as a nation, but their industries and arts and even their old gods are dead. Por, Indra and Balarama are no longer invoked by them; Rama and Krishna have taken the place of Vishnu; and in the temples of Siva, it is the *linga* or *phallus*, and not the image of Siva that is now worshipped. The Tamils still retain however many of their old characteristics. They are devoted to friends, respectful to women, charitable to the poor, fervent in piety and tireless in industry. "Wherever money is to be made, wherever a more apathetic or a more aristocratic people is willing to be pushed aside, thither" says a European Missionary who long resided among them (13), "swarm the Tamils, the Greeks or Scotch of the east: the least superstitious and the most enterprising and persevering race of Hindus." They are still the most literate people among the native races of India. An enlightened Government has covered the land with a network of roads, railways and telegraphs: it has provided the best possible codes of law which are administered without distinction of caste or creed: it has opened schools and hospitals, and organised all sorts of Government Departments, some of which are unknown even in England. The Tamils should now awake from their apathy of ages, if they wish to reap the full benefit of these changes. They should realise the fact that they are now at the parting of the ways. They have long followed the philosophy of inaction, which taught them to get rid of the sense of personality, with what

(13). Bishop Caldwell.

deplorable results we can all see. Will they now adopt the philosophy of action? Will they now strive to acquire the sense of individual life, and develop strong personalities, who will not flee to the jungle to save their souls, but will live in their midst and do their duty, to the glory of God, and the good of their fellow-creatures? If they still cherish their prejudices and superstitions, and be dreaming of a future state: if their wise men still attempt to stifle all desire, afraid of the transmigration of their souls: if they still believe that our faculties were intended not for our beneficial use, but to be repressed and rust in us unused, they would doubtless be left behind in the race of life, and eventually be only hewers of wood and drawers of water. (14). But if they advance on the lines of western civilization, avoiding its vices, the love of drink and the consuming greed of gain: if they throw off the fetters of caste, which estrange the sympathy of one class from another and paralyze the genius and industry of the people: if they educate their women and train them to be intelligent wives and mothers: if they open technical schools and encourage scientific research: if they introduce machinery for their manufactures, remembering the fact that workmen cannot possibly compete with machinery: and if they reform their religion, giving up idolatry and sectarian prejudices and make Hinduism the true worship of a living God, they would assuredly prosper, and rank with the foremost nations. Their men of light and leading need not wait till some one sets an example: but if they quietly and steadily instil these ideas into their families and circle of relations, and carry them out in practice, as far as it is possible, without causing any violent commotion, their names would be handed down to distant generations, as the saviours of their community.

V. KANAKASABHAI.

(14) Bhagavad-gita II. Sankhya-yoga 71. He attains peace who giving up all desires, lives without attachment, without selfishness, without vanity. XII. Bhakti-yoga. 16. Dear unto Me is he who is pure, intelligent, unaffected, serene, giving up every undertaking and devoted to Me. XVII. Moksha-yoga. 66. Give up all action and come to Me alone for refuge. I will save thee from all evil. Do not despair!

That every action doth them much commend,
 And in the eyes of men great liking find,
 Which others that have greater skill in mind,
 Though they enforce themselves cannot attaine.

Some of us can clench the teaching of these verses by instances more obscure. We can recall some comrade who, perhaps not brilliant nor even energetic, was always gentle, and so was loved by the natives, and sincerely mourned when he passed away. Men of this type are hardly valued enough by those above them, and their closing years are often spent in the back-water stations, out of the way. I would here pay my tribute to a certain Colonel Lang who was Political Agent in Kattywar half a century ago. When I was serving there, his memory was fresh in the hearts of all; and strange to say, once listening to some wandering minstrels in a Bombay bazaar, I found they were singing ballads in his praise. Now Colonel Lang was given to dilatory procedures, which in these days would shock those methodical administrators, who know that endless delay turns the good wine of justice sour. Years went by, and the war cloud of the meeting overhung the land. Then Lang had the glorious satisfaction of releasing the regiment that garrisoned his province, for the coming campaign, telling the Bombay Government that, with the support of the Chiefs and Princes freely given, he would undertake to manage the Peninsula without troops at all. So firmly enthroned was this kind and courteous officer, who is affectionately remembered as Uncle Lang by the people to this day.

But I need not labour the praise of courtesy. The principle is admitted, the real problem is how to apply it, how to find scope for its beneficial use. Such failure as occurs may, I think, be set down chiefly to two things, prejudice at the start and ignorance to the end. Prejudice partakes of the nature of original sin, and I include under it the idols of the mind and most of the fallacies familiar to Logic, the generalizing from only one or two instances, and those prepossessions, which, with young people more than others, stop men from escaping or even trying to escape from themselves, from their immature frame of thinking. Consider the Anglo-Indians of the ruling class. They are mostly caught young. They emerge from that happy level, where neither poverty nor riches grow, from the quiet manse or rectory, or the serene abode of the retired

officer, homes where University traditions and those of the Services are helps to discipline, where the needful food is got, but without fulness, among many pricks to ambition and few temptations to steal or grow lazy or profane. Fortunate is he or she who is bred and born in that middle state of life, which, as a refuge from vanity and lies, Agur, the son of Jakeh, the oracle, sighed to reach before he died. If however the youthful being, who having passed the examinations, spreads his new-fledged wings and leaves this nest, hopes to find the outside world anywhere as good and intelligent as the family circle, experience will soon bring disappointment.

Ye'll find mankind an unco squad,
 And muckle they may grieve ye:

this was Burns' warning to a young friend. The fact, painful though it be, is one reason for not using too high a standard to judge others by for striving to be genial withal, for avoiding the Pharisee's trick of despising the Publican. Doubtless the scope of that parable is as wide as the world, and it conveys a lesson, practical and solemn, to those of us who are set apart to be ministers of justice among alien nations, with ways which are not as our ways, whose peculiar virtues, perhaps not seen at first, become plain to men of amiable temper and those of cool-intellect, as experience enlarges.

A man may have started in life with some Athanasian doctrine, which damns all believers in other creeds than his own. With some of us, the theological bias endures to the close of career, distorting the view of Indian character, and tingeing with unpleasant colours what is seen. It is devoutly to be wished that the state-paid clergy of India, as well as the missionaries, men well-seasoned to the country, would expound from their pulpits, what is the true attitude of Christian Europeans to the people around them. I would like to know, whether, after their abundant means of study and comparison, these divines would endorse the statement which Dean Stanley, in his book on Christian Institutions, gives of the general teaching of our Lord, namely, that the wise, the good, the suffering everywhere are his substitutes. The meaning is made clearer in the eloquent passages I will quote. "The whole point of the description of the last Judgment is, that even the good heathens having never heard His name yet have seen Him and served Him, and when they ask him, 'When saw we thee?' He answers without

hesitation or reserve, 'Inasmuch as ye did it to the least of these My brethren, ye did it unto Me. It was I who was hungry, and ye gave Me food. It was I who was thirsty, and ye gave Me drink. It was I who was shut up in prison, and ye visited Me.' The Dean's comment is:—"These good deeds, wherever practised, are the true signs that Christ and Christianity have been there. Even if practised without naming His name, they are still the trophies of the victory over evil, for which He lived and died; they are on the desert island of this mortal existence the footmarks which show that something truly human, and therefore truly divine, has passed that way." This voice from the world-famed Abbey by the westering Thames comes with no uncertain sound: does it find an echo on the shore of Coromandel? I know not, but I will leave the last word to the clergy of Madras, and will turn now to another class of fixed ideas, in order to get on common ground with the philosophers. An Indian Archdeacon once got me to explain the shades of meaning belonging to the word Nirvana, dwelling most on that which predicates the union of the individual soul with the one Universal Being. To him as to Tennyson, this dogma was unreal and unsweet: the eternal form must still divide the eternal soul from all beside; and he loathed the thought of losing personality even by absorption into Deity. This was natural enough. But when he went on to speak his fear that any belief in such a Nirvana must remove all bridles to the passions and lead to sin, he forgot the argument drawn from the good lives of many Brahmans, Jains and Buddhists. There is nothing new under the sun; and so we find that the Archdeacon had been anticipated by the opponents of the doctrine of Calvinism called Predestination and of the principle of Necessity in morals. They have been fond of making out that these two systems must tend to weaken the motives to virtuous action. Sir James Mackintosh however treats these censures as fallacies, *a priori* opinions. First, he points out that, as the rules of morality are deeper than any theory, no immoral system has ever acquired popularity, and that wherever new and singular speculation has been thought to weaken some of the motives of moral activity, it has almost uniformly been found by longer experience that the same speculation makes amends, by strengthening other inducements to good conduct. Then he turns to the test of experience in the Christian Churches of the West, where Pre-

stination has on the whole prevailed since the times of Augustine, and Aquinas. "Here, if anywhere, we have a practical and decisive test of the moral influence of a belief in Necessitarian opinions. In Protestant Switzerland, in Holland, in Scotland, among the English Nonconformists, and the Protestants of Ireland, on the New England States, Calvinism was long the predominant faith, and is probably still the faith of a considerable majority. Their moral education was at least completed, and their collective character formed, during the prevalence of Calvinistic opinions. Yet where are communities to be found of a more pure and active virtue?"

Some years ago, when pursuing this train of inquiry, I was startled to find how little has ever been known, or at least recorded, by Europeans, about the effect upon character and conduct of the ancient and wide-spread doctrine of transmigration of the soul. The opinion delivered to me by a sagacious officer will sound strange to those who have not been trained in that tenet. Among the Buddhists of Burma, whom he knew well, it produces, he says, "the light heart and the open hand, the generous view of others' faults, the tolerance towards all creeds, and the hopeful spirit which spreads a cheerfulness over their whole life." As tolerance is mentioned, I may notice how it is to the credit of the Buddhists and in strong contrast to many Kings and Queens in Europe that from age to age they have refrained from religious persecutions. The traveller Niebuhr, writing at Bombay in 1764, strikes a similar note:—"the Indians, he says, are indeed the most tolerant nation of the Universe; for in what country of Europe would people of another faith be allowed openly to preach down the dominant religion of the land? It is true that the East India Company and our present Government set an example and adopted a neutral attitude. But although our Bishops, paid with salaries out of the Indian taxes, have of late been allowed to become the active heads of the missionary movement, the Hindus and Mussalmans have not hitherto shown any open resentment at what they regard as a deputation from the governing principle. Such a fact ought to make the British as tolerant of the aims of the Indians as they are of ours. Whether we agree with their political programme or not, we need not despise and we can by no means ignore the highly-educated

* See the whole unique estimate in my edition of *The Burmese Empire* a hundred years ago, as described by Father Langermann. Appendix IV, A. Constable and Co.

class, who endeavour by means of the Congress and in other ways, to diffuse those social ideas which in the United Kingdom have wrought so vast a change in Queen Victoria's reign. Let us not forget how unworthy attempts were made by good, well-meaning Tories to silence Cobden and Bright with the nick-name of Radicals. We who profess to love our enemies ought surely to shew good humour about mere differences of opinion.

But we know that toleration is a plant of slow growth, a virtue not attained without some study of history and literature; and as a rule, the enlightenment on which intelligent sympathy depends is seldom found in India without some real knowledge of the languages, as the Government has long recognized in its dealings with the Indian Civil Service. They are the best door open to ordinary hardworking people to dispel the ignorance with which they start. Being the channel of intercourse every day and with all classes, they enable the foreigner to hear, see, and think for himself. Instead of swallowing the wild or malicious common-places of neighbours who cannot translate a simple sentence correctly, he soon begins to feel that in the same circumstances and perplexities, human nature shews itself the same all along the road from China to Peru, for after all, hunger and labour, seedtime and harvest, love and death are everywhere the broad features of the days of the children of men, and the good and evil passions grow in every zone. This view of study is confirmed by the fact that the greatest and best among us, statesmen like Sir John Malcolm and Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone for instance, have usually been profound students of the languages, which enabled them to understand the nations with whom their active lives were spent. I naturally cite the brilliant Scottish Governors of Bombay, while the name of Sir Momas Munro will rise to the lips of men in Madras.

To enable a new-comer to start fair with the charlatans, perhaps no better manual can be found than the chapter on manners and character in Mr. Elphinstone's History of India. He does not extenuate faults, but he sets nothing down in malice. Like all Equity Judges, he had learned that none of us are better than we should be; yet without becoming cynical, he makes those due allowances for human frailty which induce the Hebrew Psalmist to cry out,—“If thou, Lord, were strict to mark iniquity, what flesh living could stand before thee?” I am sorry that the limits of this article preclude me from quoting more than a few of his

wise cautions and his merciful judgments. Even in England, he says, few know much of the people beyond their own class. But in India we know nothing of the interior of families, except by report, and we have no share in those numerous occurrences of life where the amiable parts of character are most displayed. Then he remarks that missionaries of a different religion, judges, police magistrates, officers of revenue and customs, and even diplomats, do not see the virtuous portion of a nation, nor any portion, unless when influenced by passion or occupied by some personal interest. Our writers also confound the distinctions of time and place; they combine in one character the Maratha and the Bengalee; and tax the present generation with the crimes of the heroes of the Mahabharata. Elphinstone argues that those who have known the Indians longest have always the best opinion of them. But as this is true of every other people, he thinks it more in point to say that all persons who have retired from India think better of the people they have left, after comparing them with the most justly admired nations. Coming to details, he notes the indolence arising from a climate, enervating but fertile, the want of plainness caused by tyranny and superstition, prevalence of falsehood and perjury. But even in India, of course, the great majority are true to their word, and merchants and bankers are generally strict observers of their engagements. Deceit was common, even among the villagers, because from the nature of the land revenue, they were often obliged to resist force with fraud. But the villagers everywhere are an industrious, amiable people, affectionate to their families, kind to their neighbours, and towards all but the government, honest and sincere. Theft is confined to particular classes and persons, including Thugs, who were almost a separate nation, and of crime in India is less than in England. “Their freedom from gross debauchery is the point in which the Hindus are at most advantage. * * The absence of drunkenness and of modesty in their other vices, will leave the superiority of manners on the side least flattering to our self-esteem. * * The cleanliness of the Hindus in their persons is proverbial. They do not change their clothes after each of their frequent ablutions: but even in that respect the lower classes are more cleanly than those of other nations.” The towns-people, quiet and orderly though they be, were, he thought, excelled by our mobile classes. But, he adds that there is no set of people among

the Hindus so depraved as the dregs of our great towns; and the swarms of persons who live by fraud, sharpers, imposters and adventurers of all descriptions, from those who mix with the higher orders to those who prey on the common people, are almost unknown in India.

The impression left by what this great man writes is that he took rather the Publican's view of our own national life than that which so many complacent Pharisees in India are heard expressing. To one who has returned from the East, there are several painful things which soon strike the mind, the immense and horrible effects of strong drink in all directions, the squalor, crime and insanity of its victims, the enormous wealth and triumphant respectability of the great brewers and distillers, the frightful atrocities in dealings with children which a Society to suppress that cruelty brings to light, the closeness to us of fraudulent persons of every degree. Mr. Lecky, the historian, has lifted up his voice against the moral apathy which allows such a man as Mr. Rhodes to remain in our Privy Council. It struck one strongly when people were raging about corruption among the Boers, that as a matter of established fact, our people are more pillaged and ruined by fraudulent Company-mongers in the City of London. Yet, as we all dislike seeing the beams in our own eyes, the same schemers start afresh, with the same ring of Peers to help them, "financial Lords," as our Judges sneeringly describe them, on fresh adventures. Even the Ecclesiastical authorities, strange to say, sold to Mr. Hooley the spiritual right to choose the clergy for a parish, and declared in the written deed of sale that this transaction was for the glory of the Eternal God. These are a few of the things which our countrymen in the seclusion of India hear little about. But following Mr. Elphinstone's judicial method that such things must be brought into any fair comparison, we must view both countries through the same end of our mental telescope.

I will now close what I have to say with a note which he appends to his remark that the natives of India are often accused of wanting gratitude, but it does not appear that those who make the charge have done much to inspire such a sentiment. "An English gentleman in a high station in Bengal was dismissed and afterwards reduced to great temporary difficulties in his own country. A native of rank, to whom he had been kind, supplied

him, when in those circumstances, with upwards of £ 10,000 of which he would not accept repayment, and for which he could expect no possible return. This generous friend was a Maratha Brahman."

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dual agen in British India to secure an influential introduction to a native court where the rules of public service are sufficiently elastic to admit of their being easily provided for; and such outsiders, possessing as they do connections and ties in British India, are often supported in their aggression and encouraged in their arrogance. They command in British India the sympathy and support of their relations, of their friends and sometimes of the Press. To the natives of Native States these sources of support and influence are denied. The most brilliant and distinguished among them are hardly known beyond the limits of their respective states; they have no friends to sing their praise, and no outside influence even to secure them in their position. Their only hope, their only means of support, is their Maharajah who, if he is strong enough to be just and patriotic enough to be generous to his people, may easily prevent one faction prevailing over the other, but if weak and indolent and not particularly proud of his country and people, may allow faction and intrigue to have their way. Lord Curzon impressed upon the young Maharajah of Mysore that there was no higher duty for him than to train and fit his people to administer the affairs of the state. It is not only his duty, but his privilege, to see that his people do not fall behind others in the race of life. It will reflect discredit on him if he allows his own people to deteriorate and brings outsiders to manage their affairs. A king who is not proud of his people and who is not anxious to make them great is not worthy of his position. The King of England, the Emperor of Germany or the Czar of Russia never speaks of "My people" without a glow of pride and enthusiasm, and there is no reason why every Indian Prince should not be animated by the same feelings in regard to his own people who look up to him for inspiration, for encouragement and for just reward for their loyal attachment and dutiful services.

For reasons already explained, the natives of Native States have not the same facilities and opportunities for entering the British Indian Service as British Indians have of securing appointments under native rulers. They have no influence sufficiently powerful at their back unless it be that of the Maharajah. The rules in British India are also against them. For the Covenanted Civil Service they are forbidden to compete; and the Covenanted Civil Service corresponds to the higher departments

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of the public service in their own States. Even into the Provincial Civil Service they are not permitted admission except, we believe, in Madras where quite recently rules were modified in their favour. Subject to these restrictions, they are free to enter the public service in British India; but for this they have to leave their country and come among strangers without influence and support. They may, indeed, succeed here like others. But it must be admitted that the difficulties in their case are greater. The rulers of Native States are bound to take these into their consideration and to see that generally where an appointment can be suitably held by a native no outsider is brought in to his prejudice.

No right thinking man will contend that the efficiency of the service should be impaired merely out of consideration for the natives; but every right thinking man will agree that so far as the requirements of efficiency can be supplied locally there is no justification for the introduction of the foreign element. Educated talent is of primary importance for the public service. Experience is a useful supplement. For all offices which do not require technical skill or experience, local talent should generally suffice; and even as regards technical departments there can be no excuse for perpetually employing foreign talent, as it is the duty of every State to train its own subjects for offices requiring technical skill and knowledge. If it is necessary at one time to bring in from outside an engineer or a doctor owing to the lack of qualified local men, there is no reason why the same necessity should recur if the state does its duty by arranging to give local men the required training. Several of the Native States are now sending out their young men to be trained in special institutions in Europe and British India; and if every State is alive to its duty in this respect, there should be no need a few years hence to import outsiders. If they fail in this clear duty, and if they still persist in justifying the introduction of outsiders, the discredit will fall not on the Natives of the State, but on their rulers. There are, however, certain high appointments to which any such rule cannot be strictly applied, appointments which require exceptional talent and capacity which may not always be found within the limited area of a Native State. The office of the chief minister is essentially of this nature. Even here, we admit, there is a possibility of men of indifferent merits being brought in over the heads of really capable local men.

"Many a horrible murder—of women and infants—was committed. The condition of the Hindu females was truly pitiable." "Men spent their time in vice and idleness." "There was darkness over the land and no man knew when it would be dispelled." It was amidst such conditions that Raj Ram Mohan Roy was born, and though it is impossible to say exactly under what conditions great reformers rise to sweep away the evils afflicting their suffering fellow-creatures and restore society to a normally healthy and progressive state, yet it may be laid down as a definite law of social dynamics that the methods of application of available forces of social reform will be mostly determined by the character of their environments. Accordingly we see Rajah Ram Mohan Roy take at the very outset an attitude of aggressive hostility against the debasing orthodoxy of his times. English education had not then been introduced into the country, and Ram Mohan Roy had not the advantage of that training and culture which modern Universities and all the facilities for self-training and self-discipline available in these days offer to men of education. The earliest education of Ram Mohan Roy was received in Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit. It was only in later years that he studied English for the purpose of getting access to the minds of the ruling race. Nor had he the advantage of a powerful and far-reaching press which is of such invaluable help to modern reformers. Although the art of printing had just been introduced into the country, yet journalism as an institution had hardly come into existence. In attempting, therefore, to influence the minds of his countrymen in the direction of rationalism and humanity in matters relating to religious and social well-being, he was obliged to resort to the rough methods of a direct attack rather than to the gentle means of indirect persuasion with the help of the press. His unceasing warfare against the corrupt orthodoxy of his countrymen brought on him not only the ostracism of society in general, but the displeasure of his own father, whose home he had to quit more than once to rough it out in the wide world as best as he might. He was not only waging war against his orthodox countrymen, but his hands were constantly against the Christian Missionaries and those of the Missionaries against his. Engaged in endless disputes with orthodox Hindus on the one side and against Christian Missionaries on the other, Rajah Mohan Roy at length founded the Brahmo Samaj as the

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centre of his teachings, chiefly against idolatry and caste, but indirectly against other social evils also. Though Rajah Ram Mohan Roy's fame rests chiefly on his labours as a religious reformer, yet his fervent and disinterested love of his country bled him in other directions also. The great services he rendered in bringing about Lord Bentinck's legislation for the abolition of *Suttee* will not be soon forgotten. He equally laboured hard to bring about a legislative prohibition of the pernicious practice of Kulinism or Polygamy, though his labours in this direction did not prove successful. His memorial and the agitation he led against the censorship of the press as well as his ardent advocacy of reform in the judicial administration of the country are memorable monuments of his zeal for political reform. At the request of the Board of Control, he submitted in writing his evidence to the Select Committee of the House of Commons upon the working of the Judicial and the Revenue system of India and the general character and condition of its inhabitants. In the controversy which went on for some twelve years in those days between the "Orientalists" and the "Anglicists," that is, between those who were for imparting education to the people of India through Oriental languages on the one side and those who advocated it by means of English literature on the other and which ended in the famous Resolution of Lord William Bentinck in favour of English education, Rajah Ram Mohan Roy bore a prominent and honourable part. And lastly, when he embarked for England in 1830, his objects were, among others, to make his voice felt at the discussion of the East India Company's Charter which was expected to come on and by which, "the treatment of the natives of India and its future Government would be determined for many years to come, and to oppose an appeal to the King's Privy Council against the practice of burning widows."

Nor were these the only fields in which the versatility of Ram Mohan Roy's genius and his cosmopolitan love found scope for their benevolent exercise. "He laboured hard," says his biographer, "above all other men for the spread of education among his countrymen. He did all that lay in his power for improving and enriching the Bengali language, and strange to say, the address which he presented to Lord William Bentinck congratulating him on the achievement of a noble measure of social reform in the abolition of *Suttee*, was in Bengali. He himself established

ed several schools for the education of his countrymen and helped others in doing so. He conducted a newspaper, the first of its kind, in Bengali; and he translated many books into that language. "In this way," says his biographer, "Rajah Ram Mohan Roy laboured for sixteen years in Calcutta for the good of his country and took no rest. Born at a time when people would prostrate themselves at the feet of Brahmins and tremble at the sight of Englishmen, when women were treated as no better than slaves, when people knew not what freedom was, when the night of indolence and superstition had darkened the face of Bengal, Ram Mohan Roy brought down light from heaven and made the blind to see, spoke about freedom and true manhood with a voice of power the like of which had not been heard since the days of Buddha, put himself between the oppressed Hindu female and her oppressors; and single-handed, fought the battle of Truth against Idolatry and Error, while his countrymen wondered and understood him not. He was a giant amongst his contemporaries and with his giant strength, he fought the superstitions of his country and the evil fate of this unfortunate land; while his countrymen wanted to take a life that was freely spent for them."

Such is a brief sketch of Rajah Ram Mohan Roy's life; and in it, we have tried to indicate his enthusiasm for the regeneration of his countrymen, for their progress on all lines, political and social as well as religious, his fearless fulfilment of his convictions, and his many-sided activity in public life. In this respect we perceive a close resemblance between Rajah Ram Mohan Roy and Mr. Justice Ranade. Both of them were far above their contemporaries in their intellectual power, their wide sympathies and their diligent application to the redress of public ills. But the difference between Rajah Ram Mohan Roy's time and Ranade's led to a difference in their perception as to what was the chief centre on which the attacking force was to be concentrated. To Rajah Ram Mohan Roy, religious reform—chiefly reform in the methods of worship—appeared to be most pressing and important; and against the polytheism and the idolatry of the Hindus, he directed his chief attack. But in Ranade's mind it was not so much the religious beliefs and the methods of worship of the Hindus as their social institutions and customs that constituted the greatest hindrance to the progress of the nation. Perhaps, in the peculiar developments of Kali worship of the Tantrikas and Vaishnavas and the horrible practice of *Suttee*

and infanticide Rajah Ram Mohan Roy felt the foremost need for the exercise of his reforming zeal. But in modern India the barbarities practised in the name of religion have either disappeared or have been put down, and in the practice of idolatry itself even foreign critics have not been able to discover anything peculiarly debasing to national character. In fact, English critics like Sir George Birdwood and Sir Edwin Arnold have vindicated Hindu idolatry from the shallow-minded attacks of Christian Missionaries. If the methods of worship practised under the sanction of a religion have any influence on the character of its votaries, the Hindus may challenge comparison with Christians or Mahomedans. If it is the function of religion to soften human nature, to promote human brotherhood, to advance peace and humanity, in fact to subdue the brute in man and elevate the divinity of his nature, the idolatry of the Hindus has done this more than the forms of worship enjoined by the Christian or Mahomedan religion. Mr. Ranade saw this, and although he had his own religious convictions not in entire accord with those of the masses of his countrymen, he refrained from leading a crusade against the religion of his nation. Of that religion and of its humane and beneficial effects on his people, he apparently had a high notion and was known to defend it against the attacks of foreign critics. He was aware that in India it was not so much religion as taught in revealed works and in the works of the sages of old, as caste and custom, the twin monsters, that have swayed the people in their conduct and life. It was accordingly to remove these evils and to bring about a gradual transformation of Hindu Society suited to his new environments and to infuse such energy and vitality into it as will enable it to assimilate new influences as they may arise from time to time, that Mr. Ranade devoted most of his thought and energy. He worked under the conviction that the prosperity and happiness of the people was the one end towards which the approach lay along several lines. And accordingly reform in the political institutions of his country and improvement in its industrial condition as well as the removal of social evils were embraced within the scope of his patriotic activity. In Rajah Ram Mohan Roy's time neither political questions nor questions of industrial improvement possessed the same importance which they do now. Bengal had just been delivered from the yoke of Mahomedan rulers. And the establishment of British rule promised a period

of uniform peace, progress and prosperity. The minds of the people were full of sanguine hopes for the future, and British statesmen like Munro, Elphinstone and Bentinck in India, and Landsdowne and Macaulay and Grant in England, by their utterances and by their measures, encouraged these hopes. The country was emerging from a long period of anarchy and misgovernment into one of promising prosperity and progress. No serious political problems, nor problems connected with the economic condition of the country, presented themselves pressing for consideration. But in Ranade's time the poverty of the country and the economic evils brought on by an irresponsible and absentee system of Government constantly pressed for the most earnest and practical solution from all intelligent men of the country. And naturally, therefore, the one thought uppermost in Ranade's mind in all that he said and did was how to make India a rich and prosperous country once more. Though both Rajah Ram Mohan Roy and Mr. Ranade extended their patriotic activity to every branch of public good, Rajah Ram Mohan Roy is known to posterity as a religious reformer, while Mr. Ranade will be remembered by his countrymen as the most prominent leader of social and industrial reform.

In the early part of this century, when steam and electricity had not destroyed space and time, when facilities of communication were in their crude state, and when there was no such institution as a free and popular press, Rajah Ram Mohan Roy could not appeal to the whole nation at once as Ranade could in the last years of the nineteenth century. And while Rajah Ram Mohan Roy preferred the method of direct attack, of carrying the war into the enemy's camp in all his measures of reform, Mr. Ranade chose the gentler means of persuasion, of directing the thought and energy of his countrymen as they manifested themselves in various parts of the country along lines of safe and secure progress, converging towards the same end of national good. While Rajah Ram Mohan Roy was like a warrior leading a handful of his followers to victory after victory over his ignorant orthodox countrymen, Ranade assumed the higher role of a generalissimo, directing the operations in various centres. He was friend, philosopher and guide to the large community of his educated brethren, inspiring them with his own ardour, encouraging them by his wise counsel and imparting unity of purpose and harmony of methods to the scattered centres

of their activity in the public cause. To engage in direct controversies with his opponents, to controvert orthodox views in pamphlets and treatises, to hold conferences and carry on discussions—these were never parts of the plan that commended itself to Mr. Ranade's judgment, while they were the only methods that could be adopted in the early decades of the century. Mr. Ranade knew they were ill-adapted to the needs of the time in which he lived. It was a fruitless task and fatuous waste of time and energy to try to produce conviction by direct controversies and disputes with orthodox people. Convictions in religious and social matters have seldom been known as the direct outcome of argument. They are more likely to arise from study and reflection than from the direct pressure of an imposing personality or subtleties of logic. Mr. Ranade's writings and utterances on social and industrial questions were seldom of a combative or controversial character. He chose to place before the public the results of his study and thought and left them in the minds of the public to fructify in the fulness of time. It may be taken as a measure of the general progress of the country during the nineteenth century that while Rajah Ram Mohan Roy in his own time was hardly known outside the limits of Bengal and the effect of his labours hardly extended beyond the limits of his native province, Mr. Ranade's name is a household word in every educated family throughout the length and breadth of the country. While both of them were characterised by their cosmopolitan sympathies which no provincial prejudice narrowed or warped, it may be stated as a fact that Mr. Ranade's influence on the thoughts and aims of his contemporaries permeates to the remotest parts of the country. Whereas with all the zeal of Ram Mohan Roy for the good of his country and with all his courageous and disinterested patriotism, the effects of his labours did not reach beyond his own province. The immense strides that education has made since Ram Mohan Roy's time and the numerous facilities of intercourse between the various parts of the country and the sense of unity and national consciousness that have sprung in the minds of our countrymen of late, were in favour of Mr. Ranade whose writings and utterances were watched and assimilated with avidity by the whole educated population of India.

There is another point of contrast between Rajah Ram Mohan

Roy and Mr. Ranade. Rajah Ram Mohan Roy's aggressive attitude towards his countrymen soon made enemies around him and not only was he more than once banished by his own father from his home, but his enemies went the length of plotting against his life and he did not dare to walk in the streets of Calcutta unarmed. Perhaps in those days of darkness and superstition, that was the only attitude that was calculated to make an impression, and the measure of success that crowned his disinterested and perilous toil of sixteen years in Calcutta against his orthodox countrymen, against Government and against Christian Missionaries is a proof of the marvellous strength of his character and of the soundness of the position he took in regard to various measures of reform. Times have changed since a great deal, and Hindu orthodoxy is neither so strong nor so aggressive as it was in the beginning of the century. It is now more tolerant of changes and innovations, and instead of trying to crush reform under the weight of its enormous power, it is content to be left alone in the exercise of its time-honoured duties and in the enjoyment of its exclusive privileges. It feels that the times have so changed and are so changing that departures from old traditions and customs are inevitable, however much it may lament the causes that have led to them and made them inevitable. It is reluctant to take the initiative, no doubt; but it has almost ceased to molest those that have the courage and pluck to deviate from its own paths. Its posture in the present moment may be described as one of sullen aloofness, and in some parts of the country its strongholds are so weak as to invite attacks from reformers. Mr. Ranade was sensible of this change in the situation, and his policy was not to estrange himself by any violent or sudden departures from his orthodox countrymen, but to remain within their fold and imbue them with his own spirit and with his own ideas and make them more prepared to accept changes, rendered necessary by the new requirements of the country. Although it would be a great mistake to suppose that Mr. Ranade was only a reformer in words—for as a fact in his own quiet and unobtrusive manner he adopted many innovations calculated to break down the exclusiveness of caste and creed—yet on the death of his first wife, he did not marry a widow and did not show the same courage of conviction that Iswara Chandra Vidyasagar did when he chose a widow as the bride of his son. Nor did he cross the sea to go to England to

plead the cause of his countrymen before the ruling nation as Rajah Ram Mohan Roy did. There may be weakness in this policy, but we shall not undertake to say that Mr. Ranade had not sufficient reasons which under the circumstances reconciled his action to his conviction. Leaders of nations choose their own methods, and in many instances their choice fails to satisfy posterity. Luther, Cromwell, Mazzini and other leaders of communities whose names will ever live in history as benefactors of mankind, have not escaped criticism from posterity in regard to certain opinions they held and certain methods they adopted. If Mr. Ranade's procedure in the face of certain situations has not won the approval of his contemporaries, that is no ground for supposing that he was not influenced by honest motives and was not conscientiously satisfied that his self-imposed mission as a worker in the cause of India's regeneration would be better fulfilled by the particular course he followed than by acting differently and playing to the gallery of his admirers. It is the fashion with some of our reformers to denounce *expediency* as a method of social reform. When expediency is only a cover for hypocrisy or cowardice, it is of course contemptible. But *honest* expediency is quite possible, and in the present circumstances of the nation, I am by no means sure that one like Mr. Ranade, feeling on his back the great responsibility of the nation's progress and trying to bring together rather than estrange the masses and their leaders, will not find a better weapon to fight his battles with in the wise and honest methods of *expediency* than in violent ruptures with the bulk of the people whom he wishes to improve.

Mr. Ranade himself was not unaware of this difference of opinion in regard to methods of reform. In his address at the Social Conference in Lahore, after referring to the good and noble work done by the Arya Samaj in the Punjab and Brahmo Samaj in Bengal, Mr. Ranade who was the President of the Prarthan Samaj in Bombay, denied that he spoke at the Conference as a representative of any particular Samaj, but said he spoke as a member of the great Hindu community. "The true test of progress," he said, "must be seen in signs which show that this vast mass of humanity is being vivified by the sacred fire which burns only to purify and elevate. There are those who think that no such signs can be seen, and that our highest duty is to separate ourselves from the decaying mass and look

to our own safety. I have battled with this idea for the last thirty years and I shall protest against it, till life is spared and my voice permits me to speak. The Hindu community is not a festering mass of decay and corruption. It is no doubt conservative to a degree, but that conservatism is its strength. No nation has any destined place in history which changes its creed and its morals, its customs and its social polity, with the facility of fashions. At the same time our conservatism does not prevent the slow absorption of new ideas and the gradual assimilation of new practices." It is this regard for the past career of the Hindu race and this faith in the future that determined Mr. Ranade's choice of procedure when occasions calling for personal example from him and for open rupture with orthodoxy, presented themselves. He believed and felt, as others have believed and felt, that the Hindu community is too deeply rooted in its own antiquity, too compact in its constitution on the basis of caste, and too huge in its extent and massiveness to be shaken and brought under forces working on its very heart and arteries, by isolated attacks from outside but that the only way of effecting this object was to carefully watch the latent and scattered forces working independently and apart from one another, to stimulate and strengthen them as far as possible, to organize them into a compact and harmonious whole, and direct them severally and together towards common ends.

This was not Rajah Ram Mohan Roy's frame of mind. Though he was a great admirer of the Vedas and Upanishads and of the monotheistic system of worship they inculcate; still on the whole he took a pessimistic view of the consequences that would follow, if the Hindu social system were allowed to develop spontaneously under the operation of its own forces from within. The period immediately preceding Ram Mohan Roy's time had been one of certain degradation and corruption in the Hindu society of Bengal. Since the middle of the last (eighteenth) century, he lamented, the Hindus of Bengal had forsaken their ancient modes of the performance of ceremonial rites of religion, and followed the precepts of the late Ragunandan, and consequently differed in the most essential points of ceremonies from the Hindus of other parts of India. "I have never ceased to contemplate with the strongest feelings of regret," says Ram Mohan Roy in one of his writings, "the obstinate adherence

of my countrymen to their fatal system of idolatry, inducing, for the sake of propitiating their supposed Deities, the violation of every humane and social feeling. And this in various instances, but more especially in dreadful acts of self-destruction and the immolation of the nearest relations, under the delusion of conforming to sacred religious rites. I have never ceased, I repeat, to contemplate these practices with the strongest feelings of regret, and to view in them the moral debasement of a race who, cannot help thinking, are capable of better things; whose susceptibility, patience, and mildness of character, render them worthy of a better destiny." Contrast this pessimism with the hopeful and even admiring estimate Mr. Ranade formed of the past history of the Hindu race. "I profess implicit faith," Mr. Ranade said on one occasion, "in two articles of my creed. This country of ours is the true land of promise. The race of ours is the chosen race. It was not for nothing that God has showered His choicest blessings on this ancient land of Aryavarta. We can see His hand in history. Above all other countries, we inherit a civilization and a religious and social polity which have been allowed to work their own free development on the big theatre of time. There has been no revolution, and yet the old condition of things has been tending to reform itself by the slow process of assimilation. * * * Change for the better by slow absorption—assimilation not by sudden conversion and revolution—this has been the characteristic feature of our past history * * * all these changes have been brought about consciously or unconsciously without violent struggle, and without breaking up the continuity of the old life." In this spirit of hopefulness Mr. Ranade chose to remain and labour within his community as one of it and belonging to it, as the central fountain from which flowed in a hundred channels throughout the whole country a current of cheering and elevating moral influence, operating on every centre of public activity, and on every mind capable of a conscious effort for the good of the country. He might have established a separate cult like the Brahmo Samaj or the Arya Samaj, or by joining either of these, he might have become its leader. But such a policy, he thought, would be selfish; it might glorify his name, but would not be the most effective means of helping in the regeneration of his country—which was the great object of his life. It would be absurd to say that in founding the Brahmo Samaj, Raja Ram Mohan Roy was selfish; or Swami Dayanand

Paraswati was actuated by a similar motive in founding the Arya Samaj. To say this of these great men would be no more true than to say the same of the other great religious reformers that rose from time to time in the past history of the Hindu race. Still, the more important direct result of these Protestant movements of the nineteenth century has been to immortalise the names of the founders and the names of those that have distinguished themselves as their followers, and they have failed to shake the stronghold of Hindu orthodoxy and have brought about separation instead of unification. The Brahmo Samaj has no more influence on the progress of Hindu Society than the Christian Church in India, and Babu Protap Chander Muzumdar is to the Hindus at large no nearer or dearer than Bishop Welldon. The Arya Samaj, by recognizing the authority of the Vedas as divine revelation, keeps its touch with the great Hindu community, and by deeds of practical philanthropy and by constant manifestation of sympathy with orthodox Hindus, the Arya Samaj may to some extent make itself popular. But so far as it desires to advance the Hindu community on lines of progress, it cannot fail to feel the disadvantage of its separateness, and while it may go on increasing the number of its adherents and raising them to higher standards of life, still it must often feel its want of moral hold on the people at large, and must encounter opposition and bitterness where co-operation and gratitude might be expected. To produce such discord, dissension and separation was not Mr. Ranade's policy. His great object was to maintain the integrity of the Hindu nation on the basis of a common religion and a common social system as well as on the basis of a common political tie. He sought to bring about this great result by reconciling differences, breaking down barriers, by inspiring his countrymen with a sense of self-reliance, by encouraging local organizations, and by bringing the whole nation under the unifying force of a common life and common aspiration. To see the Hindu nation split up into even a larger number of sections than it is now, would have given Mr. Ranade the utmost mortification and pain; because more than anything he wished to see his nation strong in its unity, great in its moral elevation and happy in its material abundance. This is the explanation of his many-sided activity, and his zeal not only in social reform but in every movement for the good of his country, whether it aimed at its

industrial revival, at its educational reform, at a popularisation of its past history, or at the elucidation of the thoughts and teachings of its ancient sages. Mr. Ranade was essentially a man of all India; he is indeed dear to the educated classes in every part of India; the Panjabi, the Bengalee, the Madrassée, as well as the Bombayite look upon him as the most precious possession of their motherland in modern times; they admire and revere him. With the great masses his sympathies were the strongest and broadest. He was proud to be one of them, and to them he clung with the affection of a true patriot. For them he felt most, and for them he lived and died.

G. SUBRAMANIA IYER.

THE TAMILS: EIGHTEEN HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

(Continued.)

AS usual amongst all nations ancient or modern, the philosophic doctrines of the Tamils were far apart from the popular beliefs and ceremonies. Curiosity has in all ages led intelligent men to explore the records of the past, to speculate on the future, or to dive into the mysteries of mind and matter. Whilst the learned few with an earnest mind and deep research attempted to obtain correct notions of the causes and consequences of existence, the masses whose untutored minds could not conceive nature as a whole, took a low and sensual view of life, and worshipped a multitude of gods, who were supposed to bring about all the changes in nature, and all the misfortunes which happened to the people. These divinities partook more or less of the character of the classes who invoked them. The semi-barbarous tribes, which were most addicted to war and bloodshed, had ferocious and savage deities, whose altars reeked with the blood of slaughtered animals. Communities which were a little more civilised, and had cultivated the arts of peace, worshipped milder gods, who were content with offerings of fruits, flowers and incense. More advanced societies whose cultured mind could realise abstract ideas such as, the reign of law (*dharma*) and the unity of nature, endeavoured to conform their lives to moral laws and addressed their prayers to the Supreme Intelligence which rules the Universe.

The Nagas who were the most primitive and least civilized of the races which inhabited the Tamil country worshipped the dread goddess Kâli and sacrificed many a buffalo at her shrines. The image of Kâli was decked in a most frightful manner. Her matted hair was tied up like a crown on her head, with the shining skin of a young cobra: the curved tusk of a boar was fastened in her hair to resemble the crescent. A string of tiger's teeth served as a necklace on her shoulders. The striped skin of a tiger was wound round her waist like a garment. A strong bow bent and ready to shoot was placed in her hand: and she was mounted on a tall stag with branching antlers. Drums rattled and pipes squeaked in front of her image, while fierce Nagas

slaughtered buffaloes at her altar. As the victims bled the priestess got up in a frenzy, shivering and dancing wildly, possessed with the spirit of Kâli, and shouted "The cattle stalls in the villages around us are full of oxen, but the yards of the Eyinar's cottages are empty. Mild like the peaceful villagers are the Eyinar who should live by robbery and plunder. If you do not offer the sacrifice due to the goddess, who rides the stag, she would not bless your bows with victory!". Kâli being a female deity, her votaries offered to her balls, dolls, parrots, wild fowls and peacocks with which Tamil women used to amuse themselves. Perfumed pastes and powders, fragrant sandal, boiled beans and grains, and oblations of rice mixed with blood and flesh were likewise presented at her shrines. (1) The Nagas having been largely employed as soldiers by the Tamil kings, their goddess Kâli became in course of time the patron deity of the warrior class. The soldiers, officers of the army and even the kings joined in making offerings, to obtain her favor, before undertaking any military enterprise. It is said that some of the soldiers, in a fit of excessive loyalty, offered up their own lives at her altar, to ensure the success of the king's armies. Kâli was also called Aiyai in Tamil, and was believed to be the youngest of seven sisters. She is said to have challenged Siva to a dance, and to have torn in two pieces the powerful body of the demon Târaka. So much was this ferocious goddess dreaded by the people, that it is related that on one occasion when the doors of her temple at Madura remained closed, and could not be opened, the Pandiyan king, believing it to be a token of her displeasure, fell prostrate before her shrine, praying for her mercy, and to appease the wrath of the goddess, granted the revenue of two fertile villages, for the expenses of her worship. (2)

Some of the lower classes, as well as the Nagas, worshipped also stones and springs which were believed to possess miraculous powers. For instance, it is mentioned that in the city of Kavirip-paddinam there was a long stone set up in an open square, which was resorted to by those who were suffering from the effects of poison, witchcraft or venomous bites. They walked round the stone reverently and worshipped it in the hope of being restored to health. There was also a spring which was reputed to possess the virtue of curing the defects of all the deaf,

(1) Chilapp-atikaram, xii, 22 to 39.
(2) Ibid, xx, 37-40 and xxiii, 113 to 125.

dumb, dwarfs, lepers and hunchbacks, who bathe in it and walk round it praying for its healing grace. (3)

The huntsmen and hill-tribes or *Kuravas* worshipped the heroic god of war Muruga. This god had six faces and twelve arms. His shrines were generally built on the tops of high hills, or in the midst of dense forests. His priest carried a lance the favorite weapon of the war-god: and was known as *Velan* or lancer. When sacrifices were to be offered to the god, a shed was put up, and it was adorned with strings of flowers. High over the shed was hoisted the flag of Muruga, which bore the device of a cock. The priest tied a red thread round his wrist, as a sign of his having vowed himself to the service of the god, and bowing before the altar, muttered spells and prayers, and scattered flowers and fried paddy on all sides. He then slaughtered a bull, and in its warm blood mixed boiled rice and offered it to the god, amidst the blare of trumpets, horns, bells and drums, while the perfumes of incense and flowers filled the place. The worshippers chanted hymns in praise of the God, and the priest went off into an ecstasy and danced and snorted and gave out oracles regarding the fortunes of the devotees. Many circumstances related of this god go to show that he was not entirely an imaginary being, but a warlike king who had been deified after his death. He is said to have been born in the sacred pond *Saravana* near the source of the Ganges, and to have been brought up by six nurses. He was the Commander-in-Chief of the celestial armies when they fought with the *Asura* or demons: and he invaded Lanka to kill Soora, the *Asura* king of that island. The *Kuravas* had a tradition that the god married a maiden of their tribe (4).

The shepherd races worshipped their national hero Krishna and his elder brother Balarâma. Shepherd lasses amused themselves by acting in their houses plays representing the chief events of his life, such as: his childish pranks in stealing butter, and hiding the clothes of shepherd girls who were sporting in the river Yamuna: his charming play on the pipe while grazing cattle: his amour with Pinnai a shepherdess: his victory over the cunning Kansa and his embassy to Duryôdhana for the Pandavas. Krishna was popularly known as *Mâyavan* or "the dissembler" a title very appropriate to his character as portrayed in the

(3) Ibid, v, 118-127.
(4) Tiru-muruk-ârup-padai.

great epic Mahâbhârata. His elder brother Balarâma was famous for his extraordinary physical strength. (5)

Among the higher classes of the Tamils the favorite deity was Siva. He is represented as a man of fair colour with tangled locks of red hair. He has three eyes, wears a tiger's skin, and armed with a battle-axe rides on a bullock. His appearance, except as regards the three eyes, corresponds exactly with that of a primitive inhabitant of the Himâlayan region. The people of this region are fair in color and have red hair and ride on bullocks when travelling in the mountainous country. His abode was the snow-capped Mount Kâilas situated north of the Himalayas, near the sources of the great rivers, Ganges, Indus and Brahmaputra. His greatest feat was the destruction of Tripura or "the three castles" which were the strongholds of Asuras, who had caused much annoyance to the celestials. He married Pârvati the daughter of the king of mountains.

The Brahmins settled in the Tamil country had not yet given up the worship of the elements, and some of them still kept up in their houses the three sacred fires, as in Vedic times. They attached the greatest importance to the performance of *Yâgas* or religious sacrifices, which were performed on a magnificent scale, generally under royal patronage. Horses or cows were sacrificed with elaborate ceremonies, conducted with great secrecy, within spacious enclosures, which were strictly guarded, and the flesh of the victims was eaten by the Brahmins. Special priests learned in the Vedic rites performed the sacrifice, and the kings who defrayed the expenses and presided at the sacrifice were promised the reward of heavenly bliss after death. The Brahmins however kept the Vedas a sealed book to the masses: and consequently the worship of the elements inculcated in the Vedas did not find favor with the non-Aryan races. The Brahmins found it necessary therefore to adopt the gods of the alien races, to obtain influence over them. Siva and Kâli were the most popular deities of the non-Aryans, and they were first admitted into the Brahmin pantheon. Balarâma and Krishna who were the national heroes of the shepherd races were also worshipped by the Brahmins as incarnations of Vishnu. Similarly Muruga, the patron deity of the hunting tribes was adored as the son of Siva. In all the great temples served by Brahmins,

(5) Chilapp-atikâram, xvii.

in the Tamil country, images of the four gods Siva, Krishna, Balarama and Muruga were set up: (6). Siva was however considered the greatest of the four gods, and his temples were the most stately and august of the public edifices. Kâli was held to be a form of Pârvasî, the consort of Siva. Indra, the king of the celestials, Kâma, the god of love, and celestial bodies, such as *Surya* the sun and *Soma* the moon had temples dedicated to them. With a view to impress upon the minds of the people, the distinctions of caste, the Brahmins introduced also the worship of four Bhootas or gigantic idols, which represented the four castes (7). The first was fair in colour like the moon, and was dressed like the Brahmins who keep the three sacred fires, and held in his hands the implements required for performing a Vedic sacrifice. The second, of a rosy hue, attired like a king and armed with a lance, was accompanied by drums hair-fans, banners, and an umbrella. The third was of a golden colour and carried in his hands a plough and a pair of scales, representing the mercantile and agricultural classes. The fourth, of dark complexion, wore clothes of black colour and had with him many musical instruments indicating the class of bards, actors, drummers and other musicians. The religious service in the Brahminic temples consisted in bathing and dressing the idols, in the morning, adorning them with jewels and flowers, and offering them fruits, sweets and cooked rice, two or three times in a day, and putting the idols to sleep at night, and repeating the names and praises of the deity a certain number of times on each occasion. The dazzling pomp of the service and its touching appeal to the senses, especially in the large temples, might have affected the imagination of the illiterate classes, but they were not calculated to inspire anything like a pure and rational devotion.

The chief anti-brahminical religions, which were popular among the Tamils, were the Nigranta and the Bauddha. These two religions considered the rites and ceremonies of the Vedas to be useless labor, and the exclusive privileges arrogated by the Brahmins to be empty pretensions. The Nigranta system was older than Buddhism and the Nigrantas called the Buddhists *Pâshandas*, or heretics. The Nigrantas worshipped Argha whom they considered to be the Supreme Intelligence which governs the Universe. His image was generally in the form of a naked

man, seated or standing under an *Asoka* tree, with a triple umbrella above him (8). They had two principal vows, not to speak an untruth, and not to kill any living creature. They trained their minds to avoid envy, greed, anger and evil speech. Their community was divided into two sections: the *srâvakas* (hearers) or laymen and the religious men; and of the latter there were five classes, who were called *Pancha-para-meshtin*, namely, *Argha*, holy men; *siddha* those who had acquired supernatural powers; *Upâdhyâya*, religious teachers; *Achârya*, priests; and *Sadhu*, pious people (9). Near their temples, and in the open squares at the crossing of public roads, they erected pulpits from which their monks preached their religion. Both men and women were allowed to enter the monastery, and take the vows of celibacy. Their monks and nuns carried an alms-bowl, a hoop made of twine to suspend a water-pot, and a bundle of peacock feathers with which they could sweep off insects, without injuring them, from the places where they have to sit or lie down. They repeated a short prayer of five letters, which they called the *Pancha-mantra* (10).

Images of Buddha had not yet come into use, but the impressions of his feet engraved on stone, and platforms built of stone representing the seat from which he preached his doctrine were objects of worship to the Buddhists. The pious Buddhist walked round them, with his right side towards them, and bowed his head in token of reverence. Standing in front of them, with his hands joined, he praised the Buddha as follows: "How shall I praise thee! the wise, the holy and the virtuous teacher, who excelled in the strict performance of religious vows! Thou, who conquered Mâra, who subdued anger, and all evil passions: who art supreme in knowledge, and the refuge of all mankind! Have I a thousand tongues to praise thy blessed feet, on the soles of which are a thousand auspicious lines?" In the Buddhist Vihâras or monasteries, learned monks preached their sermons, seated in a place which was entirely concealed from the view of the audience (11). One of the first virtues preached and practised by them was charity. "Those who give food give life indeed" was a common saying among them. A life of self-control and wisdom and universal charity was declared to be the highest happiness of

(6) Ibid, xiv, 7-10.

(7) Ibid, xxii, 16-102

(8) Ibid, xi, 1 to 11.

(9) Ibid, x, 15 to 25.

(10) Ibid, x, 98 to 101.

(11) Ibid, x, 11 to 12.

man. Buddhist monks were very numerous in the Tamil country, as may be inferred from the statement that there were a thousand monks attached to the seven Vihāras at Kāvīrip-paddi-nam alone. The Buddhists did not observe the distinctions of caste, and invited all ranks to assemble on a footing of equality.

One of the greatest facts of ancient Tamil society was religious toleration, the spirit of free enquiry, or the liberty of the human understanding. The monarchs themselves openly encouraged religious discussion, for, they invited teachers of every sect to the public halls, and allowed them to preach their doctrines during festivals and other occasions of public gathering. They protected impartially the temples and monasteries of all sects; and although they might have personally inclined to believe in the doctrines of a particular sect, and built and endowed places of worship for that sect, they cautiously avoided interfering with the rites and ceremonies of rival faiths. This religious liberty had a great and salutary influence upon the intellectual and moral development of the Tamils. By softening feelings and manners, Buddhism also powerfully contributed to the amelioration of the social state. The Nigrantas and Buddhists aimed at a high ideal of morality. Justice, humanity, charity to all living beings and love of truth were the virtues which they taught by precept and example. These two religions necessarily exercised a very considerable influence upon moral and intellectual order, and upon public ideas and sentiments. The pure conceptions of morality which the Tamils had formed were the real basis of their civilization. That the sentiments of morality and religion predominated in the minds of the Tamils is evident from their ancient literature. The authors extolled piety, charity, truthfulness and tenderness to life and expressed a contempt for the perishable objects of the physical world. Their pure and elevated maxims were however mixed up with others of a peurile and imaginary character, resulting from that confusion of ideas which is natural in the early stages of civilization. They believed in the transmigration of souls, and were taught to suppress all desire, which was considered the cause of rebirths. Even the best intellects among them had not yet learned to discern the impassable limits which divide the province of reason from that of speculation. They tried to understand nature and its mysterious author, by a subtle self-analysis, instead of by close observation and careful study of the phenomena

of the outside world: and their wise men wasted their time in brilliant but barren reveries regarding the life after death. So much were they engrossed with the thoughts of a future state, that they sadly neglected the affairs of their present state. In fact, they gloried in poverty and utter renunciation of the world, as the only means of suppressing desire and securing the salvation of their souls from the stormy ocean of re-births. Herein lay the seeds of national decay, which soon laid low the Tamils and all other Hindu races, and made them an easy prey to every invading power.

From the foregoing account of the Tamils eighteen hundred years ago, it will be seen that they were a civilised and prosperous nation settled in the extreme south of the peninsula of India. Their country was bounded on three sides by the sea and on the north by the territories of less civilised races, such as the Konkanas, Kalingas and Rattas. These races must be regarded as less civilised than the Tamils, as they had no literature of their own at this early period: and the Tamils proudly spoke of their language as "the Southern tongue" and of the Aryan as "the Northern tongue." They were known as the Tamils most probably because they had emigrated from Tamilitti (Tāmralipti) the great seaport at the mouth of the Ganges (12). Their kings and chieftains still remembered the original Mongolian stock from which they had sprung, and called themselves Vānavar or "Celestials." They had conquered the country from the primitive Nāgas, and driving them into the barren and desert tracts, occupied all the fairest and most fertile portions of the sunny land. Being the conquerors of the land, and ruled by princes of their own race, they had a high opinion of themselves, and were proud of their nationality. They had grown wealthy by their agriculture, manufactures and commerce; and they enjoyed so much security of life and property in the fortified cities, that the higher classes were not afraid of displaying their wealth by their rich dress and costly jewelry. They were a gay and polite people, passionately fond of music and flowers and poetry. Their bards sang of the thrilling achievements, by field and flood, of their gallant ancestors who had won Tamilakam for them: and stimulated in them a nobl

(12). The modern Tamulak on the Rup-narain branch of the Hooghly 35 miles South-west of Calcutta. The Tamilittis or Tāmraliptas are also mentioned as a separate nation inhabiting Lower Bengal in the Matsya, Vishnu and other Puranas.

desire to be loyal to their kings, to labour for the good of the poor and the helpless, and above all to love truth and righteousness and to adore their gods.

Sixty generations have passed since the period I describe and what mighty changes have occurred in this interval! The land has extended, rivers have changed their courses; the ancient cities have disappeared and new languages have been formed by sections of the Tamil people. The alluvial deposits which accumulated every year, during the monsoons, at the mouths of the large rivers gradually extended the land as may be seen from the map of India in which the coast line projects into the sea at the mouths of the rivers Godaveri, Kistna, Kaviri, Vaigai and Tamraparni. In this manner, the backwater that extends from Quilon to Cochin on the Western Coast was formed subsequent to the period of which I treat, as already stated by me in my description of the Ancient Geography of Tamilakam. On the Eastern Coast the land has extended six miles east of the site of Korkai, which was formerly a flourishing seaport. Further north near Guntoor also, the sea coast has receded several miles, and there are traces of the old coast still visible to a length of about 30 miles.

Some of the rivers have changed their courses owing to natural or artificial causes. The Palar which formerly flowed through the bed of the modern Kodu-thalai-âru has quitted its old bed near Tiruvellum, now flows in a south-easterly direction and enters the sea at a place nearly sixty miles south of its former mouth. But the old bed of the river which joins the Kodu-thalai-âru is still known as Palaiya-pâl-âru or Vridhha-Kshira-nadhi. There is no trace of the river Kaviri, at the site of Kaviripaddinam, where it was once a broad and navigable river. Many centuries ago, the river breached its banks, after the construction of a dam across it near Tiru-chirap-palli, and formed a new branch now known as Kollidam. The waters of the old Kaviri, east of the dam, are now drawn off by more than a hundred channels to paddy fields stretching over an area of several thousand square miles, and the noble river shrinks to the dimensions of a small channel spanned by a bridge of a single arch before it reaches Mâyâveram, ten miles west of Kaviripaddinam. On the Malabar Coast, the Kotta river which found its way to the sea through Agalap-pula, by the side of the port Thondi,

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now enters the sea, at a place about eight miles north of the site of Thondi, the channel near which has silted up.

The ancient capitals of the Chera, Chola and Pandyan kingdoms are now in ruins, and their very sites are forgotten. Scattered remains of massive walls incrustated with moss and lichen still attest the solid fortifications of Karur or Vanji, the chief town of the Chera King: but only the shrill cries of eagles during the day, and the dismal howls of jackals at night disturb the profound silence that now reigns in the desolate region. The wealthy and populous city of Kaviripaddinam, which was the capital of the Cholas, lies buried under vast mounds of sand, in the stagnant pools between which may be seen a solitary stork feeding on fish or frogs. Shepherds graze their flocks on the site of old Madura where the proud Pandya had sat on his high throne surrounded by a brilliant conclave of ministers, warriors and learned poets.

The Tamils who inhabited the Western Coast and the tableland of Mysore, which were separated from the rest of the country by high mountains, differed in their speech from the main body of the Tamils, so much in course of time, that their languages became distinct dialects of Tamil, and in this manner the modern Malayalam and Canarese languages have been formed. Consequently the limits of Tamilakam have become much narrower than they were formerly. The Tamil-land may now be defined as the low country east of the Ghauts between Tirupati and Cape Comorin. The Northern portion of the island of Ceylon, where the Tamils are settled for the last eight centuries, may also be now regarded as a part of the Tamil-land. Even within these narrow limits, the Tamils were many a time in danger of being overwhelmed by other races, but a merciful Providence appears to have arrested every invading force before it could completely overrun the country. The Telugu Naicks, the Mahrattas, the Canarese, the Moguls, the Telugu Naicks, the Mahrattas, and the Mahomedan adventurers of the Dekkan successively invaded the Tamil country within the last six centuries, and threatened to destroy every vestige of the Tamils; but at last a sterner and superior race of pale-faced men dropped, as it were, from the clouds, and saved the Tamils and all other races of India from anarchy and misrule. They had sailed from a far-off land, over perilous seas, in search of new markets for their trade. As peaceful merchants, they first obtained a footing in the coun-

try, and by their unity, energy and intelligence soon founded an empire vaster in extent than that governed by any Mogul or Magadha sovereign. Under the aegis of England, the Tamils now enjoy profound peace and present the unique spectacle of a race of people who have retained their language and civilisation almost unchanged for the last two thousand years or more.

Socially and politically however the Tamils of this day present a mournful contrast to their warlike ancestors. They are now a subject race. Their ancient royal families became extinct centuries ago. No longer the five Great Assemblies of priests, astrologers, ministers, military officers and physicians meet to advise and guide the ruling power. No more the minstrel tunes his lute at feasts and rejoicings, to sing of the martial deeds of their forefathers. No ships of foreign nations call at their seaports for fine spun cloths, and other articles manufactured by Tamil workmen. Not only are the Tamils dead as a nation, but their industries and arts and even their old gods are dead. For, Indra and Balarama are no longer invoked by them; Rama and Krishna have taken the place of Vishnu; and in the temples of Siva, it is the *linga* or *phallus*, and not the image of Siva that is now worshipped. The Tamils still retain however many of their old characteristics. They are devoted to friends, respectful to women, charitable to the poor, fervent in piety and tireless in industry. "Wherever money is to be made, wherever a more apathetic or a more aristocratic people is willing to be pushed aside, thither" says a European Missionary who long resided among them (13), "swarm the Tamils, the Greeks or Scotch of the east: the least superstitious and the most enterprising and persevering race of Hindus." They are still the most literate people among the native races of India. An enlightened Government has covered the land with a network of roads, railways and telegraphs: it has provided the best possible codes of law which are administered without distinction of caste or creed: it has opened schools and hospitals, and organised all sorts of Government Departments, some of which are unknown even in England. The Tamils should now awake from their apathy of ages, if they wish to reap the full benefit of these changes. They should realise the fact that they are now at the parting of the ways. They have long followed the philosophy of inaction, which taught them to get rid of the sense of personality, with what

(13). Bishop Caldwell.

deplorable results we can all see. Will they now adopt the philosophy of action? Will they now strive to acquire the sense of individual life, and develop strong personalities, who will not flee to the jungle to save their souls, but will live in their midst and do their duty, to the glory of God, and the good of their fellow-creatures? If they still cherish their prejudices and superstitions, and be dreaming of a future state: if their wise men still attempt to stifle all desire, afraid of the transmigration of their souls: if they still believe that our faculties were intended not for our beneficial use, but to be repressed and rust in us unused, they would doubtless be left behind in the race of life, and eventually be only hewers of wood and drawers of water. (14). But if they advance on the lines of western civilization, avoiding its vices, the love of drink and the consuming greed of gain: if they throw off the fetters of caste, which estrange the sympathy of one class from another and paralyze the genius and industry of the people: if they educate their women and train them to be intelligent wives and mothers: if they open technical schools and encourage scientific research: if they introduce machinery for their manufactures, remembering the fact that workmen cannot possibly compete with machinery: and if they reform their religion, giving up idolatry and sectarian prejudices and make Hinduism the true worship of a living God, they would assuredly prosper, and rank with the foremost nations. Their men of light and leading need not wait till some one sets an example: but if they quietly and steadily instil these ideas into their families and circle of relations, and carry them out in practice, as far as it is possible, without causing any violent commotion, their names would be handed down to distant generations, as the saviours of their community.

V. KANAKASABHAI.

(14) Bhagavad-gita II. Sankhya-yoga 71. He attains peace who giving up all desires, lives without attachment, without selfishness, without vanity. XII. Bhakti-yoga. 16. Dear unto Me is he who is pure, intelligent, unaffected, serene, giving up every undertaking and devoted to Me. XVII. Moksha-yoga. 66. Give up all action and come to Me alone for refuge. I will save thee from all evil. Do not despair!

•VETO IN LEGISLATION.

ALMOST the very last act of Sir Arthur Havelock as Governor of Madras was the withholding of his assent to the Hindu Gains of Learning Bill passed by the Madras Legislative Council on the 26th January 1900. The provision of law which empowers the Governor to do this is contained in Section 39, of XXIV and XXV Victoria, Chapter LXVII which runs as follows :

"When any law or regulation has been made by any such Council at a meeting for the purpose of making laws and regulations as aforesaid, it shall be lawful for the Governor, whether he shall or shall not have been present in Council at such meeting, to declare that he assents to or withholds his assent from the same." Section 40 enacts that, "The Governor shall transmit forthwith an authentic copy of every law or regulation to which he shall have so declared his assent to the Governor-General; and no such law or regulation shall have validity until the Governor-General shall have assented thereto, and such assent signified by him to and published by the Governor: Provided always that in every case where the Governor-General shall withhold his assent from any such law or regulation, he shall signify to the Governor in writing his reason for so withholding his assent."

Section 41 says "whenever any such law or regulation shall have been assented to by the Governor-General, he shall transmit to the Secretary of State for India an authentic copy thereof: and it shall be lawful for Her Majesty to signify through the Secretary of State for India in Council, Her disallowance of such law or regulation and such disallowance shall make void and annul such law or regulation," &c.

Every Bill then which has passed through the Local Legislative Council has in order to become law to receive the assent of the Governor and of the Governor-General, and a Supreme power of disallowing laws passed by the Indian legislature is given to the Sovereign. As regards the analogous power possessed by the Sovereign in England, a writer on constitutional law observes, "The King or Queen of England has the right to withhold sanction from a Bill passed by both houses of Parliament.

his royal prerogative has not been exercised since 1692, and may now be considered obsolete."

Bearing the above provisions in mind, we may proceed to examine how far Sir Arthur Havelock was justified in exercising the right of refusing assent to the Hindu Gains of Learning Bill. The Bill in question was introduced into the Council in 1891, with the previous sanction, as the law requires, of the Governor, and of the Governor-General. It was referred for opinions to several Hindu gentlemen of education and position. Some of them declared themselves in favor of the measure and others against it. It is not known on what principle and by whom the list of names of the gentlemen to whom the Bill was referred was made. But one cannot resist the conclusion that if a determination had to be arrived at solely upon balancing the opinions given in favor of and against the Bill, it must be in the affirmative. In considering however whether the proposed legislation was necessary and desirable, the feeling of the community whose interests it is intended to affect, must be taken into account. Mr. P. Chentsal Row, one of the gentlemen whose opinion had been invited upon the merits of the Bill, wrote as follows to Government upon this point :

"I consider that in dealing with this subject one should be guided by the opinions and inclinations of the Hindu public at large whose interest this Bill is likely to affect and not by European notions of the fitness of things nor by the opinions of the small minority of Hindus who have come under the influence of the European culture and ideas. If it were a question of the abolition of inhuman practices such as suttee or infanticide, we are certainly not bound to respect the superstitions of an unreasoning majority, but when as in this case we attempt to legislate in regard to rights of property and the existing methods of distribution thereof, we should certainly not be justified in disturbing the Hindu Customary law on the subject without a strong consensus of popular opinion in favor of a change. These rights and these methods of distribution have grown out of family affections and tendencies to hold together which are far from being inhuman or immoral. I would therefore suggest the appointment of a commission for ascertaining the opinion of the public in the matter."

On the point as to in what cases Government ought to give its sanction to legislation of this sort, Dewan Bahadur Srinivasa

Raghava Iyengar has offered some thoughtful observations, in his "Progress of the Madras Presidency during 40 years." He says p. 327 "Judicial legislation to adapt the law to changing circumstances being then not possible, the only alternative is positive legislation. But, how is the Government to know when legislation can be safely undertaken and when it ought to be avoided on the ground that it will run counter to the sentiments of the people affected by it? On the one hand, if the Government were to refuse altogether to legislate in matters affecting social usages, domestic life and laws of inheritance, it would injure the community in two ways, *viz.*, first by setting in motion strong forces which have the effect of unsettling the old state of society and disturbing the relations which subsisted; and secondly by depriving the society of its capacity for adjusting its institutions to its requirements and refusing to do what is necessary by positive legislation. This state of things must seriously arrest the progress of the community. * * * * On the other side it has to be remembered that the existing institutions have struck their roots so deep in the past, affect so many relations of life and the subsistence of such large numbers of persons, that any sudden modification of them is likely to give rise to many unexpected evils, disappoint many just expectations and cause suffering and widespread discontent. Even where the gain is beyond question, the feeling of the community itself as to the necessity for legislation, is a factor which must necessarily be taken into account."

In this view of the case, the appointment of a commission to ascertain the popular opinion on the subject was the only course which was open, but the distinguished author of the Bill Sir V. Bhashyam Iyengar thought otherwise, and made the initial and almost fatal blunder, as subsequent events showed, of rejecting the proposal. He said, "the measure is not one which calls for the appointment of a commission for the purpose of ascertaining public opinion by taking evidence in the various districts. It really does not introduce such an innovation in Hindu family or usages as to call for such a step. The Bill with the Statement of Objects and Reasons and the introductory speech has now been before the public for upwards of a year and if it was regarded as revolutionary of the existing state of things or otherwise objectionable or obnoxious, there would have been the strongest opposition to it from various quarters. As far as I have been able to judge both from memo-

rials and from what appeared in the newspapers, the measure seems to meet with general approval and the opposition to it is but little and that based upon an entire misapprehension of the existing state of the law and the scope and effect of the Bill."

In dealing thus with the question, Sir V. Bhashyam Iyengar entirely overshoot the mark. On the question with which he was dealing he did not bring to bear the right spirit, he grievously suffered from lack of information, and failed to realise the position of the Government and of the general Hindu community. He said that the Bill had met with general approval judging from the memorials received and the newspapers, and the absence of strong opposition to the Bill for upwards of a year. Mr. P. Chentsal Row on the other hand said that "I have discussed the subject with several, disinterested, intelligent and orthodox Hindus and I find that they are generally against the law proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. Bhashyam Iyengar." How is the Government to act in such a case? Mr. James Bryce M. P. says in his *American Commonwealth*; "English administrators in India lament the impossibility of learning the sentiments of the natives because in the East the population, the true masses are dumb. The difficulties of Western statesmen are due to an opposite cause. The populations are highly articulate. Such is the din of voices that it is hard to say which cry prevails, which is swelled by many, which only by a few throats."

Surely Sir V. Bhashyam Iyengar cannot be so ignorant of the conditions of life in this country as to judge from the memorials received and from what appeared in the newspapers that the proposed law was viewed with favor by the community whose interests it was intended to affect. The employment of a commission to ascertain the views of the community would have greatly facilitated the passing of the measure. In the first place it would have disarmed, weakened and even conciliated the opposition a great deal by giving it a free opportunity to express itself, by explaining the innocuousness of the measure, which the members of the commission have the opportunity of doing, by sifting and exposing the weak points on which the opposition is based, and removing all the grounds of the "entire misapprehension, regarding the existing state of the law and the object and scope of the Bill" which Sir V. Bhashyam Iyengar maintained was at the bottom of it. This process will also have an educative value of the greatest importance to the people, will imbue them

with confidence in the motives and aims of the promoters of the legislation, will induce them to think for themselves on sound lines and possibly aid them to come to the conclusion that "Social necessities" in the words of Sir Henry Maine, "are more or less in advance of law. Law is stable. Societies are progressive. The greater or less happiness of a people depends on the degree of promptitude with which the gulf is narrowed." It is indeed of the utmost importance to the social elevation of the Indian communities, that the educated leaders should not alone think and act on behalf of their uneducated countrymen, but enable the latter to come to a correct apprehension of their rights and duties as citizens. It is in this view of the case that the author of the Bill, as stated before, showed a lack of discernment. In this connection what took place in respect of the Malabar Marriage Act introduced by Mr. Sankaran Nair in the Madras Legislative Council is worthy of notice. That law is intended to provide a legal form of marriage to the Hindus in the Malabar country who follow the Marumakatayam rule of succession as regards inheritance. It indicated great courage and rare public spirit on the part of a member of that community to propose the legislation which had, for its basis, the recognition of the fact that the Marumakatayam law does not recognize the institution of marriage, though the unions of men and women are practically permanent being regulated by social opinion. As might be expected, the introduction of the Bill which was calculated to tickle the sense of shame and the sense of the ludicrous on the part of the persons proposed to be affected by it, aroused a storm of opposition, and caused much personal obloquy to the author. But an influential commission, in which the late Sir T. Muthusawmy Iyer took a leading part, was appointed to gauge the feeling of the community. The commission made an elaborate investigation, invited opinions from men interested in the measure, examined and cross-examined them and submitted their report. The Government on reading the report of the commission proposed to the author of the Bill various modifications and alterations of its terms as it originally stood, and on Mr. Sankaran Nair accepting the same, the Bill passed into law in the Legislative Council, in a very different shape indeed from what it was at its first introduction, but remodelled upon the lines indicated by the author of the Book we have already referred to, in the following words:—*viz.*, "Legislation in such cases can

only be carried out in a spirit of compromise and should provide for a gradual modification of the institutions found unsuitable without causing any violent breach of social continuity."

When the Gains of Learning Bill was introduced in 1891 and after the lapse of a year, the proposal to appoint a commission was rejected by Sir V. Bhashyam Iyengar, nothing was done in the matter for several years till November 1897 when it was introduced a second time in the Council. Why it was left in a state of suspended animation during the long interval preceding the date of its second introduction nobody has explained. The author can certainly not be accused of too much precipitancy in pressing forward the measure and to have furnished thereby a justification for the exercise of the power of vetoing. At the same time it was scarcely fair to assume, as Sir V. Bhashyam Iyengar did, that the long period during which the Bill was left moribund, was a fit occasion and legitimate opportunity for the opposition to make its voice heard, and that therefore the absence of any outward manifestation of hostile feeling towards the Bill during the said period was evidence of acquiescence on the part of the persons interested. When the Bill was reintroduced in 1897 it was referred to a Select Committee. The Select Committee's Report and the Bill did not come up for the consideration of the Council until January 1900, and at the sitting of the Council held on the 26th January 1900, it was taken up and passed. In his speech in the Council, Sir V. Bhashyam Iyengar stated that the measure had been before the public for nine years and that ample opportunity had been afforded for the expression of public opinion thereon, that he was the only member of the Council who remained still a member out of those who composed the Council when he first introduced the measure in 1891, and then proceeded to explain the objects and scope of the Bill. He did not touch or attempt to deal with any views opposed to those which he was advocating and indeed one would suppose from his speech that there was no opposition worth mentioning or considering, at all, to the proposed legislation, although by that time the opposition had manifested itself in various ways. Of the few active members of Council, one who is an experienced and respected member of the community, had unmistakably declared his voice against it upon being invited by the Government to give his opinion. Another elected member had put forward an amendment restricting the operation of the proposed law only

to Malabar and declaring its unsuitability to the other parts of the country, and this was seconded by another elected member who said that he had formed no opinion on the question. A third elected member put forward another amendment qualifying the operation of the proposed law, while only one elected member gave his strong support to the Bill. The Hon'ble Mr. Arundel, senior member of Council, stated that the Government wished to observe neutrality in the matter, but that his own personal opinion was then in favor of the Bill, although at the time when it was first introduced, he was antagonistic to it. The amendments were put to the vote and lost, and the substantive motion that the Bill be passed into law was carried. On the whole, the proceedings in the Council showed that the Bill contained very contentious matter, and if all the native official and non-official members had done full justice to themselves, and if the conception of the formation of the enlarged Legislative Councils had been fully realized in their case, *viz.*, of securing in the words of our present Viceroy, a *real and living* representation of the Indian Communities, the Bill would have stood small chance of being carried. The fact of the Bill being passed by the Legislative Council, seems to have put the opposition upon its mettle, and an agitation was immediately set on foot by means of public meetings and memorials to the Governor to protest against the new law. The promoters of the new legislation seem however to have rested upon their oars, and with the confidence begotten of the fancied strength of their case, fortified now by the passing of the measure in the Legislative Council, took no steps to counteract or conciliate the opposition, making light of it, if not ignoring its very existence. It would indeed have been easy to have brought into evidence as large a volume of opinion in favor of the legislation as the opposition was able to show against it. The attitude however, which Sir V. Bhashyam Iyengar consistently maintained throughout in accordance with the guiding principles of the profession in which he has achieved such high distinction, was that of an advocate pleading on one side, the tribunal which he strove to persuade to his way of thinking being the Legislative Council. It was in this state of things that Sir Arthur Havelock was called upon to decide whether or not he should give his assent to the Bill. There was ample proof to show that a large body of opinion existed in the country adverse to the measure, that before the passing of the Bill, the views of the bulk of the Hindu commu-

nity had not been elicited in the only way in which they could be elicited, *viz.*, by the employment of a Commission, and that the passing of the Bill through the Legislative Council had no significance or value whatever under the circumstances, as it could be proved to demonstration that some native members who were dead opposed to the Bill did not speak or vote against it, some did not take the trouble to form an opinion about it at all or care to ascertain the views of the community whom they were supposed to represent although the Bill was in existence for nine years, and one or two members disapproved of the measure altogether.

On one fundamental point regarding the merits of the proposed law, the author of the Bill unwittingly played into the hands of his opponents by declaring that he "was not prepared in the present state of the Hindu Society, to suggest or advocate any measure which would in any way be calculated to disintegrate 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 at present be revolutionary and out of the question." He then went on to say "How this measure can in the least produce the apprehended result of breaking up the joint family system surpasses one's comprehension. If anything it will have just the opposite effect." The opponents of the Bill had no difficulty in showing even from the mouths of several of the supporters themselves of the Bill, that the proposed law must inevitably tend towards disintegrating the joint family. Admitting such a probable result, it could reasonably be maintained that it is not an undesirable one, or a result much to be depreciated in view of the progress and requirements of the age we are now in. Sir V. Bhashyam Iyengar, however, did not take his stand upon it, but clung to a position which was obviously untenable.

In the circumstances mentioned above, Sir Arthur Havelock was placed in an extremely difficult and perplexing position when he had to decide the ultimate fate of the Gains of learning Bill, and it is no wonder that he took more than ten months to arrive at a decision on the point. The power of vetoing a Bill passed by the Legislative Council, is one to be used most sparingly and ought not to be exercised at all, except in cases of clear necessity. However much we may deplore the occasion for its exercise in the present instance, it cannot be said that it was wrongly exercised under all the circum-

stances. That the power had to be brought into requisition does not reflect credit on the author of the Bill, who as has been shown before, had much to answer for, in the manner in which he steered the Bill through its course, on the community affected by it, for its inarticulate condition in the proper season, on the members of the Legislative Council, whose verdict in favor of the Bill has failed to command confidence and respect, and lastly, even on H. E. Sir Arthur Havelock himself, who since the time of the second introduction, presided in the Council in all the stages of the Bill, but had apparently never mastered the contents of it nor considered the problems which it presented for solution, and never interposed even by a word during the discussion to show his own attitude in regard to it.

Since the above was written, the Madras Law Journal for January has appeared, which delivers some remarks on the subject. It states that, "people who never knew what the law at the present was, or were incapable of learning it, have joined with those to whom it is a sufficient condemnation of any measure, that it is calculated to promote the advancement of the Hindu community, and have gained the ears of the Governor to poison them against the measure." The journal goes on to observe that Sir Arthur Havelock allowed himself to be swayed by "the belated cries of an ignorant multitude" and the senseless agitation against the Bill, and arrives at the conclusion as regards the Governor's refusal to give his assent to it that "We may not perhaps be right in saying that it was illegal. But we have no doubt that it was highly improper and unconstitutional."

A dispassionate criticism from so high an authority on the legal aspect of the case would certainly have merited respect and attention, but the above extracts will show sufficiently clearly that the remarks and statements of the Law Journal are conceived, as is not unusual with it, in the spirit and temper, pictured in the following lines:—

"I am, Sir Oracle, and
"When I ope my lips,
"Let no dog bark."

FIAT JUSTITIA.

HAIDAR'S ANCESTRY.

IN modern times Kolar is the Klondyke of India—at least its cooly Klondyke. As the earliest and the most well-known seat of the mining industry it has attracted the attention of the ignorant everyday railway passenger and the intelligent though casual globetrotter. It has drawn the requisite amount of labour from all parts of South India. The coolies—that is the time-honoured name of the Indian labourer who knows not the dignity of his work—pouring into the Bowringpet Station platform to run down to the various Mining Stations is indeed a sight to see. The jet-black but well-knit Pariah, the slim but iron-framed Mahomedan, the undaunted but open-hearted Malayali, the wiry but strong Naidu, the gentlemanly but self-assertive Mudaliar, the fatty but cunning Komati, nay even the keen-witted but speculative Brahman have all made their way to the place which in one panoramic view exhibits many of the South Indian castes and tribes, and is a witness to the practical headed European's enormous conquest over nature. But Kolar as the seat of the mining industry occupies only a limited portion of the district of that name in the Mysore Province. Its history in past times fills a big chapter in Mysore History. It is, as Mr. Rice* says, a place of great antiquarian interest. It seems to have been founded by the Gaugas early in the Christian era, if it had not been in existence before. During the 11th century it passed into Chola hands, a lasting monument of whose occupation is seen in the existing temple of Kolaramma, which, probably, owes its foundation to Rajendrachola. Early in the next century the Hoysalas got it with the rest of their Mysore Conquests. About the latter half of the 13th century at the Hoysala partition it became a Tamil district. Passing over the early Vijayanagara period we come to the 15th century in which Timmē Ganda received authority to repair its fort. Passing over to Bijapur hands Shaji, the father of the famous Sivaj, became its Governor and often resided there. About half a century later the Mughals took it and early in the 18th century Fattēh Ali, father of the celebrated

* Mysore, Vol. II.

Haidar Ali, became its Faujdar under the Subadar of Sir. Then passing successively into the hands of Haidar, the English and the Maharattas, it was ultimately handed over by the second of these to Tippu in 1792 and since then has been part of the Mysore Raj.

Now, in all its past history nothing is more patent than its having been the bone of contention amongst various kings and nationalities. The causes are not far to seek. From the very earliest times its strategic position in South Indian warfare seems to have made it a station much to be coveted by rival powers. Again, the salubrity of its climate, unsurpassed even now by any other parts of the Province, seems to have contributed not a little to the popularity of the place, whose hillocks had in time become mixed up with the classical mythology of India. In olden days the Subadar of Sera had a health resort there and looked upon it as an excellent sanitarium. And it was he who sent, according to the received account, Fattah Muhammad as Faujdar to Kolar, the first mention of the town, it is worthy of note, during the Mahomedan usurpation of the Mysore State. And here commences our difficulties of Haidar's ancestry.

At the outset it may be remarked for the sake of both clearness and convenience that though there are very many different versions, as to this, they may all be reduced to two opposite theories: one may be called the orthodox, and the other the heretical theory. In conformity with the former theory it has been maintained by Wilkes,* whose opinion on this point has been more or less followed by subsequent writers, that "the first of the family of whom any tradition is preserved was Muhammed Bhelole, a religious person, who came from the Punjab to the South, accompanied by two sons, Muhammed Ali and Muhammed Wellee, and settled at the town of Alund, in the district of Calburga, about one hundred and ten miles west and by north, from Hyderabad. He is said to have founded a small mosque, and fakir's moka, by charitable contributions, and to have accumulated some property by this religious speculation. He married his son Muhammed Ali to the daughter of one of the servants of the celebrated mausoleum at Calburga and Muhammed Wellee into another family in the same neighbourhood. After some time the expenses of this augmented family being greater than the saint was able to defray the two sons proceeded to the south, in search

any service by which they could procure a subsistence; and were engaged at Sera, in the capacity of revenue peons, in the department of the collection of the town customs. Futte Muhammad, the son of Muhammed Ali, and the father of Hyder was run at Sera. In the course of duty or for some other cause explained, the two brothers came to Kolar, where Muhammed Wellee seizing on all the domestic property, turned Futte Muhammad and his mother out of doors." A Naick of peons took pity on them and received them into his house and in time enrolled them as a peon in his own command. Futte subsequently distinguished himself in the siege of Ganjecottah and was dubbed a *zind* and gradually rose in rank and consequence under the Subadar of Sera, who subsequently appointed him Faujdar of Kolar. His first wife was Seydane Saheba, the daughter of Wellee Saheba, a religious person of Kolar, who bore him three sons, Wellee Saheb, Ali Saheb and Behelole Saheb. Of his second marriage the following story is related by Wilkes*: a Neva of respectable family from the Concan was travelling across the peninsula with his wife, one son (Ibrahim Saheb) and two daughters, to Arcot. At Tarrikera, near the borders of the Nizam's dominions, he was robbed and murdered; and his family in the greatest misery begged their way to the eastward, until their arrival at Kolar where their distress induced the widow to listen to the proposal of Fatte Naik to be united to one of her daughters. On this marriage, the rest of the family, relieved from their duties, proceeded to Arcot. Mr. Rice† follows Wilkes in this as in so many other matters of Mysore History. The author of the Kannada Hyder Nameh or Life of Hyder Ali, the first work on the subject by an educated Indian, also follows the same authority. Mr. Lewin Bowering in his monograph,‡ that one of Haidar's ancestors named Hasan, who claimed to be a descendant of the Prophet, left Bagdad and came to Ajmere, where he had a son called Wali Muhammed. This person, related with an uncle, made his way to Gulburga, in the Deccan, and had a son named Ali Muhammed, who eventually migrated to Kolar in the Eastern part of Mysore and died there leaving four sons, the youngest of whom was Fattah Muhammed, who became Faujdar and received Buddcota as a jagir. He

History of Mysore, Vol. I. p. 150.

See "Mysore," Vol. I pp. 372 and p. 416.

Haidar Ali and Tippu Sultan in the Rulers of India Series. Preface pp. 12-13

* History of Mysore, Vol. I., p. 149-150. Higginbotham and Co.

married first a Sayyadani, by whom he had three sons and subsequently two sisters whose father was a Navayat of the race of Hashim.

Of the other theory, which to the present writer seems to be nearer the mark, the ruling authority is Col. Miles.* He seems to have been very sceptical of the highland noble descent ascribed to Haidar. He says that Haidar "himself was accustomed to claim a descent from the king of Beejapoor. There appears however no other ground than his own assertion, and the author of the work† if he had the slightest pretext for assigning so noble an origin to his hero would not, I think, have failed to give him the full advantage of it. But the fact is that his origin is very obscure and the term Naik is rather ambiguous." In connection with this Beejapoor origin, Col. Miles, in a supplemental note to his book,‡ gives a translation of a Persian work.§ The author of this work after premising that there are many different accounts of Haidar's origin states that he was himself accustomed to assert that he was derived from the kings of Bejapoor; and that when their government ended, and Sultan Sikundur, the last king of Bejapoor, was killed he left a son eight years old, who was saved from his enemies and with a few jewels, taken secretly by his mother to Cuddapah, where he remained unknown until he died, leaving a son who entered the service of the Afghans of Cuddapali as did his son also. The last mentioned left two sons who served the Afghans of Cuddapali and Kurnool in the lowest grade of military rank, that of Naik or corporal of regular infantry. The son of one of these was named Muhammad Naik. His son was Ali Naik and his son Fattah Naik. Fattah Naik had two sons, Haidar Naik and Shah Baz Naik.||

The theory of the Koreish origin seems to be based upon grounds the most flimsy. Of the many inherent improbabilities in it the first seems to be the one regarding the immigration of Fattah's father and uncle into the south. At the time of their alleged advent Aurangzebe had died, the puppet emperors that succeeded him had begun ascending the tottering Mughal throne, the disruption of the Moghul Empire was staring, and the general dislocation of society in Hindustan had commenced.

* History of Hydar Naik.

† Meer Hussein Ali Khan Kirmani, the author of the Persian work translated by Col. Miles and called History of Hyder Naik.

‡ P. 493.

§ Mirra Ikbal's Ahwali Hydar Naik.

|| Col. Miles' Hydar Naik, p. p. 490-4.

In such a state of ferment every adventurer of fiery spirit and valour made a fortune for himself in India by either setting up a principality for himself on the ruins of the old Moghul possessions or serving for or against the Moghul Emperor as a military commander. Under such circumstances it is quite past understanding to the present writer why Haidar's alleged ancestors should not have thought of securing positions of honour and trust in Hindustan but have pitched upon the rather queer course of coming down south for their livelihood in the rather humble position, to put it in the least offensive way, of revenue peons. Again, if really they belonged to such august parentage, they would really have been treated with marked respect with the result that they would either have risen to be the spiritual guides of the local Mahomedans or have become military officers of rank and consequence under the local governments. Indeed, it strikes one that they were more fit for military work than for revenue work in the position of peons.

Wilkes himself later on in his work says that "the mother-in-law of Futte Naick had been ill received at Arcot, on account of her connection with the Naick; and the family into which she expected to marry her other daughter declined the alliance for the same cause. She therefore joined her son-in-law at Chittoor, and he having in the meantime lost his second wife without issue, took to himself her younger sister as a third."* This is rather a striking passage taken in connection with the account given of the noble descent of Haidar's ancestors. It seems to indicate that Fattah seems to have belonged to a comparatively lower order of Mahomedans than the Nevayet lady whose cause he espoused. If really Fattah belonged to the Koreish tribe, then the Nevayet lady could not, with justification, have been ill-received at Arcot and be refused the alliance already agreed upon. For the Nevayets, as their name indicates, are "new comers" into Hindustan. During the 8th century A.D., owing to the oppression and cruelty of a veritable monster governor of Irak, Mejjaj Bin Yusuf, some respectable and opulent Mahomedans departed with their dependants and effects and embarked on ships prepared for their reception in the Persian Gulf. Some of these landed on the Konkan Coast and others to the Eastward; Cape Canorin: the descendants of the former are the Nevayets; of the latter the Lubbe (a modification of Lubbeik) meaning "here

"I am" indicating attention on being spoken to. The Nevayets preserve the purity of their original blood, remarks Wilkes,* by systematically avoiding intermarriage with the Indians and even with the highest Mahomedan families for many centuries after the establishment of the Musulman dynasties of the Dekkan. Certainly the strength of the objection against marrying into a family which had come to India from their original Arab home, so recently as Haidar's ancestors had done, would lose a great deal of its weight. The alleged Koreish descent perhaps was first invented to make the marriage of Fatteli Naik with the Nevayet ladies to look as if it were one contracted on terms of equal descent and subsequently to answer the purposes of the high regal position of his still greater son Haidar Ali.

Again, it must be remarked that Haidar's own account of his origin seems to be quite at variance with the theory put forward by the orthodox School. It is certain that, if the alleged account be true, Haidar himself would have claimed and preferred the Koreish descent to the Bijapur one. But as a matter of fact there is no record of his having done either of these. On the other hand it may be pointed out that even his claim had no true foundation to rest upon. He claimed Bijapur descent for the simple reason that he wanted to rest his usurpation of the Mysore Rajah upon a foundation of right. For Mysore was tributary to Bijapur. And the fact that it depends only upon his own assertion and is not referred to even by the best of his biographers, Hussein Ali Khan Kirimani, makes us receive it with great caution, if not with positive suspicion. The fact seems to be that, as Lewin Bowring,† who also shows his disbelief in the august descent of Haidar's ancestors, remarks, "in Hindustan, as elsewhere, when any man of vigour and energy has raised himself to a throne, it is not difficult to find for him a pedigree showing his noble descent, and it is not therefore surprising that native annalists should endeavour to prove that Haidar came from the famous race of Koreish."

So, then, it seems clear that neither the august Koreish nor the regal Bijapur descent of Haidar and his ancestors finds support in facts and consequently either of them is incapable of

* See a very interesting note at pp. 150-151.

† Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan Preface. Pp. 12-13.

belief. In investigating the true descent of Haidar, Kolar and the relations of Haidar's father with it must certainly come in for a great deal of attention. The authorities themselves make Haidar's grandfather come to Kolar and state that Fatteli was born at Kolar.* The local tradition of the indigenous origin of the ancestors of the subject of their biographies seems to have been too great even for them to be quietly passed over in silent contempt. The mausoleum of Haidar Ali's nearest relatives at Kolar is a standing monument to their connection with the town. It is referred to both by Wilkes† and Buchanan.‡ But their account being very meagre, the following account of it derived from personal inspection of the mausoleum§ may be fittingly added here and may be of interest to the readers. What is popularly called the Durga consists of a number of buildings situated in one spacious compound which has a big tank, originally supplied with water from a lake close by, surrounded by walks of rose trees. Of the several blocks, one is occupied by the officiating Mahomedan priests who read the *nimar* for the benefit of the departed souls; another is occupied by the official care-takers of the place, while others again are used as kitchens &c., at the time of the performance of the annual ceremonies. The mausoleum proper itself is a rectangular block of about 29 ft. by 24 ft. with an ordinary terraced roof surmounted, contrary to the usual practice in such cases, by no dome.¶ The walls are built of stones and are covered with a thick coating of lime, perhaps due to renewed official white-washing. It has neither pillars nor windows, though it has two doorways. The persons who lie buried in it are a dozen in number and include Haidar's grandfather and grandmother, father and mother, an own brother, two stepmothers, four stepbrothers and first wife. Haidar himself was to have been buried there but for some untoward circumstances. After "the ever victorious spirit of Haidar," as the native

* But Wilkes says he was born at Sera. P. 149.

† P. 150.

‡ Journey from Madras through Mysore, Canara and Malabar. Vol. I., p. 93. Diary for 8th July 1800.

§ Buchanan at p. 193 under *Kolar* says that this was built by Haidar for his father. This is certainly a mistake. It was built by Fatteli Muhammad, the father of Haidar. See Wilkes, p. 150, whose statement is confirmed by the people of Kolar even now.

¶ In this respect the Seringapatam mausoleum differs from this.

biographer writes, "had taken its flight to Paradise," an account runs that his remains deposited in a large chest filled with aromatics reached Kolar *en route* to Seringapatam to be buried there in the tomb specially constructed by himself. But by the time the bearers, accompanied evidently by Karim Shah, the younger son of Haidar, reached Kolar, the body began to rot† and as the result of a conference held there and then and with the assent of Karim Shah preparations were begun to bury him there. But meanwhile Tippu arrived on the spot and gave effect to the dead-father's wish to be buried at Seringapatam‡. So the body was, after the due performance of the usual ceremonies at Kolar, removed to Seringapatam and lies buried there. Some of the tombs are covered with palls of colours. The biggest of the tombs is 7 ft. by 4½ ft. and the smallest is about 2½ ft. by 1½ ft. Originally certain lands seem to have been set apart by Fattah Ali to meet the annual expenses of its maintenance. But soon after the adjustment of relations of the allies after the fourth Mysore War in 1799, the lands were resumed by Government, and a money grant of about Rs. 3,300 was sanctioned instead, of which about Rs. 3,000 is spent in daily feeding the surrounding indigent and the poor, about Rs. 170 is spent in the celebration of the annual ceremonies of Fattah Ali and about Rs. 100 is saved

* The present writer owes this to the kindness of a respectable Mysore gentleman whose self-chosen anonymity he regrets but respects. It is in conflict with what Mr. Rice, in his *Mysore Gazetteer*, states, *viz.*, that the tomb in which Haidar, his second wife, and his son Tippu lie buried was erected especially by Tippu for Haidar's sake. But this is not to be found either in Wilkes or in Buchanan. And further, Tippu would not have wished to make himself still more disliked by Haidar by doing such an act. For Haidar seems to have disliked him so much that he would not forgive him even on his deathbed and the only answer to his ministers who frequently represented the necessity of sending for Tippu—for he had long desired to pay his duty to his father—was "why do you trouble me in this manner."

† There is a tradition in and around Kolar that while the bearers with the remains were staying at Kolar, Haidar's mother appeared to Karim Shah in a dream and directed its burial in her own tomb since the disembodied spirit of his father, on account of his heinous sins, would not find rest in the bosom of Mother Earth!

‡ Wilkes says that "the confidential persons directing the escort were ordered to deposit their charge at the tomb of his father at Kolar," and adds in a note that "it was afterwards removed by Tippu's orders to the superb mausoleum, still endowed by the English at Seringapatam." *History of Mysore*, Vol. II, ch. XXV, p. 33. This is very probable. Mirza Ikbāl previously cited says that for six weeks after Haidar was dead, no one in camp, except a very few of his chief officers, knew of his decease. They had heard indeed that he was dangerously ill, but no more was known until Tippu arrived in camp, the duty in all the departments being carried on with the same regularity. (Col. Miles' *Hyder Naik*, p. 512). Wilkes and Rice attribute, with truth, the credit of this arrangement to Dewan Purniah. It was evidently intended to avoid disruption of the army and the setting up of any other person than Tippu as the successor of Haidar. Their commissioning the burial at Kolar was perhaps also due to the same reasons.

annually for repairs. Lately the Councillor Mr. Abdur Rahman Khan Bahadur added a boys' and girls' school to the Government establishment of a Nazim, a Munshi, and a set of rather ill-paid peons and menial servants. The whole management redounds greatly to the credit of the Mysore Government in its administration of Religious Endowments. And while the Travancore Government has also seen its way to the efficient management of the same, the Government of India, which has, perhaps, within its vast jurisdiction the major portion of the most richly endowed religious and charitable institutions in India, has only thought fit to reject the Bill put forward with that object. And we need hardly add that the rejection is a betrayal of the people's trust in its hands and the sooner it rectifies its mistaken policy in this matter, the better it is for the peoples of India.

• This then shows sufficiently well the strong ties which bound Haidar and his ancestors to Kolar. Coupling with what has been already said the fact that the title of "Naik" * was bestowed upon Fattah, a title which, if he had had the reputation to belong to such noble parentage, would not have been bestowed upon him and even if bestowed he would not, in propriety, have accepted it so calmly and quietly as he in fact seems to have done, we may infer that Haidar's ancestors seemed to have belonged to a locally evolved Mahomedan family at Kolar, *—to which must belong the credit of having produced "one of the most remarkable personages who have played their parts on the stage of Indian History"—without accepting Col. Miles' suggestion, on what appears to be insufficient evidence, that they might belong to a family of Hindu converts to Mahomedanism, who often call themselves Koreish, though it might have the merit of explaining as well Haidar's indulgent policy towards Hindus, and Tippu's fanatic outbreaks against them. At any rate the attributing of a noble pedigree is not necessary to raise Haidar in our general estimate of his character and greatness.

C. H.

* See Miles' *Hyder Naik*, p. xvii.

† Buchanan (p. 193). Says Haidar was born in Kolar; col. Miles says "at the town of Kolar; the Hyder Nameh makes it Devenhall, which according to Mr. Rice (Vol. II. P. 66) was the birth place of Tippu; Koimani is not explicit but seems to imply that he was born in Kolar."

MATHEW ARNOLD: HIS LIFE AND POETRY--I.

GIVEN the race to which a man belongs; his surroundings; and his epoch. Can you build the man? This is the question that Taine sets before himself in his History of English Literature. "There is a particular inner system of impressions and operations which makes an artist, a believer, a musician, a painter, a wanderer, a man of society; and of each the affiliation, the depth, the independence of ideas and emotions are different: each has its moral history and its special structure, with some governing disposition and some dominant feature. To explain each, it would be necessary to write a chapter of esoteric analysis." Such a method is no doubt a very instructive method; it will call before us scenes and ideas that a purely rough and ready recording system of criticism cannot do; it will guide us, however imperfectly, to understand the thoughts and the movements of the man and that they are not altogether eccentric but to a certain extent amenable to laws. Such a method is what is called a scientific method; and a criticism based purely on it might be called an *a priori* criticism. As all *a priori* methods are, such a method must also be, subject to certain limitations. Of course it is theoretically possible to interpret every kind of phenomena; to systematise every series of actions; and from a knowledge of them to look into the future. And it might also be conceded that if our conclusions are wrong, our premises must have been wrong; our knowledge and therefore our interpretation of the original set of events must have been imperfect; and that by a more rigorous study and a more intelligent application, we must be able to arrive at the true conclusions. But the most weighty of the objections to it is this; given true men of the same race, of the same surroundings and the same epoch, how are we to account for the genius of the one and the stupidity of the other, as is not uncommonly the case. The circumstances being the same, the causes also are the same, and the results must be the same; how then are we to explain the difficulty? It is not possible to explain it; the doctrine of Heredity, of experience and a host of others will not do. So that although such a method of criticism cannot explain all the points of a man; how the son of a Staffordshire

Yeoman became Shakespeare, the son of a London scrivener became Milton, the carrier of newspapers became Faraday, yet if such a method be not present before us, all the actions, feelings and expressions of such a man would be the different meaningless images of a revolving kaleidoscope. Further such a theory only fails in the case of those comet-like appearances of geniuses; their impulse, their mental and moral stuff are so wholly fresh and inexperienced that our little philosophic ken cannot understand them, but such phenomena are not a matter of every-day occurrence. The average man thinks and does in the ordinary way; and such ordinary ways are not always inexplicable or are at least not so difficult to explain as the former. There is nothing in them so very startling, so very brilliant. Such average men go the ordinary run of life and are more or less swayed by their circumstances. Or some of them, not naturally highly endowed, resort to system and gradually train and develop themselves; so that at every stage of their development, some apparently explicable force or other has operated and produced the result; and to such a class of men belongs Mathew Arnold. Though the natural poet is not wanting in him, yet his culture, self-exertion, self-development is predominant. Every line of his poetry, although not deficient in natural vigour and freshness of thought, is yet very much the result of effort and polish. And to such a life, such a method can be most instructively applied. We know the race he belongs to and the sort of exponent of that race he is, we know the surroundings of his life, although not very well yet tolerably well enough to trace the development of his mind, we know the epoch of his birth and life, its thoughts and aspirations. From a knowledge of them I shall endeavour to build the poet and trace the gradual development of his mind and finish the subject with a criticism of his poetry.

The chief guide towards such a step is a chronological study of the author's life and works in the light of the national characteristics, the environment and the epoch. But the aids to such a step are not very many. Arnold himself has expressed a wish that his life should not be made the subject of a Biography. The only help to us is his letters which begin from 1848 and go up to 1888, the year of our poet's death. In 1849 Arnold published his first instalment of poems; so that we cannot know the state of the mind of the poet of the time when it was forming. Besides, the circle of his correspondents was so limited that added to the

author's studied reticence and modesty in his own personal affairs, the letters do not help us very much towards grasping the author's later stage of mental development. But we have his poems with their dates of publication and the author's prefaces to each of his several editions of works and also the information to be gleaned from the published letters of Arnold.

Arnold was born at Laleham, near Stanies, on December 24th 1822, as the eldest son and second child of Dr. Arnold of Rugby. Dr. Arnold was at that time a schoolmaster of Laleham. Already his powers had been fully developed and he had seen the light of his life. A vehement schoolboy, he had latterly schooled himself to calmness and brought himself under the ennobling influence of conduct and good manners. From his youth, he had a predilection to History and Geography, a cultivation of which in his after years has given us his History of Rome. He was fond of science and had learned Geology, his favourite subject, from Professor Buckland. He had a love for Poetry though he himself did not excel much in that species of composition. His special poet was Wordsworth. He adored him and took a pride in his company and in calling himself his neighbour. Above all, his leaning was towards the classical literature. He said that they were the most enduring, the most ennobling of all the literatures of the world. His favourites were Thucydides and Herodotus. As a schoolmaster his chief feature was earnestness and love of duty. Whenever he spoke, it was always like the voice of an oracle. Every boy was impressed with the idea that his life had a meaning and a purpose and that his one duty in the world was to fulfil it. In 1828 he was elected the Headmaster of Rugby and thus offered a wider field for his work and influence to be felt; and Mathew also went with him to Rugby. Dr. Arnold now entered into the religion of religion. He hated all narrow sectarianisms and meaningless formulas. He taught the religion of Christ and hated the English theology. Mathew's mother does not seem to be a very extraordinary woman, but she had a sense of beauty, a taste for poetry and was a very affectionate and devoted mother. In a letter to his mother, Mathew Arnold says:—"Accept every loving and grateful wish from a son to whom for nearly thirty years you have been such a mother as few sons have. The more I see of the world, the more I feel thankful for the bringing up we had; so unworldly, so sound, so pure."

We do not know how much the scenery of Laleham had influenced the mind of Mathew; but perfectly certain we may be, that the influence was not of the ardent type of Shelley or Wordsworth or the sensuous one of Keats; and from the description of Laleham to be met with in his letters, we may gather that they exercised some influence on the future poet's mind. In 1830, Mathew left his father for Laleham where he was placed under the teaching of his uncle John Buckland, a stern type of vigorous morals and pure thoughts. He remained there for six years and in 1836 was sent to Winchester as a Commoner where under Moberly, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, the austere system was in its hey-day. He remained there only for a year and came again to Rugby and entered his father's school. His father had at that time made a name and fame, and Arnold was thus once more brought under a more sympathetic and poetical atmosphere. He read, wrote poems, and got prizes. He remained there for five years when he went to Oxford.

Thus to the national temperament of sincerity and religious earnestness, was added the congenial influence of his home and education. All eccentricities and slipshod ways of life could find no room in such a methodical and austere training whether under his father, or Buckland or Moberly. From his father he had imbibed a love of history, a passionate leaning towards the classics, a large-heartedness and impartiality of judgment and a serious and lofty purpose of life. He

"Sate obedient, in the fiery prime
Of youth, self-governed, at the feet of Law."

Thus strengthened he went to Oxford and it is no wonder that he never for one moment forgot his soul and lost himself in the snares of the University life. He won the Hertford scholarship and the Newdigate prize with a poem on "Cromwel," but lost his father in the same year. Already the gloom of his later days had come on him. Macaulay relates a reminiscence of Arnold's brother, how when Mathew and his brother were watching the arrival of a boat, Mathew having seen a gipsy-child, was instantly absorbed. Although it is doubtful if he wrote "The Gipsy-child by the sea-shore" at that time and although it was usual for Arnold to have an idea and to be constantly gathering materials for it as in "Thyrsis," yet it is perfectly certain that "the eternal note of sadness" had already settled on him. His University career was not very brilliant, but he managed to be elected a

Fellow of Oriel in 1845. Arnold was thus twenty-three years old when he came out of the University. The man in him had already been formed, and hence in the choice of life, he would not go astray. At first he took up the post of a teacher of classics in the fifth form at Rugby and two years after became Private Secretary to Lord Landsdowne. In 1849, he published anonymously a volume of poems "The Strayed Reveller and other poems by A." Thus during these four years he was incessantly occupied in reading and thinking.

It is an important fact to remember that he was born and the most impressionable period of his life was passed in an epoch of transition, an epoch of expansion both in England and on the continent. The oligarchy of the Revolution whigs was passing into the democracy of the modern middle class people. The danger of foreign invasion was hushed once for all in the overthrow of Napoleon, and the attention of the English Government was now turned towards rectifying the errors of administration and alleviating and redressing the sorrows of the people. At first the Reform Bill was passed under Lord Grey; and it thoroughly transformed the aspect of the administrative machinery of England. Next came the Emancipation Act which at once cut a gulf between the past horrors and the future hopes of humanity. A number of minor reforms were made which affected all the details of English life. Next came the Repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, the agitation for which introduced a sort of heaven into the whole English life. Besides, there was the Irish question which demanded more and more their attention. In 1848, there was revolution everywhere on the continent, and the old order was changing giving place to the new. France became a Republic and Louis Philippe took refuge in England. Germany began to throw off the old garb of the middle ages and assume the modern aspect. Italy awoke from its sleep and under Mazzini put forth its first efforts towards republicanism.

The spirit of freshness and of change was not confined to the political world. It affected the mental and the moral world. Men began to doubt; were dissatisfied with the food offered to their soul. This movement took the form of what was called the Broad Church and the High Church movement and had its home at Oxford. In the very year that Arnold became a Fellow of Oriel, the highly imaginative mind of Newman found its

satisfaction in the solemn sincerity and the dim religious light of Catholicism. Tennyson's mind was vaguely effected by it, and he solved the problem by saying that it cannot be solved; that it is "Behind the veil;" that we can only trust but never know; and that

"Thou wilt not leave us in the dust;
Thou madest man, he knows not why;
He thinks he was not made to die;
And thou hast made him, thou art just."

Browning was too faithful a son of Britain to be much affected by such doubtings; too optimistic to let his mind be clouded by such thoughts. Carlyle found his solution in his Duty and Sincerity; Ruskin in his Art; and Arthur Hugh Clough, a favourite student of Dr. Arnold and a staunch friend of Mathew Arnold, found his solution in "We know not, let us only do as we are doing." Arnold listened to Newman, and Emerson who was then lecturing in England; heard Carlyle; was introduced to Goethe through Carlyle's translations; and to him also came the doubts. He found that Newman's solution was "impossible." Tennyson had not yet published his "In Memoriam" to give expression to his views of life; and even if he had published it, Arnold would not have listened to him. Browning had no problem to solve, and Carlyle's solution amounted, with Arnold, to carrying coals to Newcastle. The question therefore assumed a fresh and independent aspect for him.

He was so much dissatisfied with his surroundings that the question of "to be or not to be" very often troubled his mind, and this is the predominant note of her early poems. Utterly hopeless of finding a relief, he invoked Stagirus and asked him to save him. Before he was able to find a solution for his doubts, the question whether life is worth living and the use that could be made of it and the joys that could be derived from it in any way compensate for the evils and troubles that beset it must first find a solution. Arnold was too sane, too self-dependent to doubt it and commit suicide because he could not find one jot of happiness in his life. He thought of "Myserinus" and "the Gipsy." He repeated to himself the bitter cry of the psalmist "I myself have seen the ungodly in great power and flourishing like a green bay tree." Myserinus, "who ennobled this dull pomp, the life of kings, by contemplation of diviner things," who loved justice while his father loved injustice; who was rewarded for

all his troubles and self-tormentings with the life of "six years-six little years-six drops of time" never for one moment doubted in the efficacy of life, but threw himself with the greatest ardour into the enjoyment of that short space of life. The Gipsy child though it had "foreknown the vainty of hope, foreseen its harvest," yet proceeded to live. The Gipsies whom

"Time's busy touch
While it mends little, troubles much"

Yet

"Rubbed through yesterday
In their hereditary way
And they will rub through if they can,
To-morrow on the self-same plan
Till death arrive to supersede
For them, vicissitude and need."

These had determined to live and Arnold also determined to live. The life of an ascetic was impossible for him, he was too sympathetic for it. He had a large sense of humour and cheerfulness that he could not be very hopeless. He called all such men children. "Thoughts not idle" could arise in his mind while before him flew "the armies of the homeless and the unfed." Was there no hope? Should he for ever be a doubting Hamlet and end his life just as he began it? Would not Time

"So complained of,
Who to us one man
Shows partiality
Brings round to all men
Some undimmed hours"—Consolation.

bring to Arnold some of those happier, diviner moments when he could see the soul of things and understand them in their real light? What if he had infringed his nature's law and not kept God's word in its entirety?

"Ah! let us make no claim
On life's incognisable sea
To too exact a steering of our way;
Let us not fret and tear to miss our aim,
If some fair coast have lured us to make stay
Or some friend hailed us to keep company."—Human life.

Arnold was thus able to give a temporary relief to his burning soul; he no longer had questionings of being or not being; his one aim hereafter was to find the mission and light of his life,

He began more and more to rest in the supreme power of man's will; that it could solve all doubts and overcome all obstacles:—

"Yet the will is free;
Strong is the soul, and wise and beautiful.
The seeds of godlike power are in us still.
Gods are we, bards, saints, heroes, if we will."

Again addressing the preacher who said that man must live in harmony with nature, he says

"Know, man hath all that Nature hath, but more,
And in that more lie all his hopes of good."

Yet like that Mycerinus whose eye

"On that joyless feast
Dwelt with mere outward seeming; he within
Took measure of his soul and knew its strength.
And by that silent knowledge, day by day
Was calmed, ennobled, comforted, sustained"

or like that Gipsy-child whose gloom the world could not wholly efface, Arnold, although he had resolved to live and share in the ways and fevers of the world, never once forgot that he had yet the problem of his life to solve, that he had not quieted all the sad yearnings of his soul.

Arnold at this time was chiefly under the influence of Wordsworth and the classical writers. Goethe who was to exercise so large an influence on our poet, had not yet been fully appreciated by him. In fact he had not clearly grasped what he had wanted to read. "I am getting more of a distinct feeling as to what I want to read; and however this, though a great step, is not enough without strong command over oneself to make oneself follow one's rule." Wordsworth was the one English poet that had at this time exercised the greatest influence on the poet's mind. Wordsworth was a priest of Nature; Nature was a living element to him; he could hear the "sad music of humanity" in every aspect of Nature and learned to reverence man through Nature. His descriptions of Nature have therefore always something human in them; every little object conveyed a distinct lesson to him. But Arnold's temperament was something different, he had never liked to force his views of things and of Nature on men; he was an impartial Judge of mankind and a disinterested delineator of Nature. But this characteristic of Arnold became prominent only in the later stage of his mental

development and therefore he had not at this stage fully extricated himself from his master's influence. In quiet work he says,

"One lesson, Nature, let me learn of thee
One lesson which in every wind is blown
One lesson of two duties kept at one
Though the loud world proclaim their enemy"

With this compare the following lines of Wordsworth :—

"One impulse from a vernal wood
May teach you more of man
Of moral evil and of good
Than all that sages can."

Again in "Resignation," he says as if reluctantly

"The mute turf we tread,
The solemn hills around us spread
This stream which falls incessantly
The strange, scrawled rocks, the lovely sky
If I might lend their life a voice
Seem to bear rather than rejoice."

Even in his early poems, his descriptions of Nature are purely photographic; the following is an instance :

"Low woody hill, with gracious bound
Folds the still valley almost round;
The cuckoo, loud on some high lawn
Is answered from the depth of dawn;
In the hedge straggling to the stream
Pale, dew-drenched, half shut roses gleam."

Besides these, the influence of Wordsworth can be traced in some phrases as "Took the measure of his soul;" but the influence of Wordsworth stops here. As regards the style of his poetry, Arnold is altogether independent of his master. This master had no settled style of his own; in his inspired moments, he rises into grandeur and on all such occasions, "Nature as it were took the pen out of his hand and wrote for him." In his uninspired moments, he falls into the most commonplace ideas and his production is nothing but a series of prose lines put in the form of poetry, his very theory being "that a large portion of the language of every good poem can in no respect differ from that of good prose." Of course Arnold too at times is prosaic; some of his lines of poetry are nothing but prose stamped with

the form of verse; but he never accepted the theory of Wordsworth. On the other hand, his special strength lies in diction, he took the greatest care to develop it and attain perfection in it. Here he had his classical model. Already possessed of a fine style for the expression of his thoughts, either inherited from his father or obtained by the most strenuous, unwearied efforts after success in the manner of the ancients. So early as 1849, his works exhibit the most remarkable qualities of poetical diction. I cannot quote all such lines but shall simply name the pieces where they can be found; "A Question" seriousness; "Resignation" description and flow; "To a Gipsy-child" rhythmical movement; "Human Life" similes in the grand style; "The Voice" picturesqueness of description and austerity of thought, especially the stanza beginning "Like bright waves that fall;" sonnets; "Quiet Work" and "Shakespeare" sublimity of thought and correctness of form. "Forsaken Mer-man" is the most beautiful of them all. Though it is placed under the head of narrative poems, there is very little of the narrative in it. It is a beautiful lyric—beautiful in the music of the lines and in the sweet and solemn note of sadness that breathes around them. What can be more touchingly pathetic than

"Come away, children, call no more!
Come away, come down, call no more."

Humour is a quality that Arnold very rarely evinces in his poetry and here is one of those rare instances. What can be more touchingly humorous than

"The sea grows stormy, the little ones moan
Long prayers, I said, in the world they say."

Next to Wordsworth, the classics were exercising a large influence on Arnold. He says in the sonnet "To a friend" that in those bad days those who propped his mind were Homer, "the old man" and "the clearest souled of men," Epictetus "the halting slave" and Sophocles "who saw life steadily and saw it whole." It is no wonder that Sophocles took the mind of Arnold; there was a community of soul between them and he and Homer had never lost their hold on him. They formed the poet and the man.

To picture to us shortly the Arnold of this time, we find him the doubting Hamlet; the question of "to be or not to be"

had been solved, the object of his existence had not yet been clearly seen, the man in him had been formed but the poet had yet to be developed. He was not without hope that one day he would see the haven of his life; and towards the attainment of which had contributed pre-eminently his father, then Wordsworth, then some of the classical writers and to a certain extent Goethe and German philosophy. France too had not been silent. We can see from "France, famed in all great arts, in none supreme" that the French writers, although they had not been fully appreciated as yet, must have begun to exert their influence on him towards that broad-mindedness of judgment and penetrative critical faculty which he had possessed in his later years to a remarkable degree.

The first set of poems was published in the year 1849; it was followed by another in 1852. During this time Arnold's mind underwent a higher stage of mental development. He married in 1851 and in the same year was appointed an Inspector of Schools; but his mental troubles were not so easily overcome. At first the spirit of cheerfulness and a sort of compromise with life, arrived at in the first stage of his life, continued. In the "memorial verses" written on the death of Wordsworth, unlike the usual strain of the poet, the whole poem breathes no personal air, he simply notes the virtue of Wordsworth's life and his works and their effects on his age; and contrasts them with those of Goethe and Byron. The hope that some other day a light, the light of his life, would be seen and felt by him assumed a greater strength. In "Backhanalia" and "Revolutions" he is of the fullest confidence that age will heal all the sorrows, break open the silence and gloom that then encircled the world and that glorious country, a heaven on earth, would arise in the future.

"Whatever men have done, might do,
Whatever thought, might think it too" Backhanalia.
"One day, thou sayest, there will at last appear
The world, the order, which God meant should be.
Ah! we shall know that well when it comes near;
The band will quit man's heart, he will breathe free."
Revolutions.

Meanwhile he said he would live like Nature

"Unafrighted by the silence round them,
Undistracted by the sights they see,
.....
In their own tasks all their powers pouring."

and attain the "mighty life" of life. Also the poet thought of the "Kensington Gardens" and the silence prevailing there in the midst of the roar of London and says

"Calm soul of all things! make it mine
To feel, amid the city's Tar,
That there abides a peace of thine,
Man did not make and cannot mar.

The will to neither strive nor cry,
The power to feel with others give!
Calm, calm me more! nor let me die
Before I have begun to live."

But this calm mood of resignation and hope at times left the poet, it glowed for awhile and then was gone.

"Thoughts light, like gleams, my spirit's sky,
But they will not remain;
They light me once, they hurry by:
And never come again." Despondency.

He then asked himself whether all his past hopes were mere dreams and his confidence in the strength of will and the restoring powers of Time was not self-deception and unwarranted by the innate gifts of man which are but shreds and fragments.

"We but dream we have our wished for powers
Ends we seek we never shall attain."

Self-Deception.

But the old consolation had not yet altogether left him; though the "old unquiet breast" still possessed him, yet he made a firm resolve that he had rather have it than mingle with the world which contains either "madmen or slaves" and he lost among them. And he was not entirely without hope. He would, like Nature, live above the ways of men and breathe a free and nobler air and concluded that "a fair lot to fill was left to him still." Again though the mystery of the universe hung on his heart like a dead weight, and every thing was in darkness, the before and after of the life of man, yet if his

"World-deafened ear
Is by the tones of a loved voice caressed."
"An air of coolness place upon his face
And an uncounted calm pervades his breast."

Buried Life.

But moments of these evanescent consolations are few and far between. "The spirit bloweth and is still." Gloom and sad-

ness again alighted on his heart which became sadder and gloomier owing to the short visitations of the divinity in him. His thought of the life of man, of the aspirations and achievement of youth, manhood and old age, and found that each in its own way worked and that all its work came to nothing. "Many are called but few are chosen" the poet repeated to himself. He doubted whether he would be one of these few and his little building of hope was shattered to pieces. His whole past life and its mental struggles came down on him with the accumulated strength of years and he uttered a cry of despair. He had been leaning on the reedy support that age would bring him round and settle the struggles of his soul; and that some day, in place of the present chaos of his heart, there would come order. But this calmness, this order, this light was as far off from him as Heaven is from Earth. Days passed, seasons changed, but there was winter still in his soul. Then he began to soliloquise in the manner of Hamlet and asked Empedocles to play his part. The sorrow had worked so much on his heart that

"He is changed of late;
There is a settled trouble in his air
Admits no momentary brightening now,
And when he comes among his friends at feast
'Tis as an orphan among prosperous boys."

Like Empedocles,

"He lives a lovely man in triple gloom—
He grasps the very reins of life and death."

This poem was published in October 1852 and in November Arnold in a letter to his mother says "I have been since Monday at Lincoln, hard-worked, but subsisting on the cathedral. Every evening as it grew dark, I mounted the hill to it and remained through the evening service in the nave or transepts, more settled and refreshed than I could have been by anything else." What was the cause of his "moody madness"? Was it because he was not spoken of, talked about, patted and cherished by his times? No;

"'Tis not the times, it is not the sophists vex him
There is some root of suffering in himself,
Some secret and unfollowed vein of woe,
Which makes the time look black and sad to him."
Those old days had gone for him when he

"Received the shock of mighty thoughts
On simple minds with a pure natural joy
Had the power to feel the pressure eased,
The brow unbound, the thoughts flow free again.
In the delightful commerce of the world."

The smallest thing could give him pleasure then; "a flute note from the woods; sunset over the sea; seed-time and harvest; the reapers in the corn; the vine-dresser in his vineyard, the village-girl at her wheel;" but now everything became dull and spiritless and the world lost its charm for him. He thought of flying to solitude, but solitude oppressed his soul and so he would change back and thus "many thousand times" was "miserably bandied to and fro like a sea-wave betwixt the world and solitude." Empedocles ended all these troubles and doubts by plunging into the crater of the burning Etna and so died in blank dejection and utter hopelessness of ever solving the problem of life. But what would Arnold do? Would he too commit suicide and thus end the "sea of troubles"? No; either because his melancholy was merely a passion of the intellect, as some would have it, or because it was no small a thing to have enjoyed the sun, to have lived light in the spring, to have loved, to have thought, to have done, he lived, but with a sort of reproof to his mind.

"Life still
Leaves human effort scope.
But, since life teems with ill
Nurse no extravagant hope
Because must not dream, thou need'st not then despair."

Thus we see that during this stage of his life, his mind had attained the highest development. Even the some Wordsworthian touches discernible in his earlier works disappear, and he was wholly his own. The hopes of his earlier years proved only a mirage to him; they were as far off as ever. The one living light to which he might constantly refer was gone for him in 1850; Goethe pleased his mind but did not quell his stormy soul. The author of *Obermann*, of a like spirit and a like struggle, caught his soul and it took rest there for a while; but the journey again came and there was no light past or present that would guide him to his heavenly port. And this thought so troubled his heart that it found a sort of relief in pickering Empedocles, in describing the beatings of his mind and heart and in thinking that he had solved them by putting

an end to that which was no more of use to him and was the cause of all his anguish and pain. But still Arnold loved: he would not follow Empedocles to the grave; he hoped against hope. Through all these imaginings, questionings and self-tormentings of heart, there runs an under-current of thought that perhaps he could never attain the calmness; that his powers of mind were not equal to the task laid before it and he could therefore never come successfully out of the contest. He weighed his own powers, he took "the measure of his soul" but found that they were not wanting. What was it that enabled Wordsworth and Goethe to see clearer than he did. Was it not because their times were more favourable for the calm view of things and the attainment of perfection?

"But we, brought forth and reared in hot
Of change, alarm, surprise
What shelter to grow ripe is ours;
What leisure to grow wise
Like children bathing on the shore,
Buried in a wave beneath,
The second wave succeeds, before
We have had time to breathe
Too fast we live, too much are tried
Too harassed, to attain
Wordsworth's sweet calm or Goethe's wide
And luminous view to gain."

And this must be remembered as it explains the oft-recurring thought of "the times being out of joint" with him. It may not be a good consolation; there may be weakness and too much of the self in it, but it was the hope that was dawning in the poet's mind and in which his heart took perfect rest.

We enter now on the next stage of Arnold's life. It extends from 1853 to 1859 when he was sent as commissioner to enquire into the state of elementary education in the continent. In 1853, he published a volume of poems, from which Empedocles had been excluded, with a preface describing the author's view of ancient and modern poetry.

At first the poet's mind seems to have been hampered by the sea of its utter helplessness. Neckan, like Arnold, prayed to the priest to christen him; but

"The cassocked priest rode onwards,
And vanished with his mule."

But Neckan in twilight grey
Wept by the river-pool."

The Scholar-Gipsy waited for the spark from heaven and Arnold too waited for the same, but it delayed to come. With the exception of these the old aspect is nowhere to be found. But we cannot trace the author's state of mind any further; it is a perfect blank. His letters do not help us much. They simply tell us that as Inspector, he wrote diaries; reports annual and weekly, inspected schools and remarked on their working; had his "offs"; that one day he had a good dinner, on another only his mutton-chop and bread; but do not give any insight into the state of the poet's feelings. This much can be gathered that on the whole he was cheerful; but now and then the tone of weariness, of disappointment can be heard. In a letter to Mrs. Foster, he says, "I think I shall be able to do something more in time, but am sadly bothered and hindered at present, and that puts one in *deprimatus sliming*, which is a fatal thing. To make a habitual war on depression and low spirits, which in one's early youth one is apt to indulge and be somewhat interested in, is one of the things one learns as one gets older. They are noxious alike to body and mind, and already partake of the nature of death." Again in a letter to the same, he says "Hide thy life" said Epicurus, and the exquisite rest there is in doing so can only be appreciated by those who, desiring to introduce some method into their life, have suffered from the malicious pleasure the world takes in trying to distract them till they are as shatter-brained and empty-hearted as the world itself." Again at another time he complains of his life being hampered; how to do great things in the region of thought and feeling and to unite this with perfection of form, not only an effort and a labour is demanded but "an actual tearing of oneself to pieces, which one does not readily consent to (although one is sometimes forced to it) unless one can devote one's whole life to poetry"; how Wordsworth's, Byron's, and Shelley's lives had been free, and Goethe would have done better if his whole life had been freer.

Besides "Neckan" and "the Scholar-Gipsy" Arnold also published "Balder Dead" and "Haworth Churchyard" in 1855 and "Therape" and "Rugby Chapel" in 1857 when he became Professor of Poetry at Oxford. Already in the year 1851, in a letter to his mother, he has said that he retired more and more from the modern world and modern literature "which is all only

what has been before and what will be again, and not tracing or edifying in the least." Again in the preface to the edition of his poems of the year 1853, he gives the reason why he did not publish Empedocles in the volume and defended himself truly or not by saying that not because he felt the awkwardness of dealing with the exhausted past, but because it ill-fitted his theory of the object of poetry—to give delight. He goes into the differences and the relative merits of the ancients and the moderns. The greatness of poetry consists in the depth and force of the conception of human actions and wherever there is such a strong and deep conception of human actions, there is greatness. The ideas and prejudices of a time are not all human actions; they contain some growths which are different for every generation and hence poetry which occupies itself with them cannot like themselves be permanent. If these ideas are criticisms of life and therefore common to men of all times and places, then the poetry also will be permanent. Hence if ancient works breathe such a spirit, they are great; if modern works also breathe such a spirit, they are equally great, and so far as such ideas are concerned, all ancient poetry is modern and all modern poetry is ancient. Thus he proves the invidiousness of the distinction between ancient and modern poetry. Further, modern poetry gives us only detached imageries or thoughts of the highest beauty and perfection, while the chief merit of the ancient and especially Greek poetry consists in their ability to seize the action as a whole and give us a total-impression. "They always chose a fit subject to express such potent actions, penetrated themselves with the feelings of the situations of the actions and subordinated expression to the main issue of the action." It does not mean that their expression was imperfect; on the contrary their works are always in the grand style. So well did they steep their mind with the main situations of the actions and make it glow with them, that the expression naturally followed and their productions have thus been rendered so perfect and noble. Of the moderns, Shakespeare is the only poet that resembles the ancients, in the quick perception of the central action of a theme and the choice of it. His style although not very often simple, yet generally is in the grand style. The communicable part of the latter, his imitators have succeeded in, but have failed in the incommunicable part of the former. Besides offering abundance of materials for models of imitation,

ancient poetry has a steady and composing effect on our judgment, not of literary works only but of men and events in general. For these reasons Arnold preferred the ancients to the moderns and during this period of his life, their influence is supreme, and explains the productions of such poems as "Sohrab and Rustum," "Balder Dead" and "Merope." Like the ancients, he chose a noble and excellent theme in "Sohrab and Rustum," he so filled his mind with the issue of the action that the form naturally flowed for him and in fact it is a splendid success. I shall describe the literary merits of this poem and others later on. But they all explain the want of poems describing the author's state of feeling at this stage of life. It has been already said that Arnold found his entire satisfaction in the idea that he was born too late; that the times were too stormy and troubled to allow him to find the light. If his own times were too unsettled, there was a time in the past when everything was calm and men found the most congenial atmosphere for communion with the soul. And Arnold's mind gravitated more and more towards that past and found a fairly good satisfaction in it, since we very seldom hear of him complaining. He had also at this time formed a grand design of making the fall of the Roman Republic the theme of a grand work, but it was never carried out. Perhaps his want of leisure and consequent inability to work at it might have given occasion to those moanings quoted above from his letters. But this attitude of the poet was not appreciated by the public. Froude had desired to know when he would the "Merope line" and a cry was heard from every where that Arnold had designed "to substitute tragedies *a la Grecque* for every other kind of poetical composition in England." And Arnold was not a man to persist in his own line of action if that was meant to please or chasten and did neither please nor was allowed to chasten. Already in 1855, after Balder had come out, he says "I have in part done with this field, *i.e.*, the field of antiquity in completing 'Balder,' and what I would do next will be, if I can do it, different." Again after finishing "Merope" he says, "I promise you too, to give you a better satisfaction some day, if I live." Perhaps at this time he was thinking of the grand scheme which ended in nothing. So this stage was passed not without unrest, but not so keen and bitter as the last.

In 1859, Arnold was appointed a commissioner to inquire

into the system of elementary education that obtained in France, Germany and Holland. It was a great delight to him to be for some time free from the routine of his inspection work and the delight grew into a passion at the prospect of his visiting France, the country that he liked next to England best, and making a stay there. From this time until the last publication of his poems in 1867, the influence at work was France and its literature. The old classical influence was still lingering. We see in his letters that now and then the *Odyssey* or *Marcus Aurelius* engaged him; and that he had formed the idea of writing a tragedy on the Latin poet, *Secretius*. But France at this time exercised the most potent influence on him. In the capacity of a Commissioner he had ample opportunities of seeing the French savants and their works. Since the main characteristic of French literature did not consist, as Arnold thought, in Poetry but only in the field of criticism, in the field of ideas, their influence on Arnold at this time was also of the same character. Arnold began to write essays on the French celebrities and collected them in a volume with two articles on "The Function of criticism at the present time" and "The French Academies." And a still more important consequence it produced in his time of thought. Hitherto he was occupied mainly with poetry and now a fresh thought struck his mind. He compared the capacity for ideas of the English and the French and found that the former was wholly inadequate. And this thought daily worked on his mind and entirely took possession of it, and henceforth his one object in life was to sow ideas among the English; to do for England what Renan was then doing for France and to perfect the English people by giving to them the French side of human nature which only, Arnold thought, they lacked. He says "I have a conviction that there is a real, an almost imminent danger of England losing immeasurably in all ways, declining into a sort of greater Holland, for want of what I must still call ideas, for want of perceiving how the world is going and must go, and preparing herself accordingly. This conviction haunts me and even overwhelms me with depression; I would rather not live to see the change come to pass, for we shall all deteriorate under it. While there is time, I will do all I can and in every way to prevent its coming to pass." And since he did not feel his poetry becoming very popular but felt that the reception given to "Essays in Criticism" was very cordial; and

since he would not write and do things in his own ways, as Browning did, but always felt the pulse of the nation at everything that he wrote and everything that he said, the idea of writing poetry gradually disappeared from his mind. It must not be supposed that it went off immediately, because he says so late as 1864, that although the temptation to treat political, religious or social matters directly was strong, yet after yielding to such a temptation he felt himself "recoiling again and disposed to touch them only so far as they could be touched through poetry." The thought of devoting his life to spread ideas among the people, from this time took full possession of his mind and gradually ousted poetry, until at last we see that after 1867 when his "New Poems" were published, Arnold did not write any poetry at all worthy of being so called, but spent his time in a number of religious, social, and political controversies. Added to this, there was the want of leisure; between the travel on the continent and the circuit as an Inspector and the preparation of the Commissioner's Report, he could find very little time for the composition of serious poetry on a large scale; and therefore it is no wonder that in this volume, the number of new poems published was comparatively small. Though the instalment contained only very few fresh ones, yet their importance in giving an insight into the poet's state of mind is very great. They all breathe a spirit of full hope and conviction. The letters, worthless for our purposes as they are, yet tell us that the poet on the whole was happy or at least was not so unhappy as in the former years of his life. It may be because he was reconciling himself to his situation, but it cannot be denied that the idea of success, the discovery of a new hope had much to do with it.

S. VENCĀTACHARI.

(To be continued.)

LEGENDS OF ANCIENT MADURA.

No. IV.

Some it would appear to be within the bounds of possibility that the several lists of the Pandyan Kings, that are extant, are more or less faulty and comparatively valueless for the purpose of strict history. Though not prepared to go the length of saying with some, that the names are all purely fictitious, one must needs admit that there is every ground for doubting the fact that exactly seventy-three Pandyas reigned in succession in Madura. Judging from the fact that every petty Hindu Raja of the present day has from five to twenty names and titles, most of which are known to only one or two of his servants and dependants, and the number of which is constantly being added to by fawning bards and poets, there seems to be every reason to believe that each of the Pandyas, and particularly the most famous, had a large number of names and titles, some Sanskrit, some Tamil, of which as many perhaps as three or four were much more generally known and used than the others. These favorite names and titles would naturally be used by the poets of the day without distinction or explanation and thus probably it has come about that no two lists of names agree or even appear to be reconcileable. That the practice obtained in the times of the Pandyas appears clearly from the Purana. The last King was called Kubja and afterwards Sundarb in Sanskrit, whilst the Tamil and more common name was Kûn or Kûna; the 4th King, Ugra, was surnamed Hâra-D'hari; and the 47th King, Vamsha Chûdâmani, was also called Champaka from constantly using the sacred Champaka flowers in religious worship. Moreover many of the so-called names are clearly mere titles, as Abhisheka, Saradh, Karpura, Yuddhakolahala, Chôlantaka, Cherantaka and others, and could not possibly have been given to children by parents.

We think therefore that the safest plan of dealing with the various lists of Pandya Kings is to assume that each of them is to a degree incorrect and imperfect: but is probably at the same

time entitled to more or less credit. However careless and mendacious chroniclers of events may be, their stories generally rest upon a foundation of truth; and it would be most unwise, it seems to us, to reject wholesale the only available evidence of what happened in Mad'hurâ in ancient times, afforded by our Purana.

As for the objection to the credibility of lists which give Sanskrit names to Tamil Kings of very early age, based on the assumption that the Sanskrit language was introduced into the South of India at a later period than that in which those kings are said to have reigned, an objection put forwarded by many orientalists and amongst others by the great Wilson, we would submit that it is unsound and should carry no weight with it. The Sanskrit writers who composed the list would naturally do everything in their power to avoid writing harsh and inelegant Tamil names in Sanskrit letters. They would, as a matter of course, translate all titles and such names as bore meanings; and they would so alter meaningless names as to make them resemble as closely as possible Sanskrit forms. But it would be in only very rare instances that they would give up a Tamil name as hopeless and substitute a perfectly different Sanskrit name or title in its place. Thus the Tamil name Alayan would be turned into its equivalent Sundara, Kûn into Kubja, and so forth. Not only is it more reasonable to suppose that this was done than to suppose that men deliberately sat down and composed a number of names for the mere pleasure of lying: but we have some evidence going to show that the supposition is correct; for it appears clearly from the lists of the Pandyas given by Wilson, that in some cases, one and the same title was differently rendered by different writers. Thus the title Yuddha Kolahala of one writer is the Samara Kolahala of another. With these brief prefatory remarks let us proceed to give in order the historical facts deducible from the Purana.

The first thing observable is the statement to the effect that the first Pandya, Kula Shêk'hara, was reigning in a capital called Kalyanapura, situated East of the Kadamba forest, before Mad'hurâ was built. Wilson tells us in his introduction to the Catalogue of the MacKenzie MSS., that according to the "local traditions" the first settler in the country was a person from Oude named Pandya who was of the agricultural caste: and that there was a capital of earlier date than Kalyanapura called

Kurkhi, probably the "Kolkhi" or the Periplus. And in his article in vol. II of the R. A. S. Journal, Wilson observes that the name is perhaps, "as D'Anville notices, still to be traced in the appellation Kilkhar or Kilakarai on the Coromandel Coast opposite Raueswaram. One of the Pandya monarchs, named Sawpanna Pandya, invited the Chola and Chera princes to the wedding of his son. On their way to Kurkhi they were caught by violent rains, and compelled by the flooded state of the country to remain encamped on one spot for a month, in memory of which event the Pandya built a city there and called it Kalyanapur, which was for some time the capital of his son and successor Kula Sekhara."

It would perhaps be presumptuous on our part to throw any doubt on the statements made by this learned scholar, but it is our duty to declare that the local traditions he refers to are not now current in the Madura District. The story of the man of Oude may doubtless be found in many Hindu writings, but it is not traditional in the country to which it relates. And the Pandya kings of the lunar race are commonly believed to be of the Kshatriya, not of the Vellalla or any other agricultural caste.

Then the story of the foundation of Kalyanapura would appear to be an idle legend of modern manufacture. The town is said in the Purana to have been "west of the Kadamba forest" the site of the town of Madhurā, and such being the case it is difficult to see how the Chola king from the North-East could have found himself there whilst on the road to Kurkhi in company with the Chera King of the Western Coast. And the idea of the Sanskrit name "Kurk'hi" surviving in "Kilakarei" which is a pure Tamil word of four syllables meaning "Eastern Coast" appears to be too absurd to require refutation. There is a once celebrated town of Kurikipuri, in Tamil Kuruyur, in the Tinnevely District, and possibly this is the Kurk'hi' referred to by Wilson.

The date of the building of Madura is involved in the greatest obscurity. Supposing the last Pandya to have lived in the eleventh century of our era and allowing 18 years for the reign of each of his predecessors, we might suppose the beginning of the third century B. C. or end of the fourth to be the time at which Madhura was built. But of course this would be only an uncertain and approximate date.

A passage in the Mahavansi shows that a Pandya was reigning in Mad'hurā shortly after the death of Buddha, which event is commonly supposed to have occurred in the sixth century B.C. and it may be well to quote it. After stating that king Wijeya came to Ceylon with 700 warriors "on the day of the death of our Buddha," it goes on to say (see Upham's Mahavansi, page 70) he sent ambassadors "who brought from Daccina-Madura the daughter of the King Pandya and about 700 daughters of the chief men of that place, with a train of men of eighteen different classes, and also five different classes of workmen. The King was afterwards married to the princess, the daughter of the King Pandya, and was crowned, and reigned in tranquility in the city Tammanah thirty-eight years." Supposing therefore that reliance can be placed on this statement, we must go further back for the foundation of Madhurā and of the Pandya dynasty. It is just possible though that the first Pandya immigrated into the Pandya country at the same time that Wijeya immigrated into Ceylon, namely, towards the end of the sixth century. With regard to the extent of the Pandya Kingdom in its earliest times, it is observable that Ptolemy the geographer speaks of the country as being "Mediterranea," from which we infer that it was of no very great size, and did not reach to any point near the sea, either East, West or South. Probably the Chera country, of which Palani it is said was then the Northernmost town, hemmed it in on the South and West; the Chola country on the North and North-East; and the Marava or Parava on the East and South-East. The Marava country, there is good reason to believe, was in early times independent: and the Paravas probably occupied the Eastern coast under Rajas of their own. On the other hand it appears from Wilson's note to page 200, vol. III R. A. S. Journal, that "the author of the Periplus of the Erythrean sea, particularizes Nelcynda or Neliceram, Paralia, Malabar, or Travancore; and Comari, Cape Comorin, as under King Pandion. Dr. Vincent conjectures, that the King of Madura had extended his power from the Eastern to the western side of the Peninsula, and was master of Malabar when the fleets from India first visited the coast. He also thinks it likely that the powers of Pandion had been superseded in Malabar between the ages of Periplus and Ptolemy; for Ptolemy reckons the Aii next to Limurike on the south, and takes no notice of Pandion till he is passed Cape Comorin."

It is therefore quite possible that some of the early Pandya kings greatly extended their power from time to time in all directions but the north. But at the same time it is most probable that their conquests were always of a purely temporary nature, and that they were defeated by their foes quite as often as they were victorious over them. There can be doubt that the limits of the Chōla and Chera kingdoms were constantly being enlarged and reduced, according as those kingdoms were administered by more or less able rulers; and that the limits of the Pandya kingdom depended always upon the strength or weakness of her neighbours for the time being. For this reason we think that no great weight should be attached to those political descriptions of the boundaries of early southern kingdoms which are so often quoted and discussed. They were of course compared, each of them with reference to the political situation of the country at the time when the composer wrote: and, if correct then, very possibly became quite incorrect in the course of one or two years.

It will be observed that linga worship is impliedly spoken of in the Purāṇa as being antecedent to the settlement of Brahmans in the Pandya country. The first Pandya is said to have discovered the shrine enclosing the linga built by the divine artificer Viswakarma, and then to have sent for Brahmans from Kasi to celebrate the worship of Siva in a proper manner; and it seems to follow from this that there were no Brahmans at that time settled in the country and available for the king's purpose. A strong argument might probably be drawn from this circumstance in favor of the position, that linga worship was one of the many forms of idolatry prevalent amongst the aborigines of South India, the practice of which the Brahmans at first acquiesced in and eventually adopted. Dr. Pope in his edition of the Abbe Dubois' work (see the note page 307, 2d. Edition) says that in South India numberless legends relating to devout worshippers of linga are current: that some of them are curious, and they are exclusively of southern origin. And Wilson states in his introduction to the catalogue that tradition uniformly points to an extension of Hinduism and civilization from the extreme south of the Peninsula. Again the Greek historians, if we are not mistaken, do not speak of the linga when describing the Brahmans, Gymnosophists and others, although they would naturally have been struck by its external resemblance to the phallus worship had they come in contact with it. Is it not possible

therefore that linga worship originated in the Madura country, slowly worked its way northwards, and when checked by the Thapana or Jaina sect turned aside and extended itself along the western parts of India, and finally more or less over the whole?

The second Pandya is said to have married the daughter of Shura sena Raja of the Chola kingdom. This name or rather title does not appear in any of the lists of the Chola kings which we have come across.

From the 5th story we may gather that no Salic law was known to the early Pandyas. The daughter of the second king succeeded to the throne in default of sons, and appears to have been a warlike and powerful princess. One would like to know who was the illustrious stranger she married. Mr. Tayler has argued in support of the old legend to the effect that it was the renowned Arjuna himself, but his case does not seem to be made out. And Wilson appears to have completely cut down the evidence ordinarily adduced to prove the early prevalence of this legend, by showing that in several unimpeachable Sanskrit copies of the Maha Bhārata no mention is made of Arjuna having married a Pandya princess of the name of Malaya Dhwaja.

The extraordinary story of the amazon Thathathakei having three breasts and losing the middle one on seeing her future husband is told in the Rajavali (Uppam volume 2, page 172) of the female demon Cawany. And curiously enough it is there stated that the god Isewereli, whom we take to be Ishwara or Siva, had informed Cawany that she should lose the superfluous breast when she first saw her future husband; and that king Wijeya married her, and afterwards a Pandya princess. It would certainly seem as though there were here an imperfect and unintelligible reference to the legend told in the Purana. Can it be possible that the king called Wijeya went across from Ceylon to Madura, married the queen, lived with her some time, and then returned to Ceylon leaving her behind him? Perhaps other MSS. may throw more light than we now have to guide us upon the early relations of Madhurā and Ceylon.

The son of Thathathakei, Ugra, seems to have been one of the greatest of his race. Tradition says he brought Vellalans, into the country. He too married a Chola princess, the daughter of Soma Shekhara, "of the race of the sun", who reigned in Kanchipura.

From the 14th story it appears that there was at this time a

Chera king, and that he, Ugra, and the Chola king were on good terms, as they all went together to seek assistance from the sage Agastya. It also appears that even in those early times private individuals were possessed of whole villages.

In the 22nd story the Shapana, or as they are sometimes called, Kshamana or Samana, heretics, are said to have converted the Chola king, and to have marched to Madhura under his guidance. The professors of his faith were, it would appear, the predecessors of the Jains, and their religion was but little different from that now known as the Jaina. The Sanskrit name Shapana or Kshamana or Kshapana was necessarily softened in Tamil into Saman; and it was possibly this corruption which gave rise to the terms Sarmanai, Semnoi, Samanai, Shaman, &c., used by Megasthenes and other ancient writers.

In the reign of Anantaguna, the tenth Pandya, the Shapana heretics again invaded Madhura on two occasions: but were each time discomfited and compelled to retire. And a still more remarkable incident was the coming to Madhura of the great Rama. If this account in the Purana be true, Rama must have lived about the end of the fifth or beginning of the fourth century B. C., supposing the first Pandya to have lived at the beginning of the sixth.

In the next reign the country was threatened with an invasion by the Chedi king of a caste of hunters. It does not clearly appear who this potentate was. Wilson merely says "The eighth king of Madura, Anantaguna, also, is said to have been assailed by the Karatas, foresters of *Chedi* or, according to the Tamil version of the Halasya, the barbarous tribes of Marava. Marava, however, was part of the Pandyan kingdom from the first, and the assailants were probably from some other country or from the mountainous region along the western ghauts." It appears from Mr. Dowson's paper on the Chera country, alluded to before, that his 32nd Chola king married one Chitra, the daughter of Chati Ranga; and probably that princess was a descendant of the Chedi Raja of our Purana. The Chedi country has been identified with Chandail in Berar. The blunder alluded to by Wilson of confounding the Chedi Raja with the king of the Maravas must have arisen from some Tamil author wildly fancying that Chedi Raja meant the same as Sethu-pati, the title borne by the chief of the Maravas. Or perhaps he wished to flatter the

Sethupati of his time by pretending that his ancestor was spoken of in the Purana.

The 31st story shows that the Brahmans of Kulabhushana's time were so poor that they were compelled to earn their living by working with their hands. This seems strange. One would have supposed, judging from the accounts of historians, that in old times all the wealth of the country was placed at the disposal of the Brahmans; that if they wanted anything they had only to ask for it.

The 33rd story shows that Kulabhushana was on bad terms with the Chola of Kanchipura, but eventually became reconciled to him.

The 35th story describes in very equivocal terms a Pandya victory over the Chola. The Pandya may have been victor in one battle; but from the end of the story it would certainly seem as though the Chola must have ultimately defeated his enemy.

During the next five years, it is said that no event of any importance occurred; that is of importance to the Pagoda. And then comes the reign of the 18th Pandya. The king was very religious and careless in all temporal matters; and accordingly the Chola king attacked and routed him. However the God interfered in his behalf and saved him from destruction.

The 19th King Varaguna is said to have been a very religious man, and to have gained some slight advantage over the Chola by help of the God. Wilson says of him that he "holds a more prominent place in *Chola* history than in that of Madura, a blank in the former being ascribed to his marriage with the princess of *Chola*, and the consequent union of the two sovereignties. This must have occurred after the Christian Era, as we have the capital of the *Chola* Kings distinguished by Ptolemy from that of the *Pandyan*, and the *Chola* kings do not seem to have merged into the *Pandyan* for some considerable time in the first ages of Christianity." This remark may be very just: but it is to be regretted that no authority is quoted for the assertions that Varaguna married a Chola princess, and the two kingdoms became one, and remained united for several ages. Not a word is said about all this in our Purana: and if the union of the two Kingdoms had really taken place, one would certainly have expected to find the author of the Purana mentioning its occurrence in the most prominent manner, and ascribing all kinds of honor and glory to Varaguna. The observation about the blank

in Chola history being accounted for by this union cuts both ways, as it happens; for after Varaguna's time there is a blank in the Pandya history extending over no less than twenty-five reigns! It is therefore just as reasonable to suppose that the Pandya Kingdom was for several centuries merged in the Chola Kingdom, as that the latter was merged in the former.

From the 49th story it appears that in the reign of the 45th King Kurti Vibhushana was the general deluge: and the whole world was destroyed with the exception of a few remarkable places in and near Madhura. Wilson appears to think that by this frightful anachronism the writer intended to show that a change of dynasty took place; but the wording of the Purana is opposed to this interpretation.

The first King after the deluge was Vamsha Sekhara. He re-built the city which is described as having bounds so extensive that it must have been almost as large as London now is. Possibly all that is meant is that the district round the capital was surrounded for the purposes of defence by a wall some thirty or forty miles in length, with gates at certain important places. The Chola King Vikrama attacked the Pandya, but was signally defeated. Another and a most remarkable incident was the establishment of the Madhura college of poets.

The 56th story would seem to point to the tradition that the Pariah poet Tiruvalluvan came to Madhura, and after a great struggle gained admission into the college in spite of the opposition of the Brahmans.

The 57th story seems to show that at the time to which it refers there was a king of fishermen ruling on the coast in a town of some importance. He was probably a Parava.

The 61st story tells us about the great Manikya Vachaka, and his victory over the Buddhas, heretics who came to Chidambaram from a certain island, which we may perhaps assume was Ceylon. There is nothing to show who these heretics were; but there is probably every reason to suppose that they were worshippers of Buddha. They were, it is said, exterminated by crushing in oil-presses. The Vādār Sūhala Purāna, abstracted in page 135 of the Catalogue Raisonné, states that Manikya Vachaka was born in Vādār in the Pandya country; and was early distinguished for ability and conduct, and became a great proficient in the *Satva* system of philosophy; and gives his history much in the same way as our Purāna gives it, but with

two important variations. In the first place it seems to show that the great controversialist either introduced the Saiva faith, as pointed out by Mr. Taylor, into the southern countries of the Peninsula, or else reformed the existing Saiva religion. And secondly, it makes out the king of Ceylon to have been converted by him from Buddhism, and declares that Manikya Vachaka preached in Ceylon. These last circumstances seem to be of considerable importance, seeing that they are apparently corroborated by the following passage in the Raja Ratnācari (Uphām, volume ii, p. 8) "when Buddha had been dead 1362 years, in the year of Christ 819, a king called Mativalessen Rajah was made monarch of Ceylon, and in this king's time a man in the habit of a priest came from Jamba-dwaja to Ceylon, and took up his abode in the garden of the king. This king's character answered his name, for he was an ill-timed worthless person, and the abovenamed priest turned him away from the religion of Buddha; and thus as a grasshopper, taking the light of a lamp to be gold, springs into the flame, so this king, by his works, rejected what was good and chose what was evil, and choosing what was evil rejected what was good, for he rejected and laid aside the precepts taught by the books and sermons of Buddha, and adopted the maxims of other systems of religion, yielded his country to the Malabars, and went to live in the city called Holonnaro, where he died." If Manikya Vachaka went to Ceylon and preached there and converted the king of Ceylon, we think there is every probability that he was the man who "in the habit of a priest came from Jambu-dwipa, of the Raja Ratnācari. And if so, his date may almost be said to be known for certain to be 819 A. D."

After the extinction of the Buddhas nothing is recorded until the reign of the 73rd and last of the Pandyas, in which occurred the final overthrow, at least in the Pandya kingdom, of the great Shapana or Jaina heresy. Kubja, or the hunchback Pandya, called in Tamil Kūn Pandya, appears to have waged war against the Chola, and after completely vanquishing him to have restored to him his kingdom, and married his daughter. Sometime afterwards, it is said, the Pandya was perverted to the Shapana faith; and was brought back to the true faith only by the miraculous cure of his disease and removal of his deformity by the champion of the Saiva religion, the great Guyanasam-bandha Murti.

The ancient history of the Pandya kingdom ends abruptly with the overthrow of the Shapana or Jainas heretics, the date of which important event is involved in almost hopeless obscurity.

That great authority, Wilson, says in the introduction to his Descriptive Catalogue, see page 67, "in the Pandyan kingdom the *Jains* rose upon the downfall of the *Buddhas*, and were suppressed in the reign of Kuna Pandya, which could not have occurred much earlier than the ninth or tenth century, or might have been as late as the eleventh."

Further on, page 79, he says, "*Kuna Pandya*..... is placed by some accounts in the Saka year 950 or A. D. 1028, and this agrees tolerably well with the date deduced for him from that of the translation of the *Itasya Mahatmya*." Now, as Mr. Taylor observes in his Oriental MSS., no authorities are quoted by Wilson. And one would much like to know the great Professor's reason for placing "*Kuna Pandya*" in the eleventh century.

Cut into the solid rock which forms the site of an old ruined Saiva Temple, known as "*Sundara Pandya's Temple*," is a very ancient inscription. The site of the rock is a little to the south of Theruppārarkanram near Madura. The character of the letters of the inscription is modern Tamil, with Grantha letters interspersed; and the metre is *akaval*.

The victory over the Chola king commemorated in the inscription would seem to have been very decisive and complete, are quite different from the mere temporary successes which sometimes resulted from Pandya invasions of the Chola, and Chola invasions of the Pandya country. And the inscription is strongly corroborated on this point by our Purana.

The name or title "*Pandya*" and the right to use the fish-seal of Madhasa are said to have been conferred on the son of the conquered Chola king. Mention is made of the famous "*Kanaka Sabha*" or golden hall at Chidambara.

The Pandya is said to have burnt Tanjore and Uriyūr: whilst nothing is said about Kanchipura.

No mention is made of the Chera country. The grantor's wife was Mangeikkarasi. A *nadu* in the Chola *mandalam* is called the Rajendra Chola *nadu*. These facts seem to show conclusively that Sundara Pandya must have flourished at a later period at all events than the ninth century of our era. It may be gathered from Mr. Dowson's paper on the Chera kingdom (see R. A. S. Journal, vol. vii, p. 7), and also from M. Taylor's paper in the Madras

Journal of Literature and Science, vol. xiv, that the *Kanaka Sabha* was built by Vira Chola Raja about the middle of the 30th century and assuming that this was so, if Sundara Pandya visited the *Kanaka Sabha* as stated in the inscription, he must have lived at a later time than A. D. 950.

The Purana tells us that the Pandya's wife was a Chola princess known by the title of Vaniteshwari, the Sanskrit equivalent of the Tamil Mangeikkarasi, "*Queen of women*," given in the inscription: and that it was mainly through her instrumentality that he was induced to accept the true Saiva faith in lieu of the Shapana: and it may be, that this was the energetic Pandya lady whose patriotic exertions are alluded to in Mr. Dowson's MS.

The next piece of evidence to be considered is an inscription in modern Tamil which exists in a stone in a certain piece of land north of the river Veigei, and near Madura, known as the "*Goni-paleiyam*." It appears that this piece of land, with six villages attached to it, has been enjoyed rent free by the Mahomedan community from time immemorial; and the inscription declares that it was originally granted by Kūn Pandya, and that the grant was confirmed by Virappa Nayakkau, after personal enquiry into its validity. It will be observed that it is distinctly stated in this inscription that, previous to its being inscribed, the then ruler of the country made a personal enquiry into the truth of the allegation of the Mahomedans (Molakas) to the effect that certain lands had been granted them by Kūn Pandya in consideration of the sum of 14,000 pieces of gold and that he decided in their favor and confirmed the grant. Here then we seem to have very satisfactory evidence of Kūn Pandya having been contemporary with Mahomedans, and having ruled the country at a period not very considerably earlier than the date of the inscription A. D. 1573.

From the circumstances set forth in the two inscriptions referred to, the presumption arises that the last Pandya reigned in the latter half of the eleventh century of our era.

E. H. BROOKES.

"REDIRVA," by Mr. INNES.

THE author of this drama, well known in our Presidency for the love he bore to the people of this country, and throughout India as a distinguished lawyer and judge, has brought out a third Edition of the work of which the earlier editions were published before he left India to enjoy his well earned rest. It is an allegory, and the purpose with which it is written can best be appreciated by reference to the following extract :—

It is implied throughout this little work, that India has a national life. This idea, I am aware, does not find universal acceptance. And, indeed, we cannot properly speak of India as ever having possessed a nationality in the sense of the races of which its population is composed, having been homogeneously gathered together into one kingdom under a single Indian ruler. Yet there seems to be no incongruity with the facts of history in attributing to its peoples, prior to the Mahomedan conquest, the enjoyment of a certain national life based upon common laws and customs, common traditions, a common religion, common aspirations, and a common national tone of thought and feeling, social and religious. With the spread of the Mahomedan conquest these common bonds would be modified and relaxed. But English rule, which has consolidated so many of the broken up kingdoms of India, and which proceeds upon the righteous system of governing India not for the benefit of the conquering race but for that of the people of India, has tended to revive the dormant idea among the populations comprised in the various races and languages, that they belong to one common nation and country. With this revival the old national community of feeling comes again into prominence. Its aims are in many respects in conflict with the principles on which the English Government proceeds, and are dangerous to the permanence and stability of that Government. I have endeavoured to represent the sort of struggle that has taken place between the aim of the national genius to assert itself and that of English rule to keep it in check. By means of education, a good direction has been given to the national tendencies and they have thus been rendered less hostile to English rule. Education and local self-government and the conviction which must, however gradually, gain ground, that our measures aim at and tend to the protection of life and property and to the advantage of the people of India generally, will in time, I believe, to a great extent reconcile them to a foreign domination, though it is impossible that they should ever wholly acquiesce in a rule based on and actuated by principles of thought entirely different from their own.

The above may be taken to represent the views of that class of Englishmen who are most sympathetic towards us. While regard-

ing the Hindu national revival as inevitable under an orderly government giving every encouragement to English education and therefore taking almost a pride in having created such revival with its necessary result, a demand for local self-government and an increasing share in the government of the country, they almost seem to dread its growth as "its aims are in many respects in conflict with the principles on which the English Government proceeds and are dangerous to the permanence and stability of that rule," and they anticipate a struggle between the two sets of principles resulting in some compromise which will ensure the stability of the English rule and 'reconcile' India to a foreign domination, though she will 'never acquiesce' in a rule actuated by entirely different principles of thought. We will not now stop to consider the attitude of those who are determined to carry on the work already inaugurated in India by their great predecessors, regardless of its ultimate effect on their own supremacy in India, nor of those who see in the reviving nationalism of India nothing but an unmitigated evil to be repressed at any cost.

We believe that those who take these extreme views are neither so numerous nor so influential as to exercise any great influence on the policy of the English or Indian Government, and we will therefore at present confine ourselves to those who like Mr. Innes take the view shadowed forth in the drama.

Mr. Innes left the country, we believe, in 1883. The symptoms of the national revival were already visible. But the leaders of the national movement had not then spoken out, and our English rulers had not those means of forming an opinion of the trend of the revival which are now available.

It seems to us to be possible now to state, with more or less accuracy the aims of the national revival, and we propose to consider whether there is anything in them which must bring it into conflict with 'the principles on which the English Government proceeds.' We view with alarm any such revival if based on principles alien to British civilization. We view with dread any such conflict as is apprehended in the above passage.

We will take the demands, aspirations and hopes of the national party with a view to see whether there is anything in them to give room for apprehension. The national party seeks improvement in the economic condition of the country, in

the reform of internal administration, and an increasing share in the government of the country.

The Indian national party desire to see our dependence on Indian Agriculture removed and India take its proper place as a commercial and manufacturing country. We wish to promote the largest production of wealth possible and to remove all impediments thereto existing, whether in the character of the people or in certain fixed principles by which the Government deem themselves to be bound.

At present our capital and labor follow certain old fashioned grooves content with the old profit, if any, or calmly submitting to be driven out of the market by more enterprising rivals. We want them to transport themselves from employment to employment in pursuit of wealth.

We want our people to know the natural resources of the country and to utilize them. We want these natural resources to be turned into wealth.

We want by co-operation of capital and skilled labour to work up our raw produce here and to export manufactured articles, instead of exporting our raw produce to be imported as manufactured articles. For this purpose we shall have to learn our lessons from Englishmen.

For our present economic condition our national character is mainly responsible.

The Individual is lost in the family and the Caste. The desire for wealth is not sufficiently strong. The people are governed by status and not contract. There is not that free competition which lies at the root of England's prosperity.

The Government also is hampered by certain doctrines of political economy accepted in England, having their origin in circumstances which show their inapplicability to India.

The Indian national opinion has set steadily in that direction. The great patriotism, the vast energy and the wide and deep learning of the late Mr. Ranade were directed to bringing home to the Indian people his conviction of the necessity of our Industrial progress, and therefore of the need for us to eliminate from our social system everything that stands in our way and to look to English guidance for advance in that direction and not to our dreamy past. He also pressed the Government not to be led away by doctrines of Political economy which its own High priests in England have declared could be applied under condi-

tions similar to those which existed in their own days in England. The transition from a purely agricultural into a manufacturing country which is already noticeable throughout the Indian Empire is nowhere else more marked than in Bombay, and the advocates of that transition in that part of the country spoke therefore with knowledge and authority which its advocates elsewhere could not claim. The splendid munificence of Mr. Tata attests the strength of conviction of one who has vastly benefited by this transition as well as the strength of the movement itself, as otherwise his scheme must be barren of any good result. This movement may usefully and legitimately look for all assistance from Government, and such assistance has been always ungrudgingly and willingly rendered. The Jubilee Technical Institute in Madras owed its existence to the warm sympathy of Sir P. Hutchins and of the Government of the day and to the efforts of Mr. Subramania Iyer and his native colleagues. The sympathy of the Government was shown by a substantial contribution. The Presidents who were usually members of the Civil Service and the European members who belonged to the Mercantile Community always evinced great interest in the movement and did all they could to ensure its success.

In Bombay the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute was started under the auspices of Lord Reay for developing industries. The Lahore Technical Institute has for its president the native Judge of the High Court and for its patron the Maha Raja of Cashmere; the Government sympathy for the movement there may therefore be assumed.

And recently, the officials heartily concurred in the proposal to raise an endowment fund for the advancement of industrial and technical education and research to perpetuate the memory of the late Queen. No help of course will be rendered by Government to the extremists of the Swadeshi Association who pledge themselves to use only Indian made articles and discard all foreign and imported goods. In the North West Provinces and Bengal, the criticism of the Viceroy's scheme showed the trend of public opinion.

Where our competitors are countries other than England, no possible reason can be suggested why the English Government should not render us all possible help in developing our manufacturing industries. Even in those cases where England or any class of English people compete with us, the Indian Civil Service have generally stood by us, and it is only pressure emanating from the Secretary of State that has induced the Indian Government to

sacrifice our interests in some degree to Lancashire. But it is clear that there is no danger to be apprehended on this account. It may be that the Government will not render that protection to the growth of our Industries that we are entitled to expect, though even here, considering the example of the colonies and the cry in England itself for protection, there is reason to hope for a change of attitude. But there is no conflict between principles or ideals. There is a certain agreement in principle, though not unanimity, in the measures that ought to be adopted by Government. In so far therefore as the material prosperity of the country is concerned, the Indian National Party may look for a fair degree of support and encouragement.

Next we proceed to consider the attitude of the National Party towards the internal administration of the country.

As to the guiding principles of Land Revenue Administration, the difference is not vital. Over and over again has it been laid down by the highest officials with the sanction of Government that the land assessment should be fair and moderate and that enough must be left to an ordinary ryot to enable him to live in comfort and tide over bad seasons; that improvements shall not be taxed; and that private property in land shall be fully respected. As successors to the East India Company, the Government have inherited a few pernicious doctrines, but they are defended only with a faint heart, and their disappearance is only a question of time. The discussion raised mainly by Messrs. Dutt and Rogers have not disclosed any sharp antagonism between the officials and those gentlemen, but on both sides is exhibited a desire not to aggravate the difference or make wider the gulf, if any, existing with reference to this question, but to come to some agreement as to the principles which may be generally accepted.

REVENUE.

As a fact the great complaint is not directed mainly against the Rules promulgated by the Government, but against the subordinate Officials who generally either under-assess or over-assess the lands and render the Revenue Administration of the country very unpopular. The evil is hard to eradicate; with the lower classes, outside the influence of those who have received any English education, there is no combined action. When a Revenue settlement is being carried out, no attempt is made to combine and lay before the authorities the actual facts, if any, that would draw their attention to the hardships that really exist, but each ryot strives to get his own lands

lowly or moderately assessed by either deceiving or bribing the poorly paid native Subordinate who puts a high assessment on a neighbouring ryot not clever enough like his brother and thus satisfies his European superior who generally looks only to the total increase. The European official may rectify the error in a comparatively few cases, but as a rule the lands are either under or over-assessed, and this must continue to be the case till ryots are sufficiently educated to strive to obtain not any special advantages for particular individuals, but reasonable terms from the Government for the entire class. English education has not as yet permeated the masses as a whole and perhaps is never likely to, and it is remarkable that the efforts that have been made in their favor have been due to others who have received the benefit of English education, though such attempts have naturally been successful only to the extent their ranks have been recruited from the agricultural classes. It is perfectly clear that there will be no real, far less dangerous, conflict between the fixed principles of the British Government, and the aspirations of reviving nationalism to purify the Revenue system. The aim is the same. It may be sought to be attained in different ways, and it is probable that as education is more diffused there may also be attained some approximation in the methods that may be adopted to arrive at the desired result.

SALT, ETC.

The Forest, Abkary, Salt and Police Departments tell the same story. With the best of intentions on the part of the European superior officers, the apathy and the selfish instinct of the lower classes baffle them in their efforts to check their subordinates. Each ryot tries to benefit himself and perhaps to injure the others by getting the peon or constable round in his favor. Officials, honest or dishonest, are attacked indiscriminately and with a recklessness which defeats its very object, with the result that even a true complaint against any subordinate stands very little chance of any fair hearing. The classes who mainly suffer do not make any attempt to express their grievance and purify the administration of justice. That they are not able to do so is plain enough by the success of the caste associations. The highest native official dares not disobey a caste mandate.

Here again there is no difference of opinion between the educated classes and the officials of the Government. Both strive to achieve the same result. The remedies suggested may vary, but a conflict is impossible.

When we come to the other questions in issue between the Congress party and their opponents, the matter may not be quite so clear to the outsider. It can scarcely be denied that the demand to be admitted to offices irrespective of religion, birth and colour, is only natural. Disability to hold any office is undoubtedly a national humiliation. Other qualifications being equal, it must be conceded that the presence of native gentlemen in the Councils of the Empire imparts enormous strength to it. We shall not argue with those who consider that the natives must be kept always in a dependant, subject condition, but we are suggesting these considerations for those who are really anxious for the regeneration of India who consider that India should be governed, as Canada or Australia is openly and avowedly governed, mainly for its own good.

In our view, then, the main question is whether the aspirations of the reviving nationality of India, the aims of those who are pressing for a share in the Government of the Country, are in complete harmony with the spirit of western civilisation. Liberty, Equality and Fraternity must be their motto, and till they accept that cry, the British Government would be justified in saying that they would be committing a crime and blunder if the Government were handed over to the representatives of a retrograde civilization. We proceed to explain ourselves.

In two respects the contrast between the two civilizations is striking and glaring:

In the consecrated degradation of the low castes and the position of women in Hindu Society.

It is unnecessary in this paper to refer with any particularity to the various ordinances intended to exalt the higher castes at the expense of the lower. A Brahmin can scarcely claim with decency equality with a European, unless he is prepared to recognize the equality of the Pariah with himself. The lower castes are likely to prefer to a European a capable Hindu who has disregarded the shackles of caste, and who regards him as his equal. But they would certainly prefer a European to a Brahmin who considers the Puranic injunctions as to caste binding on him. They certainly would not feel any confidence in his equal treatment of all castes and classes alike.

With respect to women. They certainly cannot be admitted into the Councils of the Empire, who still feel the force of their great lawgiver's text that women should always be kept in subjection, in childhood to parents, in youth to husband, and in

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old age to their sons. Those who believe that female emancipation is necessary for the progress of the race cannot afford to elevate a Hindu to a position, official or non-official, that would make him a society leader, if not free himself from the Puranic teaching that keeps women in subjection.

It is well to have these questions clear before us for discussion. If the aspirations of the reviving Indian nationality tend towards the fusion of castes and the emancipation of women, then we need not anticipate any conflict as is dreaded by Mr. Innes, in the passage already quoted.

If on the contrary the reviving nationalism would but rivet the yoke already heavy on the lower castes and tend to greater subjugation of women, then a conflict between the light of western civilization and the darkness of the east may be apprehended. We hope and trust the British government will not be thereby led to abandon the principles of government which alone form the justification of their Empire in India.

What has been going on in India for the last 15 years furnish to my mind a decisive and satisfactory answer. We have only to go to the published records of the Social Conference published each year to note the trend of educated public opinion. Every where Social Reform Associations are springing up supporting the Anti-Nautch movement, to raise the marriageable age of girls, to prevent unequal marriages, to advance the cause of widow marriage, to introduce the marriage laws where none existed before, to spread female education, to break down the barriers of caste, to impart education even to the lowest classes.

Most, if not all, of these are in the teeth of the present day Brahminism, but they are not attempted as a departure from Hinduism, but as a return to an older and purer Hinduism, to shake off the excrescences which has gathered round the holy Religion during the period of Hindu decadence. The reviving nationality does not aspire to stereotype the usages that have sprung up and dragged the Hindus to their present level, but it aims at their removal in favor of those ancient usages which flourished in the days of the Rishis of the Indian Books.

With reference to female education the nationalists want to go back to the days of those women whose names are found in the list of teachers which a Rigvedi Brahmin has to repeat daily while performing Brahma Yagnam; to those days when according to Upanishads and holy Epic-poems women received a course of education which enabled them to mingle freely with men and

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take part in the discussions about very important subjects including the highest problems of life; to those days when women were able and willing to take part in Buddha's movement and discuss with him great questions of morality.

As to early marriage, the position is still stronger. In some Brahmin communities, marriage after puberty is the rule, and the fact that the religious marriage formulas presuppose a mature girl to be her husband's friend and companion is conclusive. It is unnecessary to labour this matter. Early marriage is undoubtedly a later innovation.

I shall not refer to the question of Brahmin widow marriage. It is enough to say that the whole subject was fully discussed and the arguments of the Progressive party that widow marriage is not prohibited by the ancient Sastras were sufficiently strong to enable the Government to take action and legalize widow marriages though the same were undoubtedly opposed to existing usage, and the fact that widow marriages now take place show the vitality of the movement. It is a hopeful sign that in the face of impending terrible persecution such marriages are increasing; one caste at any rate has passed a resolution permitting such marriages.

Widows' homes are springing up. Polygamy and the sale of girls are undoubtedly disappearing though very slowly.

After the death in 1894 of the Burisal Kulin gentleman who had 107 wives, we have not heard of anybody who is likely to equal him. In a list published a few years ago in Bengal the number of wives among the Kulins who are the worst offenders in this respect, was found to range from 2 to 25; bad enough certainly, but a great advance when we consider that it was usually 50 or 60 some years before that publication.

The movement against the nautch girl is increasing in force. Many associations have formally protested against the practice.

Various castes have fixed the minimum marriageable age of girls.

The agitation against the loose habits of family life as recognised by law has resulted in the Malabar Marriage Act.

We can form some idea of the change when we find that many ladies now attend the Social Conference, and at the last Conference it was a lady who moved the first resolution advocating female education in a Hindustani speech described 'as graceful in style as happy in its sentiments.'

The increasing number of visitors to England who disregard

the caste penalties is another hopeful sign. The great Associations that exist in the country, the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Prarthana Sabha, and even the caste associations indicate with no uncertain sign the strength of the movement.

And when the Native states have begun to move, we may be confident of the progress of the Reform party. The Rajput States have formed the Walter Krita Sabha for the regulation of child marriages and to carry out other allied reforms. The rulers of Kashmir, Baroda and Cambay have declared their open adhesion to the work of Social elevation. The Maha Rajah of Mysore has passed a law intended to put a stop to marriages of girls below a certain age and ill-assorted marriages of child girls with old men. The Nair representative in the Travancore Legislative Council attempted, though unsuccessfully, to enact a marriage law. These movements indicate the genuineness of the feeling for the Social Reform.

As to caste also, there is a large and growing section of the community who believe that the caste system has no foundation in the vedas.

That the nationalists are justified in going to the sources of our religion for inspiration and that these are arguments not merely trotted out for the occasion are clear, when they could invoke the high authority of Max Muller who says:

"There is no authority whatever in the hymns of the vedas for the complicated system of castes. There is no law to prohibit the different classes of the people from living together from eating and drinking together; no law to prohibit the marriage of people belonging to different castes; no law to brand the offspring of such marriages with an indelible stigma. There is no law to sanction the blasphemous pretensions of a priesthood to divine honors, or the degradation of any human being to a state below the animal."

An unmistakable sign of hopefulness is the attitude which the English High Priest of Brahminism has now adopted. In her lecture at the Anniversary Meeting of the Theosophic Society held at Benares, she is reported to have deplored that 'lack of education and wider interest and knowledge among Indian women prevents them from becoming the helpers, companions and friends of their husbands and sons and taking their ancient share in their work or interests. She is stated to have pleaded passionately against early marriage as it enfeebles the race

physically and stunts all moral and intellectual improvement of the race.

As to caste she showed how it now gives opportunity only for pride and tyranny, for narrow-minded limitations and useless restrictions, and finally she exhorted the Hindus to abandon those of their customs which have become unsuited to their present conditions.

There is something pathetic in Mrs. Annie Besant, supposed to represent Orthodox Hinduism, coming forward to preach thus.

The Indian National party may consider the battle half won.

The great National rising of which the National Congress and the Social Conference are exponents are thus, in our opinion, influenced by the same ideals as those of Western civilization, and so long as they continue under such guidance and influence there is not only no apprehension of any conflict as shadowed forth in the above extract, but they deserve every encouragement and support from the British government.

There are no doubt rocks ahead; we hear an occasional and angry growl from some representative of Hindu Puranic Civilization, from some European admirer who would caution India against what he considers to be the vicious civilization of Europe. It is possible that if such men become the recognized leaders of Indian thought, educated and reviving India may become Puranic, range itself against Western civilization, and the consequence may be the conflict suggested by Mr. Innes with results impossible now to forecast.

It behoves educated India therefore to see that they do not allow any who do not follow the Western ideals to obtain predominance in their Councils or the Councils of the empire. We are confident that the National Party has delivered its message; that there is absolutely nothing in it to excite any apprehension in the minds of English sympathisers; and that their aims are in no way in conflict with the fixed principles of British Government.

We do not deny the existence of a body of men, we cannot call them a party, whose aims may be in conflict with the western civilization; but they are not growing in influence and are not sufficiently strong to justify any such apprehension as set forth in the passage we have extracted above.

NATIONALIST.

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BRITISH INDIANS IN NATIVE INDIAN SERVICE.

IN a country like India where the public service is the main field of remunerative occupation and distinction for educated men of talent and capacity, it is inevitable that it must also be the arena for competition and rivalry and for the less noble struggles of selfishness and intrigue. The hankering after office has resulted not only in acute individual jealousy, but in the jealousy of caste, of sect, of creed and of community. Personal jealousy of a sort may be expected as the result of professional rivalry. The lawyer, the doctor, the journalist and others of like calling are apt sometimes to be jealous of the success of their rivals in their respective professions; and so is the public servant who feels he has not been as successful as he deserves to be. This kind of jealousy we regard as comparatively harmless unless it leads to dishonesty and intrigue. But the jealousy with which we are concerned now is, from the public and national point of view, more harmful and more fruitful of mischief. It creates dissensions between people who ought to live in harmony and friendship and who ought jointly to work for the common good and combine in devotion and loyalty to their common government. It interferes with the due appreciation of personal merit without respect to caste and creed; it destroys brotherly feeling and sympathy between Hindu and Hindu and between Indian and Indian. The desire for the predominance of caste and the ambition for the predominance of creed are equally disintegrating the Indian community; and their activity and vigour are but very

inappreciably restrained by the influence of the fundamental principals of the Indian national movement. We have often thought in moments of utter despondency that so long as the public service remained the almost exclusive attraction for educated Indians, it would operate as a hindrance to our national progress. The creation of other honourable occupations and other fields of distinction as in Western countries where each man can, on the strength of his own merits, capacity and means, push himself to the height of fortune and distinction, would be followed by a diminution of the importance and attractiveness of the public service; and then perhaps the apple of discord would attract fewer combatants. For the present the evil tendency has to be checked by the good sense, the patriotism and the elevated instincts of enlightened men of all castes, creeds and communities.

We have so far confined ourselves to one aspect of the evil resulting from competition for the public service. Another aspect is presented by the development of what we may call provincial or local patriotism. In every district in the Presidency, in every Province in India, there is this provincial or local feeling. From every corner of the country, from every government office in every such corner, is heard a loud cry against the introduction of outsiders. From almost every district we have been hearing vehement protests against "foreign" intrusion, the contention being that people in the district should be allowed to hold all local appointments, and that it is an injustice to them to bring in outsiders to the prejudice of their inherent claims. Even a clerkship on Rs. 20 or 25 is not considered unworthy of being fought for in this way; and from the patriotism of the district to the patriotism of the Province is a natural process. We have frequently heard the cry of Behar for the Beharis, of the North-west Provinces for the people of those Provinces, and of the Punjab for the Punjabis. In the latter case the intruder is the ubiquitous Bengalee who is kept out from Madras and Bombay only by the difficulty of the vernacular. If Bengalees in large numbers begin to poach upon the preserves of the Southern and the Western Presidencies, we have no manner of doubt, we shall soon hear of the cry of Madras for Madrasees and of Bombay for Bombayites. The cry in each case differs only in degree from the cry of India for the Indians, and springs from the idea that the native of each District or Province has an inherent and exclusive right

to hold office in the local public service. In our opinion, the demand that the inhabitants of each Province and District should, by preference, be employed in their own country is of a higher type than the pernicious demand which has no other justification than that each caste or sect or creed should be represented in the public service in a certain proportion. It is emphasised by educated Indians throughout India as against the European; but when it is insisted upon by the people of one province as against those of another, there is necessarily much less agreement among our people. The better educated and more successful classes would not admit any provincial claim. Their principle is that India should be for the Indians. It is the people who are less successful that cry bitterly against the intrusion of outsiders. The Bengalees, for example, who are the most successful in the public service, insist that there should be no difference between Indians and Indians, while the Beharis who feel that even in their own Province the Bengalees have everything for themselves, would confine Bengalees to Bengal, and Beharis to Behar.

The above introductory remarks have been needed to illustrate the hostile feeling entertained by the people of native Indian states against intruders from British India. In the earlier days when the British Indian system of administration was being gradually introduced into native states, the prevailing policy of each state carrying on its administration through the agency of its own people had to be modified a little, and officials of British Indian experience had to be imported occasionally to remodel the administration. Revenue subordinates and judicial officers from British India were accordingly brought in and employed in a much higher situation and on a much higher salary. These men sometimes brought with them a number of adherents and relatives for whom also they secured appointments and thus deprived the inferior employees in the local service of their legitimate share of preferment and promotion. The outsiders in time permanently settled in the state, and were either merged into the native population or remained as a distinct caste or race. In any case they became natives of the state and subjects of the Maharajah, with or without connections and interests outside. In those days, however, it was the state that needed outsiders. Now those days it is generally the outsiders that seek service in the Native States. The rapid advance of education has very much increased the number of men qualified to be public servants; and com-

petition in British India has naturally driven many of our men to foreign fields. In Native States, however, mere ability is not a sure passport of success. Qualifications of a certain kind are no doubt insisted upon. But it is influence, often outside influence, that secures a decent appointment. An outsider who is no better than many local men is brought in and placed over their heads, and this naturally excites the jealousy of all local men. Importations of this sort, when they become frequent, create faction; and the intruders themselves have not often the modesty to admit that they are there by sufferance. In many of the Native States, accordingly, the cry against foreigners has become loud and bitter; and this cry, unfortunately, is sometimes met by insolence and recrimination, and not in a spirit of conciliation and friendly sympathy. If the outsiders were men of patience and tact, half the difficulty created by factional feeling would disappear; but more often than not, they presume to be superior to local men and justify their intrusion by arrogance. Englishmen in British India refuse to give superior appointments to the natives of the country on the ground that they possess certain superior and moral qualifications which the latter do not possess. British Indians in Native States justify their usurpation on a similar ground. The local men smart under a double sense of insult and injury implied by the assumption of superiority on the one hand and the denial of justice on the other.

In every Native State there are three separate forces: the Maharajah who is supreme in name; the Political Agent who is supreme in fact; and the Dewan who derives his authority from the former and his influence from the latter. All these forces may work in the same direction if the Dewan is loyal to his royal master and the Political Agent is friendly to both. Under other conditions there is sure to be scope for intrigue and calumny, for mutual jealousy and recrimination. The predominance of the foreign element in the administration is determined by the attitude and sympathy of the Dewan who, if he is a foreigner, has foreigners around him, and, if a native, has the sympathy of the local men. A strong and sagacious Dewan, however, whether foreigner or native, can keep the conflicting elements at peace, and is sure to act so as to serve the highest interests of the state and the people, apart from the intrigues of factions and the quarrels of parties. With such a strong personality at the head of the administration, party rivalry may be easily conciliated, and

the harmonious co-operation of all the diverse elements may be secured. But, unfortunately, in certain Native States, the Dewan himself is the peace-breaker, and the Political Agent fans the flame. Even when there is necessity to bring in outsiders, there is no need to decry the natives. It is a noble aim to improve the administration by introducing outsiders. It is meanness to introduce outsiders, with a view to discredit the natives.

The employment of British Indians in Native States is a large question; and it is possible to consider it in a dispassionate spirit without being misled by the interested cries of partisans on either side. Viewed in its different aspects, the question suggests various important considerations. The people of Native States are perhaps right in contending that the local service is theirs by right and that all the appointments in it should be held by them. *Prima facie* each state is entitled to manage its affairs with the aid of its own people, with the best talent and capacity available within its own limits. Every independent state in the world more or less claims and exercises this right. The fall of empires, the decline of dynasties, has in the past, as it is bound to be in the future, been due to the deterioration of national character and capacity and the poverty of genius. It is not the interest or duty of foreign states to send their best men to supply this deficiency. Each state must work out its own salvation with the best talent it has at its command. From this point of view, each Native State which is a separate entity in itself is entitled to keep every office for its own men without allowing the encroachment of outsiders. It cannot be denied that every man has a priority of claim on his own state, on the privileges and rewards it can offer. This claim arises not merely from his present domicile, but from the services his ancestors might have rendered in times gone by. Many of the Native States of the present day are ancient kingdoms acquired and maintained with the blood and money freely spent by the men of past generations; and the descendants of the latter accordingly prize them as their heritage. The foreigner who goes into these states has no such hereditary claims; and his pretensions for equal treatment with the natives of the country are naturally resented by the latter. No man likes to be a slave in his own home, and to allow others to lord it over him. And when, as is not unusually the case, an outsider gains ascendancy by intrigue or favour and not by merit, and when further he claims virtues superior to those possessed by those

among whom he is an interloper, he provokes hostility and becomes an object of hatred. We do not think it right that the feeling of local men should be altogether disregarded; and situated as the British Government is as the friend and protector of Native States, it is its duty to see that the subjects of those states are not ousted by outsiders who come for their immediate interest and are not animated by the same traditions of loyalty and attachment to the throne and person of the sovereign whom they are paid to serve.

The above observations are suggested mainly from the point of view of the people of Native States. Others of a different nature may be suggested from the broad and comprehensive view of Indian national interests and aspirations. There is one important aspect in which the inhabitants of British India have an abiding interest in the government of Native States. As Lord Curzon said the other day, British India does not afford the same scope for native talent and capacity as do the Native States; and it is not desirable that the greatest native genius should, for want of opportunities, be allowed to fade and die. It is as much the interest of Native States as it is of British India to demonstrate native capacity and genius for rule in its highest form. The continuance of native rule has to be justified by the fitness of native Indians to manage their own government with success and distinction. The claims of native Indians to hold the highest offices under the British Government have to be established by means of the opportunities which Native States alone afford at present. It is not British Indians alone that are proud of such eminent statesmen as Sir Dinker Row, Sir Salar Jung and Sir Madhava Row. The people of Native States equally share with us the credit which they gained for native capacity and talent, for native administrative genius and statesmanship. Every Indian, irrespective of his domicile, is deeply interested in showing that the maximum of native administrative capacity is not represented by the Deputy Collector or District Collector in British India. This can be done only in Native States. To this extent, therefore, the claim of the people of Native States to the exclusive enjoyment of their service has, in our opinion, to be modified; for it is not always possible to find within these states the best native talent that can be secured. Native States themselves are not the worse for importing such talent, while the gain from a broad national point of

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view is immense. If Travancore and Mysore, for example, had insisted on the exclusion of outsiders, Sir Madhava Row and Sir K. Seshadri Iyer would have, in all probability ended their career in British India as Deputy Collectors without achieving any of those great feats of statesmanship and administrative insight which have illustrated the virtues and merits of their race. Native India has as much reason to be proud of such statesmen as British India; and in this respect, therefore, the interests of both are the same.

While insisting on this principle, however, we do not overlook the possibility of inferior men being foisted in Native States over the heads of distinguished and deserving local men by means of an influence which we may best describe as favouritism. We have said above that outside influence sometimes operates most powerfully in Native States, and that the outsiders when once they get the upper hand, can easily manage to discount local merit and impute to local men all sorts of deficiencies and vices so as to arrogate to themselves all manner of merits and virtues. It is not in vain that these outsiders in Native States have seen Englishmen in British India claiming so many excellences of intellect and character which divine wisdom has denied to the dark complexioned Indian; and the part which Englishmen play in India they think they can play in Native States. It is this spirit, even more than their unjust usurpation, that excites violent party animosities and provokes mutual recrimination? "It is merit," the foreigner would say, "it is merit that has raised us to eminence in this state, and merit alone can be the standard in the matter of appointments, high and low." "Merit!" the native would retort, "you possess no merit such as is to be found among the natives of this state. You have come here by favour and you stick on by favour." Many of our people, we must confess, do not approach the question with that judicial fairness which we have a right to expect from men of education. Where office and emoluments are concerned, some of us are apt to discard from our minds all considerations of equity and good conscience so much heard of in the law courts. But in justice to the people of Native States we are bound to admit that, as compared with us, they are placed under some disadvantage. The rulers of Native States are immensely influenced by the British Government, by its high officials, and even by those who have influence with those high officials. It is comparatively an easy matter for indivi-

dual agen in British India to secure an influential introduction to a native court where the rules of public service are sufficiently elastic to admit of their being easily provided for; and such outsiders, possessing as they do connections and ties in British India, are often supported in their aggression and encouraged in their arrogance. They command in British India the sympathy and support of their relations, of their friends and sometimes of the Press. To the natives of Native States these sources of support and influence are denied. The most brilliant and distinguished among them are hardly known beyond the limits of their respective states; they have no friends to sing their praise, and no outside influence even to secure them in their position. Their only hope, their only means of support, is their Maharajah who, if he is strong enough to be just and patriotic enough to be generous to his people, may easily prevent one faction prevailing over the other, but if weak and indolent and not particularly proud of his country and people, may allow faction and intrigue to have their way. Lord Curzon impressed upon the young Maharajah of Mysore that there was no higher duty for him than to train and fit his people to administer the affairs of the state. It is not only his duty, but his privilege, to see that his people do not fall behind others in the race of life. It will reflect discredit on him if he allows his own people to deteriorate and brings outsiders to manage their affairs. A king who is not proud of his people and who is not anxious to make them great is not worthy of his position. The King of England, the Emperor of Germany or the Czar of Russia never speaks of "My people" without a glow of pride and enthusiasm, and there is no reason why every Indian Prince should not be animated by the same feelings in regard to his own people who look up to him for inspiration, for encouragement and for just reward for their loyal attachment and dutiful services.

For reasons already explained, the natives of Native States have not the same facilities and opportunities for entering the British Indian Service as British Indians have of securing appointments under native rulers. They have no influence sufficiently powerful at their back unless it be that of the Maharajah. The rules in British India are also against them. For the Covenanted Civil Service they are forbidden to compete; and the Covenanted Civil Service corresponds to the higher departments

of the public service in their own States. Even into the Provincial Civil Service they are not permitted admission except, we believe, in Madras where quite recently rules were modified in their favour. Subject to these restrictions, they are free to enter the public service in British India; but for this they have to leave their country and come among strangers without influence and support. They may, indeed, succeed here like others. But it must be admitted that the difficulties in their case are greater. The rulers of Native States are bound to take these into their consideration and to see that generally where an appointment can be suitably held by a native no outsider is brought in to his prejudice.

No right thinking man will contend that the efficiency of the service should be impaired merely out of consideration for the natives; but every right thinking man will agree that so far as the requirements of efficiency can be supplied locally there is no justification for the introduction of the foreign element. Educated talent is of primary importance for the public service. Experience is a useful supplement. For all offices which do not require technical skill or experience, local talent should generally suffice; and even as regards technical departments there can be no excuse for perpetually employing foreign talent, as it is the duty of every State to train its own subjects for offices requiring technical skill and knowledge. If it is necessary at one time to bring in from outside an engineer or a doctor owing to the lack of qualified local men, there is no reason why the same necessity should recur if the state does its duty by arranging to give local men the required training. Several of the Native States are now sending out their young men to be trained in special institutions in Europe and British India; and if every State is alive to its duty in this respect, there should be no need a few years hence to import outsiders. If they fail in this clear duty, and if they still persist in justifying the introduction of outsiders, the discredit will fall not on the Natives of the State, but on their rulers. There are, however, certain high appointments to which any such rule cannot be strictly applied, appointments which require exceptional talent and capacity which may not always be found within the limited area of a Native State. The office of the chief minister is essentially of this nature. Even here, we admit, there is a possibility of men of indifferent merits being brought in over the heads of really capable local men.

The old saying that no man is a prophet in his own country has an especial application in Native States where people knowing little of the outside world and less of the men who, from a distance, loom large in their eyes, ascribe to them virtues and capacities which they do not possess. The fact that a certain person has risen to a certain position in the British Service or certain prominence in public life is sufficient for them to believe that he is superior to every local man and to mark him out as their next Dewan. We know that, under this hallucination, Native States have sometimes imported very ordinary men who have neither governing capacity nor administrative genius. What is essentially needed in a chief minister of a Native State is not mere acquaintance with the routine of the administration or the mere capacity to manage things as they exist, but ideas and a sound grasp of broad principles. His duties will be higher than those of a District Collector or Divisional Officer in British India, who is accustomed to move in a certain groove and has no habit of conceiving constructive ideals or designing grand schemes. The highly centralised system of administration in this country has made it impossible for District administrators and even for those above them to exercise original talent or to give effect to practical ideas. No power of initiative is left to them even in the most ordinary matters; they cannot spend an extra rupee without sanction. All big schemes are designed at Westminster or Simla. Every measure of reform originates in the same quarter. The local officials and administrators have merely to carry out what others conceive; they have no scope for the exercise of their imagination or their original talent. For, merely reproducing what they find in British India these men may do. But what is needed in Native States is not mere reproduction, but adaptation, not mere imitation, but bold initiative. In many things Native States have not to wait for British India to show the way. Among us the paucity of financial resources is a standing obstacle to many a reform. Our Imperial burdens and responsibilities are great; they cannot be made to give way even to the most urgent reform. In Native States, with ordinary care and prudence, money can be easily found for the prosecution of useful schemes, and men with ideas and original schemes in their head can develop the resources of the country and improve the condition of the people, unfettered by red-tape and the overpowering demands of uniformity and symmetry. It may perhaps ex-

cite jealously in certain quarters if we suggest that Native States can in several things proceed in advance of British India, and if we indicate the lines on which they can furnish models to others. We in British India, who are accustomed to think about public affairs and to work out in our minds schemes of constructive statesmanship, take an extended vision of the possibilities of original minds in Native States; and we believe it will be really an acquisition to them if they succeed in getting men with ideas and capable of translating them into action. Such men, however, are not easily found; they have to be sought not necessarily in the public service, but sometimes outside of it. They must have a grasp of principles and not of details. Too much familiarity with details kills originality and makes men unfit to deal with broad principles and ideas of policy and reform. It has been said of retired Anglo-Indian officials who enter public life and Parliament in England that they become bores by their excessive love of details and their inability to tackle questions in a broad and comprehensive spirit. The same cause produces the same effect among Indian officials; and though certain minds rise above details and preserve their original power, ninety-nine per cent seldom escape the deterioration resulting from the close observance of official routine. The duty of the minister of a state is not to attend to mere details, but to control and direct the administrative machinery, to lay down sound principles and to see them carried out. For this purpose it is worse than useless to indent upon the services of men who may have been smart Divisional officers or District Collectors. If it is merely intended to carry on the administration of Native States in the way British districts are administered from year's end to year's end collecting the customary revenue and incurring the customary expenditure without striking out new paths of reform and development, this class of men will do; but if it is expected that they should perform duties which require genius and statesmanship, that they should be something more than machines moving in a particular groove, that they should be capable of seizing new ideas and working them out for the benefit of the people, then indeed a different class of men from those who are now supposed to possess all the equipments necessary to undertake the duties of a Native administration, should be sought after. Against the introduction of this class of men occasionally, the people of Native States cannot reasonably complain; for the

good they may do is out of all proportion to the salary they may have to be paid. For the rest, except as regards such departments as require technical or exceptional knowledge, there is neither necessity nor justification for taking the bread out of the mouths of local men and giving it to an army of favourites from outside. This is particularly the case in regard to the numerous smaller appointments for which there are any number of local men whom it is hard to compel to go out of their country for their means of livelihood. They have no interest or influence outside, and have seldom the means even to travel out of their country.

If it is impossible to deny to subjects of Native States their inherent right to hold office in their own country, it is equally impossible to deny to the servants of those states their preferential claim to rise to higher offices according to merit. The introduction of a single outsider into the service means an obstruction of promotion to all below him. A man who has served the state for a number of years and has proved his ability and character naturally expects to be promoted to the next office. To bring an outsider over his head is not only to discourage and umiliate him, but to demoralise the whole service. If ability and honest work cannot ensure success and just reward, there can be no encouragement to honest ambition and talent. If the service is to maintain its efficiency and if its talented members are to rise to eminence and distinction, the surest protection should be afforded them against foreign usurpation. Strangely enough, it is not British Indians alone that they have to be protected against. In certain States, Europeans have begun to be increasingly employed in well-paid and responsible offices, through the influence mainly of Political Agents. The best class of Europeans do not generally seek employment in Native States. Those that go there are mostly of the class which, in British India, find congenial berths in the Police, the Salt and Abkari, the Survey and the Telegraph. Once a European gets into a place, it becomes a preserve for men of his class, and the Natives are perpetually kept out. Even in such a state as Travancore there are not less than a half a dozen heads of departments who are all Europeans, and a larger number of minor but well-paid appointments are held by men of the same class to the entire exclusion of Natives. In Mysore, very few departments are placed under Europeans, but otherwise European officials have greatly increased. It is nothing short of a scandal

that under purely native administrations so many important appointments should be denied to the natives of the country. If the heads of departments in Native States are to be Europeans, if important appointments are to be monopolised by them, then surely there is no justification for the separate existence of Native States. The British government may as well annex them and make them part of British India, as Europeanise native administrations. We do not say this in any spirit of racial hostility; and we are sure that our European friends will themselves admit that Native States being the only field where indigenous talent can have full play, they ought to leave at least that field entirely to ourselves, not that we may surpass them in glory, but that we may not lose all chance of training ourselves for the higher responsibilities of Government. In British India we are kept out of the higher departmental appointments. Let us at least be allowed our chance under native administrations. If departmental heads in Native States are to be Europeans, another step in the same direction should make them the chief ministers as well. In one Native State in Southern India that next step was recently taken by appointing the European judge of the Chief Court to act for the Dewan for three months. It doubtless earned for the Cochin Government cheap credit for enlightenment; but many thoughtful people, even some sympathetic Europeans, regarded it as a great political mistake. A veteran native statesman writing to us on the subject, with especial reference to Lord Curzon's statesmanlike utterances, told us as follows:—

"The Viceroy's speeches everywhere were admirable, eminently characteristic of his great personality and the genius of his exalted station. His utterances in the Rajkummar College and at the Durbar, Rajkot, where he dwells on the duty of an Indian prince are full of political wisdom which deserves to be treasured up by the native states. The native rulers, he says, should remember that they are to rule, not an English, but an Indian people and be true to their own beliefs, their own traditions, and their own people. And he lays stress on the employment of native talent which the British system does not always or equally provide. This forcibly reminded me of Cochin's recent policy in appointing Mr. Locke as acting Dewan. A more suicidal departure from the traditional course, a more cowardly betrayal of imbecility, and a greater insult to the native

community, it is not easy to conceive. While even in British India there is a steady reaction in favour of natives, the spectacle of Cochin deep sunk in conservatism conferring the highest office of the state on a European is disgraceful, to say the least. The underlying motive is, I dare say, to gain credit for enlightenment. The bigotry of religion is far more endurable than the bigotry of enlightenment which, alas, shows itself in such fantastic shape in some of the native states!"

Indeed, Cochin could show only enlightenment, and nothing else, towards Europeans; and that it has shown at the sacrifice of national interests and national self-respect. Even the bigotry of enlightenment could be tolerable if it were reciprocal; but the Dewan of Cochin, when he reverts to the British service, would have to be content, at best, with a collectorship in some minor district such as Anantapur or Kurnool, as no Indian is considered worthy of being entrusted with the charge of an important district, much less of being made a member of the Board of Revenue. It is here that the "cowardly" nature of the policy adopted by Cochin becomes transparent. The fact, as mentioned by Lord Curzon, that British India does not provide for the employment of native talent in the same way and to the same extent as Native states, makes it incumbent on the latter not to commit themselves to a policy which will have the effect of keeping out native talent from the only field that is yet open to it. And right thinking and responsible Europeans, we are sure, will not misunderstand a policy which has, for its object, the training of native capacity in the higher sphere of the administration.

HISTORICAL BASIS OF "TASAWUFF."

✠ TASAWUFF is the philosophy of Islam. This word did not come into existence till about the end of the second century of the Hejira, like the word philosophy which had not come into vogue till about the sixth century before Christ. Abul Hashim-as Saad bin Ahmed is said to have been the first person who bore this appellation (according to Abul Qasim Al Kushairi), just like Thales, the first person in Greece, who was honored with the title of Philosopher. "There were as brave men before Agamemnon" says a Greek proverb "as there were after him"—so there were philosophers in Greece before Thales—but they bore the appellation of Wise-men—and amongst Muslims the early philosophers went by the appellation of *Ubbads* (devotional men) and *Zuhhads* (pious men) &c. German researchers like Roth and Gladisch have tried to trace the origin of the Greek-philosophy to an Eastern source; but their attempts do not appear to have found ready recognition amongst scholars. The origin of philosophical lore amongst the Greeks is attributed to the temperament of the people, and the nature of the soil on which they had settled. It was the result of their innate desire for truth rather than the importation of cut and dried ideas from their Jewish neighbours or even from their ancient Aryan brethren who had parted company on the central land of Asia. It may be, however, the strain of Aryan blood in the veins of what are now the peoples of different lands mainly accounts for the characteristic tendency to brood and speculate;—internal and reflex brooding, as in the case of the ancient Hindus, or speculation and external brooding over the grandeur and mysteries of Nature as in the case of the Greeks. No such intellectual traits can be attributed to the Semitic race that inhabited the arid and sandy peninsula of Arabia. The Ismaelite Arabs (or as they were called Arabi Mustariba) were the descendants of Ismail, the son of Abraham the Patriarch and Prophet of the "Ur of the Chaldees," and were, in the beginning, worshippers of one God, but they had in course of time mingled with the sons of the land (Aral-ul-Arabi—the descendants of Yarab) after whom Arabia has taken its name, and had fallen into idolatry, and, being isolated from the external world by the nature

of their country, were entirely cut off from the thoughts and religions of other peoples. Their Kaaba, whose foundation-stone is said to have been laid by their Patriarch, had become as full of gods and goddesses as thronged the Greek pantheon. This state of things had existed almost from the time of Ismail, till the advent of the Prophet of Mecca, who demolished these countless graven images and introduced the worship of one God. Under such circumstances, if any genuine philosophy is to be found in Islam, it should be traced to its founder alone; and other thoughts and doctrines found in the scheme of present philosophy to foreign sources.

The religion of Islam stands on four pillars, Quran, Hadis, Ijma and Qiyas. The Quran is the word of God spoken by the Prophet. It contains warnings to evil-doers, conveys good tidings to the righteous, and proclaims Divine Unity. Decisions of practical questions and doctrines are very few. For these, Muhammadans have recourse to Hadis—verbal discourses and decision or acts of the Prophet or of the Companions (Tabai) or Companions' Companion, (Tabi-Tabayins). Some, however, leave out of consideration the latter two. When, however, reference cannot be found in Hadis, recourse is had to Ijma (consensus of opinion of the Ulema); failing this to Ijtihad or Qiyas of learned men. The last two being left out of account, the philosophical tendency of Islam is to be searched for in the Quran or Hadis. There are, however, several kinds of Hadis (at least about eighty.) One that can be traced to the Prophet through an unbroken series of accredited narrators (Murfu) and a second that is confined to a Companion (Monkuf) and a third to a Tabai (Muktu). Some however apply the appellation of Hadis to what emanates from the Prophet himself through an unbroken succession of narrators applying the word *Asur* to the last two kinds, and some to the last only. Under another classification, when the series is not broken by a single link, it is called *Mutasil*, to distinguish it from others where links are wanting and so on (the several kinds with their hair-splitting differences). Thus except the *Murfu* and *Mutasil* and some other kinds, there may be *hadises*, the authenticity of which may be called in question and there are quite a host of such as* "bear evident traces of being made 'to order.'"

* Amir Ali's spirit of Islam, p. 255.

For fear of misquoting the words of the Prophet, Abu Bekr and Omar narrated only a few Hadis, while a Companion like Abu Horeira narrated as many as 5,364. The philosophical doctrines that are traceable to the Quran are, no doubt, the true foundation of *Tasawuff* as well as the Hadis that are traceable to the Prophet (Murfu and Mutasil)—whereas most of the other kinds were designed as occasion required. Many Sufis designed such *hadises* when they thought they could incorporate the doctrines of other nations into their own system. There is no doubt that the several doctrines of *Tasawuff* professed throughout the Muslim world are an admixture of the teachings of other religions and speculations of other philosophies.

The following are some of the texts of the Quran and Hadis taken to have a deep and mystical meaning.

1. "For God is the East and the West, so wherever thou turnest thy face there is the essence of God."

2. "Really God surrounds everything."

3. "God is with you wherever you are."

Chap 27, verse 17.

The above indicate the all-pervading influence of God—his omnipresence. The Sufis say that God is omnipresent in virtue of His existence. He has clothed His creatures with existence that is His Own.

4. "We are nearer to man than his Jugular vein."

5. "We are nearer to man than you, but you do not observe."

6. "I am in your individuality, but you do not see."

The above indicate the proximity of God to man—man having borrowed, so to speak, existence from God.

7. "He is the first and the last—the apparent and the real—and He knows everything. Chap 27, verse 17.

8. "Wherever remains of existing things will be annihilated, but the face of Lord thy God with His glory and Mercy will remain."

These have reference to the eternity of God. Here is a clear indication that whatever is created is mortal, and the only eternal Being is God. Here is the difference between *abd* (created) and *Rub* (creator). Here the Islamic doctrine proclaims that man cannot become God as some people considering *Tasawuff* to be a phase of pantheism are led to consider.

9. "I am the secret of man and man is my secret."

10. "He taught with the Pen what man did not know.

This has reference to *ilmi-Husuli* and *ilmi-Hecuri* (experiential knowledge and intuitive knowledge.) Intuitive knowledge comes only through the Grace of God."

11. "Whoever is blind in this world will be blind in the world to come."

This is a spur to doing one's duty here and seeking the light of heaven in this world alone which has been described to be "the field from which corn is cut for the future world."

12. "The people who strike palm with thee do not strike palm with thee, but with God. The hand of God is on the hand of all." Chap. 26, verse 9.

13. "Thou didst not throw a handful of dust, when thou didst throw it, but God threw it." Chap. 9, verse 16. This is* the same as was said by another Prophet at the time of his trial. "Thou couldst have no power at all against me except it were given thee from above. Therefore He that delivered thee unto me hath the greater sin."

14. "God is the light of the heavens and the earth. He is like a lamp in a glass and the glass in a niche." Light is one of the *asma* (or name of God). Unless there was light, all the world would have been a hidden treasure. By the dawning of light or the manifestation of this name, all the hidden forms were clothed in their garb and became manifest.

15. "We shall shew them our signs both in the horizon and in their individualities."

These are some of the texts of the Quran, from which it may be gathered what it teaches regarding God and His relation with man.

It regards the world and all that therein is, as nonentity in essence. What exists between two nothings cannot be an existence (*ex nihilo lo nihil fit*) and so it is God only that is eternal, and He clothed with attributes those who are His creatures.

The following fragments are authorities from Hadis:

1. "The veriest truth of the truths of Arabic is the speech of the poet Lubaid who said "Know, everything besides God is non-existent."

2. "Verily God saith—"I became ill, why didst thou not ask after me; I became hungry, why didst thou not feed me, I begged of thee, why didst thou not give me."

* St. John. 19-11.

3. "I swear by the God in whose Hands is Muhammad's life; that if you let down a bucket by a rope into a well, it will of a surety, descend on God" (Tarmizi).

4. "Verily the creation of spirits is by God. Their form are like the forms of their bodies (Ibni-Abbas).

5. "I saw God on the night of *Miraj*, and He had a most beautiful face."

6. "The mind of man is between the two fingers of God and he turneth it as He liketh."

7. "Do not abuse the wind, it is the breath of God."

8. "What God created in the beginning was my soul."

9. "I am from the Light of God, and true believers are from my light."

10. "God created the *Khalq* (the creation) in darkness."

11. "I was a hidden treasure and loved to know myself and so I created *Khalq* to know myself."

Some of the Hadis above may favor the doctrine of incarnation and so forth—a subject uncongenial to the spirit of Islam. In the prophet's time, there were companions who applied themselves to learning the esoteric meaning of Islam; and there were also those who were content with its exoteric teaching. Among the former may be mentioned the four Khalifs, Hazrath Ali who was called the "Door," while the Master styled himself "the city of knowledge"—being *faqla princeps*; and there were also Hadikha bin Salman, Salmani-Farsi, Abdullah-bin-Masood, Abdullah-bin Abbas, Abu-Horira, Ans, Malik.

Amongst Companion's Companions, the esoterics were Imam Zynul Abidin, Imam Md. Bakir, Muhammad-bin Hancefa, Hasan Basri, Kumail-ibni-Ziad. Amongst *Tabi-Tabiyins* were Imam Jafferi-Sadik, Imam Musa Kazim, Habibi-Ajmi. The best name that could have been given to a follower was "Companion," "Companion's Companion," &c.

After three generations had passed away, the esoterics began to be called *Zuhhads* and *Ubbads* and finally Sufis.

The esoteric knowledge was handed down as a secret from individual to individual amongst the initiated; and people were forbidden to ask questions; and there is an interdiction in the Quran about asking too many questions of the Master. The light of God was sought by leading a moral, austere life, killing the tumultuous desires of the human heart.

When the last vestige of the people who saw the Master or

his companions had disappeared, these esoterics took to travelling to different lands, and settling in forests and practising the death which comes before dying, or as it was called *Moutai Aswad* (Black-death i.e., suffering oppression at the hands of others), *Moutai-Ahmar* (Red-death, working contrary to carnal desires), *Moutai-Abyuz* (white-death i.e. suffering hunger). They aimed at crucifying the flesh and leading lives of purity and independence.

The first persons who attempted to introduce anything like system are said to have been one Haris Muhasibi *alias* Abu Abdullah, a native of Bussorah, who had settled at Baghdad as a schoolmaster in 243; and Junaid I of Baghdad a student, of Shafi (338 A. H. Born at Irak, Died at Baghdad). But the system was not codified and reduced to writing till the time of Shaik Muhidin-ibni Arabi (born at Nariisa in Spain 560—638 A.H.)—the author of *Fusus-ul-Hikam*, *Futuhati Meccol*, &c., an important disciple of Hazrath Abdul Qadir Jeelani. It was he who laid down the scheme of the six manifestations or evolutions and fixed the properties of each manifestation. A pamphlet is, however, preserved as having been dictated by Imam Husain to his son, Zynul Abideen, but it appears to bear marks of later interpolations. It may be, that people added to and subtracted from, according to their interpretations, a work which never saw the light of day. Ibni-Arabi is the founder of the school known as Wajudiah, a school that taught the doctrine of Divine Emanation—"the remoter the manifestation, the remoter from reality." He taught that the reality is manifested in the lower and lower stages without diminution in the higher stage; all the manifestations (inward or outward) are the essence itself and in the essence; and that essence itself is existence. He further taught that *Asma* (names) and *sifat* (attributes) of essence are the essence themselves differentiated in the lower stage of knowledge. His disciples were Fukuaddin Iraki, Sadruddin Fergani, &c.

The views of Shaiki Akbar (the great as he is called by way of eminence) were not to be left unchallenged. Shaik Ruknuddin Alaud-dowlah was the person who disputed his position. He was a native of Samnai, travelled to Hijur and settled himself at Bagdad in 687, and became a disciple of Sheikh Nuruddin Kisiate, read the works of Sheikh Akbar and wrote commentaries on his *Fatuhah*. Abdur Rahman Jami was an important disciple of his.

This Sheikh was the founder of the Shuhudiah school. He taught the world was a reflection and not an emanation of the Divine and that existence is separate from and external to essence.

While the Wajudiah held that the essence of things are *asma* and *sifat*, the Shuhudiah taught that the essence of things are *Adums* (nonentities). *Adums* are nonentities so far as manifestations are considered, but they have a distinction in the knowledge of God, nay, have an existence in knowledge itself (like the plan of a building in the knowledge of an Engineer); and they are "mirrors," for they are the means of bringing out manifestations of the reflex of *asma* and *sifat*. The essence possesses certain attributes, like existence, knowledge, seeing, hearing, &c. and *adum* possesses none, and it is thus the means of manifesting these; for every attribute that is wanting in *adum* is to be found in essence; and *adums* are thus mirrors or reflections of the attributes of essence.

With the Wajudiah school, the external existence is the existence of God Himself, and they quote (*vide* 13 above) (in the battle of Ohad), it was not thou but God Himself that threw it. The diversity displayed by billows and bubbles of water does not in the least diminish the unity of the ocean.

With the Shuhudiah, the *adum* is conjoined with the reflex or illumination of the *asma* and *sifat* of God.

With the Wajudiah, God is present in His creatures in reality; but their reality is not like the conjunction of body with body—or of extension with space—but like the reality of one in numbers. With the Shuhudiah, He is present by His knowledge.

Thoughts are common to human mind. What one mind has thought out in one age, another mind might think out, on its own initiation, in another. But since certain minds had previously thought out certain ideas, one might have some justification in thinking that another mind travelled on the same line, having in view the beacon lights set up by a former generation. When the Muslims were confined to Arabia, their ideas remained pure Arabian; but when they emerged out of their wilderness, there was an impact of mind with mind; and the consequent scintillation of sparks of new thoughts. The writings of Plato and Aristotle were translated from Greek—during the "golden age" of Muslim sovereignty, under Mamunul Rashid. The philosophy of *Ishrakism* (Realists of Plato) which depended on intuition

for the realization of truth) and the philosophy of * *Mushshuins* (the peripatetics of Aristotle) which depended on experience, were readily absorbed into the Muslim thought. Shaikh Akbar may have thought out his philosophy of Ayyani-Sabita (or Souril-Ilmiah, i. e., knowledge forms) on his own initiation or might have been led on by the beacon light of Plato's doctrines of Archtypes in formulating his doctrines. Each type (*qiyan Khari-ia*) has its prototype (aiyan-Sabita). When the young Sheik was accosted by a stranger, who asked whence he was coming and whither he was going, he replied he was coming from archtype and going towards the type. These doctrines received their Arabic cloak and passed off for the doctrines of Islam, and even *Hadis* were "made to order" to give them their hall-mark.

The Sufis quote this as a Hadis. † "The Ayyani Sabita did not smell the smell of existence," i. e., they have not come out into existence, they are as they were. "This does not appear to be more than the Platonic doctrine." &c.

Take the Hadis 11th quoted above. "God is a hidden treasure, and He loved to know himself," and hence manifested. His name Light. Taking the suppositional stages of Evolution of Ibni-Arabi, when God first became conscious of "Self"—there was the first Trinity. "The one who is conscious" "what he is conscious of" and "the process of consciousness involved therein." When he was conscious of *self* He found His attributes and names dependent on the attributes,—Creator, Preserver, &c. Immediately thereon Forms presented themselves in His knowledge praying to give expression to His names and to be acted upon ‡ He granted their prayer by "Be" (*kum*) and they became (*faya-kum*). His attribute of *hearing* became manifest when he heard the prayer of the forms, the attribute of omnipotence became manifest when he granted their prayer to be. Of the six stages of Evolution of Ibni-Arabi, three are inward and three are outward. The three outward are the external manifestations coming under the process of creation.

The first in the three external manifestations is Aklai-Kul§ (absolute Reason).

* The word in Arabic has the same meaning as the Greek work, from the fact of Aristotle having walked up and down, while delivering his discourses.

† Al-Ayyani Sabita-tun-la Shamaitu rahiyat-ul wujud.

‡ 2. "Ideas and things appear separate from one another; the first are the patterns; these are the copies. From this point of view, the Platonic system though not pantheistic—for the numerous ideas are not parts or emanations of a supreme idea—is nevertheless monistic." Zeller's Greek Phil., P. 148.

§ Ayyinai = Hukayuk = Numa, P. 6.

When Aklai-kul came into existence, it prayed to God for a Companion, then Nafsai-kul (absolute personality) came into being. By the spiritual union of these two, a son Tabiyati-kul (Nature,) and a daughter Jouhari-Hiba (nomnejm) came into being, and by the union of these latter two, Jismi-kul (absolute body) and Shaki-i-kul (absolute form) came into being. By male and female principles is herein meant the active and passive principles.

The second in these three external manifestations is *Aursh* (Throne) and *Kurci* (chair). These are the names of the height and width of the vast expanse. In the third of the three external manifestations is *Falaki-Atlas* (Primum mobile), and the orbits of the several planets. In the orbit of the Earth became manifest, the sphere of earth, and then air, water, mineral and animal, and last but not least, man the apex of evolution—microcosm of the microcosm. Each spiritual and material form is the manifestation of a particular name, e.g., the sphere of water is the manifestation of the name—"the Living" and angel is the manifestation of "the strong" and so forth. From the above, it will be seen that the importation of the Grecian element into Muslim thought did not stop with the "cavernous doctrine" of Plato.

The Grecian philosophy had already come into collision with the Jewish and Christian theology, or may be, conversely. Philo and his still more important successor, Plotinus, had converted Platonism into Christianity under the name of Neo-Platonism. Plotinus had already declared that when God first betonism. Plotinus had already declared that when God first became conscious of Himself, He found Himself to be Christ; and assumed "the world to be an effluence or radiation of God in such manner that the remoter manifestation possesses even a lower degree of perfection than that which precedes it and represents consequently the totality of existence as a descending series."*

The several manifestations of the first two external stages of Ibni-Arabi fall in with the doctrine of † Plotinus under other names such as *Logos, Creation, Soul, Nature, Universe*. When the Muslims travelled Eastward and settled in India, their philosophical beliefs received a good deal of accretions from the Vedanta School. Abul Faiz-i-Faizi, a brother of Abul Fazl and one of the nine gems of the Court of Akbar, is said to have learned under

* Schwegler's Hist., of Philo. P. 141.

† Morrel's Manual of His of Philo. P. P. 133—139.

the garb of a Brahmin a good deal of esoteric knowledge from a Brahmin Pandit. He translated into Persian, a part of Māhā-brakta, Bhagavat and the Gayatri Mantra. ‡ Dara Shuku, a brother of Aurangzeb was a Vedantist.

Referring to the 15th text from the Quran (above) it may be gathered that God has referred to certain signs in the heavens and in the individualities of men. From this Sufis have constructed a theory of microcosm and macrocosm (*alami asghar* and *alami Akbār*) e.g., the twelve zodiacs are the twelve holes in the human body; the seven planets are the five senses *plus* the sense of talking (*sic*) and understanding (*sic*). Thus body=the earth; bones=mountains; vacant space=sea; blood vessels=rivers; hair=trees; mouth=a cave; back=barren land; front=east; back=west; right hand=south; left-hand=north; breathing=air; laughing=shining of lightning; weeping=raining; sorrow=darkness; spring=youth; autumn=old age, sleep=death; awaking=life and so on. This as well as the theory of the five elements and 25 *gunas* (qualities) possesses a distinctive Hindū stamp. The Muslim philosophy in Southern India is so much mixed up with that of the Hindus, that it is difficult to distinguish it. In recent times there was a revival of *Tasawwuf* by one Shaik Ahmad, a native of Sirhind, a man belonging to Shahudiah school. He is known as Mujuddidi=Alfai-Sani-(reformer of the 2nd thousand). Mirza Ghulam Ahmad Khadiyani of our own times is a mixture of *Tasawwuf*, rationalism and egotism. He claims to be a *Maṣīḥi*-Isa (the incarnation of Christ), and the minaret of the insignificant town of Khadiyan to be the minaret of the mosque of Damascus, spoken of as the place where Christ was to descend; the one-eyed Dhajjal (Anti-Christ) to be the mammon of gold so much worshipped in the world, and the Dhujjal's ass to be the railway train and so forth. He has borrowed something from the Grecian thought (1) the angels are the spirits of planets, (2) that in him, as in Christ, there is a power one end of which touches heaven and the other the earth. This love of God from above joined to the love of man from beneath produces what is called the Holy Ghost.

When the Prophet was on his death-bed, he is said to have asked for pen and ink (a fragment of history which Moulvi Mahdi Ali disproves) and Omar to have interdicted "Sufficient unto us is the Book of God." So might the Muslim philosophers

‡ Darbārī = Akbarī of Md. Husain Azad, P. 374.

have well remained with what is taught in the Book, without imbibing truths or hearsays from other sources. In their hands, it has become either pantheism or a sort of anthropomorphism, a God sitting on His Throne in the skies. Three persons are said to have been interrogated by Imam Jafferi-sadick, regarding God. One said "I worship a God, who possesses all the attributes." The Imam said he worshipped a man-god or idol, since eating, drinking, dying are all the attributes of the created. These are the pantheists. Another said he worshipped a God who had no attributes. The Imam said he worshipped a nothingness (a phase of modern philosophical Nihilism), and the third said he worshipped a God, who had the attributes of perfection and was devoid of the attributes of "imperfection and decay." The Imam said, he worshipped the true God of the heaven and the earth. This Imam was the fifth in descent from Hazrath Ali, the first flood-gate through which the spiritual light and knowledge of Islam streamed forth on the Muslim world.

KHAJA KHAN.

* "Attributes of imperfection and decay" is a technical expression. According to the suppositional stages of Ibnī-Arabi, when God became conscious of "I am, and no one besides," then in His knowledge there was "not I."

All the attributes of perfection belong to the Divine Essence and all the attributes of imperfection and decay belong to this "Not I" in his knowledge. The attributes of the Divine Essence are seeing, hearing, speaking, &c. The attributes of this "not I" are "not-seeing," "not-hearing," "not-speaking." This "not I" is called *adam-i-isaʿī* to which imperfection and decay relates.

till 1818, when it issued a new coinage of gold and silver, and for the first time made the silver rupee a legal tender in Southern India, where gold alone circulated till then as the currency of the East India Company. Thus despite the minute of 1806, both gold and silver coins were made legal tenders. These two passed as unlimited legal tenders till 1835, when the Government finding Bimetallism hopeless, coined gold and silver rupees of equal weight and fineness, and declared the new silver rupee as the sole legal tender throughout British India. Although gold ceased to be legal tender, the coining of gold Mohurs was permitted; and in 1841, the Government of India authorised its officers to receive them at the public treasuries at the market value of silver.

This state of affairs continued till 1852. When in 1848 gold was discovered in Australia and the production reached its maximum in 1853, a panic occurred among the people as they feared that there would be a serious fall in the value of gold, and some European countries demonetised gold, which they repented and retraced their steps afterwards. Lord Dalhousie was seized with the same panic, and declared in 1852 that, after 1st January 1853, no gold coin of any sort would be received in payment of Government dues. By this action, which is now considered a bad stroke of policy, gold was totally demonetised throughout India, and it was then estimated that nearly £120,000,000 of gold coin had disappeared from circulation and was hoarded.

The Government soon found out the error committed by this demonetisation of gold, when strong representations were made for its restoration. In 1864 the Chambers of Commerce of Bengal, Bombay and Madras, and the Bombay Association unanimously pointed out that the Sovereign had acquired an immense circulation throughout the whole of India, and great inconvenience and loss had been sustained by having only a silver currency, which was not adequate for the requirements of Commerce. From time immemorial, until a recent date, India had an extensive gold currency, and the people really appreciated the immense convenience of its use, so much so, that when it was demonetised an attempt was made to substitute gold bars bearing the stamps of the Bombay banks in its stead. Owing to the strong representations made to the Government by Merchants and Bankers, the Government of India, on the 4th July 1864, addressed a despatch to the Home Government requesting that

they might be authorised to declare that British and Australian sovereigns and half sovereigns should be made legal tender throughout the British territories at the fixed rate of Rs. 10 for the sovereign.

Sir Charles Wood (afterwards Lord Halifax) disallowed the proposal of the India Government on the ground of its being tainted with Bimetallism, and showed that two metals could not circulate together in unlimited quantities at a fixed legal ratio different from the market value of the metals. Permission, however, was given to receive sovereigns at the Government treasuries at the rate of Rs. 10, but no payments were made at this rate as sovereigns passed at Rs. 10 and several annas in the market. This undoubtedly would have been an opportunity for introducing a coinage similar to the British, making the sovereign the standard unit, with a subsidiary silver currency at the rate of Rs. 10 to the sovereign by restricting the issue of silver, but the opportunity passed away never again to return.

In 1873, the decline in silver commenced, and in 1876, the Bengal Chamber of Commerce addressed a memorial to the Government of Lord Lytton to suspend the coinage of silver; but the Government was not prepared to do it without decreeing at the same time that gold should be coined freely and passed as unlimited legal tender. The Indian Government being thus prevented from introducing pure Bimetallism, addressed several despatches to the Home Government to fix the ratio between gold and silver by an International agreement. Several conferences were held; and the last at Brussels in 1892 was considered by the exponents of a single gold standard, a triumph over their opponent's views, and dispersed with the pronouncement that silver was unfit for anything but to serve the purpose of a token coinage. If Mr. Alfred de Rothschild's proposal of an extended use of silver was carried out, an attempt would have been made to keep up the gold value of silver at equilibrium. So it was that, between 1878 and 1892, the Government of India had to face the repeated embarrassments due to the continued fall in the gold price of silver.

The Indian Government naturally got alarmed at the white metal being thus rejected by all governments but themselves; and also finding that no less than 54,000,000 ounces of silver would be liberated from the currency systems of the world, if the American Government were to repeal the Bland and Sherman Laws,

asked the India Council for authority to close their Mints to free coinage. They suggested that the closing of the Mints should be accompanied with the decree to receive gold at the Indian treasuries in exchange for rupees at the rate of 1s. 6d. The famous Herschall Committee was appointed; and they, after satisfactory examination of witnesses, recommended the adoption of the views of the Indian Government as regards the closing of the Mint, and suggested that the rate of 1s. 4d. would be a far more workable figure for the exchange of rupees into gold. Provision was also made for sovereigns to be received in payment of dues at Rs. 15 per sovereign, and currency notes to be issued for gold or sovereigns at the above rate.

The Indian Government at the instance of the Secretary of State for India accordingly gave orders on 26th June 1893 to close the Mints, which came as a surprise to those interested.

What an illustration of the frailty of human calculations! The object with which the Committee proposed to close the Mints was to raise the price of silver and to keep up the exchange. The rate of exchange in the market at the time the Mints were closed was 1s. 2½d., and the price of silver was somewhere about 38d. per oz. At one bound this declined to close upon 30d. and the gold value of rupee jumped to 1s. 3½d. Although the India Council refused to sell its drafts below 1s. 3½d. yet there were very few transactions at this rate. The merchants and bankers had no confidence to operate, and waited to see how the tide would turn.

From the time of the decline of silver till the closure of the Mints, the country was tolerably prosperous; but the critical period arrived as soon as the Mints were closed, marking a period of wide fluctuations, and the rate touched the abnormally low figure of 1s. 4d. about a year after the decree. Hoards of coined silver rupees were brought over from Zanzibar, from countries bordering the Red Sea, from the Straits, and from the Malay Peninsula, to exchange for the extremely cheapened metal of which the rupees were made. Another feature noticed in the severance of the link between gold and silver was the falling off in exports to silver-using countries. These two sets of occurrences, the bringing out of the hoarded rupees and the check of exports, caused a contraction in the demand for rupees to proceed *pari passu* with the restriction of their supply. The Government's idea was that this

fall in exchange was mainly due to the rupees having become redundant and that contraction was the chief thing necessary to raise the rupee again; but how this redundant currency came to exist in the country is a problem not yet properly solved either by the then and subsequent financial ministers or by the Herschall Committee.

The above is a brief summary of the salient features of the monetary affairs of India which caused a stringency in loanable capital, till the latter half of 1897, a time when the Wolcott proposals were made to the British Government. In furtherance of this policy, the new President sent a mission to Europe, and after coming to an agreement with the French Government, the United States Envoys and the Ambassador of France, approached the British Government with the proposal "that if France and the United States re-opened their Mints to silver at the ratio of 15½ to 1, the Indian Mints should be re-opened to silver" and thus the Notification of 1893 repealed; to which the Indian Government gave a negative reply that it would be most unwise to re-open the Mints, especially at a time when they were approaching the attainment of stability in exchange by their own independent action.

Such was the state of monetary complications till the Indian Government once more set itself firm in its belief in the contraction theory and formulated proposals to effect it by melting down rupees.

Let us briefly view the merits and demerits of the Franco-American proposals made to the Home Government. The proposals, if carried out, would have been the occasion for complying with the repeated demands of the greater portion of the export traders of India for opening the Mints to free coinage. The advocates of free coinage asserted that if this were done, a great stimulus would be given to the export trade of India, and that capital would be attracted. But the obstacle seemed to be the heavy loss that would entail on the Government of India by its Home charges when there was a low Exchange ruling. India's yearly remittance to the Home Government amount to £18,500,000 besides £7,000,000 to £8,000,000 to private individuals and companies being the profit on European capital invested here. How could India pay this debt to England? It could be paid only by the excess of Exports over Imports. Therefore, what is necessary to be done by Government is to

encourage exports as much as possible. The opinion of the most competent Indian merchants is that there must be a low rate of Exchange to make exports as cheap as possible. Again, by increasing exports, a much larger demand for imports is created, for when the ryots of India are prosperous they would buy more European goods. A low rate of Exchange therefore favors exportation directly and importation indirectly. But how a low Exchange would bring India into bankruptcy will be briefly noticed here. It is evident that when exchange falls by 1*d.* in the rupee, a tax of £ 1,000,000 is levied on the people of India to meet her Home charges in London. So when the rupee falls from 2*s.* to 1*s.* 4*d.*, the people of India have to sustain a loss of £ 8,000,000 yearly to meet those charges. Such is the penalty India is now paying for not being endowed with a sound monetary system. Whether the enhanced value imparted to the rupee would or would not be a taxation on the productive power of India is a point to be decided in the future, a most contested point in the whole controversy and one on which even the Currency Committee were not able to form a decided opinion. If it proves not a tax in the future, it must be held that the gold standard may be maintained without increasing the Government's sterling indebtedness.

The chief objection of the Indian Government to the Franco-American proposal was the ratio of 15½ to 1. That the United States were prepared to revise their terms of negotiations is clear from the statement of Senator Wolcott: "It may also be necessary, in my opinion, to make concession in the ratio, bringing it somewhere in the neighbourhood of 20 to 1 (a 20 to 1 ratio would make the rupee approximately 1*s.* 5½*d.*; a 1*s.* 4*d.* means an approximate ratio of 22 to 1)."

Having had no confidence in maintaining a parity of Exchange between gold and silver by International Agreement by the Indian Government; and being alive to the most stringent state of the money market, the Indian Government asked permission of the Home Government in 1897 to appoint a committee to enquire into and report upon the monetary state of India, to submit any modifications or suggestions of their own for the establishment of a satisfactory system of currency in India, and for securing, as far as practicable a stable Exchange, between that country and the United Kingdom. The method proposed by the Indian Government was to get permission from Parliament authorising

the Secretary of State to borrow up to a maximum of £ 20,000,000 for the purpose of establishing a gold standard, and to send out £ 5,000,000 in sovereigns as a first instalment. The Government's view was that if Exchange fell below 1*s.* 4*d.* it would show redundancy, and that the Government would "take rupees from its balances, melt them down, sell the bullion, (at an assumed loss of 40 per cent.), pay these rupees into its balances, and finally make good thereto the 40 per cent. balance of loss with part of the borrowed gold." This operation to go on until the exchange goes up to 1*s.* 4*d.* in order that the gold value of the rupee may be established. The decision arrived at by the Committee was the establishment of a gold standard without a gold currency. The chief exponent of this scheme is Mr. A. M. Lindsay, who stated that in addition to offering to receive gold in exchange for rupees at the rate of 16*d.* the Government should also offer to receive rupees in exchange for gold at a somewhat lower rate, sterling drafts on London being issued in exchange for rupees. Mr. L. C. Probyn's was the other scheme, which proposed to establish the reserve of gold in India, but in order to prevent the gold passing into circulation and disappearing into hoards, he proposed that gold should not be coined, but that it should be kept in stamped bars of a high value. The rupee under these schemes would still be the medium of circulation. The Currency Committee in conjunction with the India Government did not approve these schemes on the ground that any scheme without a visible gold currency would be looked upon with distrust.

In accordance with the resolution of the Currency Committee, the Indian Government on 15th September 1899, passed an Act making sovereign a legal tender in India, at the ratio of Rs. 15, but owing to a delay caused by the Indian Mints not being made a branch of the Royal Mint, sovereigns were not tendered until the 19th March, 1900.

Intimately connected with the establishment of a gold standard in India, whatever may be its suitability to the country, is the extension of Banking and Paper Currency. Many are still labouring under the notion that gold and silver are the only two instruments to discharge and liquidate debts. We have long passed through the ages of gold and silver. We are now in the age of Paper or Credit. If one were to look at the weekly-clearing

House returns of the Bank of England and the Provincial Cities, one would be struck with the array of figures marshalled. England's annual income as a nation is over 87 millions, the clearing House returns for a week amount to about 127 millions. One year's total of paid clearing in the French clearing house was about 173 million pounds.

All Mercantile and Trading operations are, at the present day, with infinitesimal exceptions, carried on by means of Rights of action, Credits or Debts, and the whole mass of credits constitute a circulating medium. "Credit" says Daniel Webster, "has done more, a thousand times, to enrich nations than all the mines of all the world."

The *State Bank for India*, which is in contemplation, suggested to the Currency Committee by the two leading Financial authorities, Mr. C. A. Hambro and Mr. Alfred de Rothschild, will, it is hoped, cause credit to play an important function by better familiarising the people of India to the use of Notes, Cheques and Bills. The Bank, when formed according to the present suggestions, would be an amalgamation of the Indian Presidency banks, which will give India the *entrée* into the London money market and enable it to borrow in times of pressure. The objects of the Government in establishing a Central bank of the kind proposed are (1) to remedy the deficiency in the present banking agencies for supplying the working capital, from which India has been suffering for some time past, and (2) to entrust to the Bank the control and regulation of the Note and Gold Currency, and in fact to afford greater financial strength to India generally. To justify Government action and to show the desirability of a change in the Indian banking, we shall briefly deal with the present systems under four groups, *viz.*, Native banks in India, (2) the three Presidency banks of India, (3) Local banks of deposit in India, (4) English Exchange banks.

For hundreds of years numerous native banks have sprung up in India, owned by large capitalists, with branches. These are not deposit banks, but are more banks of transfers, and chiefly deal in the sale of their drafts for the transfer of funds from one place to another.

The Presidency Banks of India—the Bank of Bengal, the Bank of Bombay, and the Bank of Madras are large banks of deposit, keeping the accounts of the Indian Government, and the reserves of the other European Banks, as well as the deposits and

current accounts of the public. Each has ten to fifteen branches at some of the principal towns in its respective Presidency. Their resources are employed in investments, advances and discounts, and they regulate the rates for these in the market. These banks owing to the limitations on their sphere of operation seem to do little or nothing in attracting deposits or distributing trade capital.

The purely local banks of India have a respectable standing, but they are only few in number. They all do an ordinary banking business of current and deposit account, discounts, advances, &c. But their business, wherever they have been established, has been to borrow and lend money locally. They do not deal in Exchange or bill discounting business, and do not try to link the business of the Mofussil towns with the Coast Ports.

The Exchange banks that come under the fourth group, excepting the few branches of French and continental banks, are some half-a-dozen in all, with head offices in London. The aggregate capital available for India of these Joint Stock banks has never been found sufficient to finance the business of India in inactive seasons without resorting to large borrowings in London; neither they nor the Presidency banks have had any influence over the ryots who form the main contributors to the export trade of India to the value of £ 70,000,000. Their dealings are entirely with the money lenders of their districts, Marwaris and Nattu Cottah Chetties.

The question is, whether the objects desired can best be attained by the immediate formation of a Central bank or by the extension of the present financial agencies in India receiving encouragement from Government. The proposal of the establishment of a Central bank, however, has been received coldly by most Indian bankers and merchants. A large Central bank will aid in arranging to finance transactions of large magnitude, as well as small. A Central bank with numerous branches will do much to increase the note circulation, a subject which is occupying the closest attention of the Indian Government; but it is a theme for consideration how far the creation of the bank will attract English Capital to India, loanable for short periods, unless there is a likelihood of its being taken back without loss from Exchange. Further, it cannot be relied upon that a large capital could be employed advantageously throughout the year, in order to enable the bank to get an attractive rate of

interest for the shareholders. For, India is a country where various changes might be expected in the financial conditions owing to the trade being seasonal. The demand for accommodation in three or four months in the year may be so great as to deplete the resources of the bank, and at other times when trade is slack, much of the money received in the shape of taxes will have to be locked up. The bank might do good for controlling the balances of Government, and managing the Paper Currency; but it is not apparent how far its creation will remove the evils which are really troubling India. The evil lies in the want of elasticity. Currency cannot be controlled, it must find its own level according to trade balances. At present there is no means of adding to the counters of trade when trade is busy and withdrawing them when trade is dull. Any help that European markets can give during pressure, will depend upon their own easiness for money; and even if they are enabled to render aid, the capital lent must be made to go back without loss. This can only be accomplished if attempts are made in India to prevent fluctuations due to seasonal pressure for currency.

It is, however, hoped that as the formulating of the scheme of the institution is placed in the hands of able financiers, the bank will be so moulded and shaped as to prove both a strength to the Government and benefit to the people of India.

C. GOPAL MENON.

THE SVETASWATARA UPANISHAD.

(Continued from page 376, vol. VI.)

BEFORE we enter into the discussion of the philosophic import of this Upanishad, we have to note the great difficulty felt by nearly all European scholars who are solely brought up in the school of Sankara in interpreting this Upanishad, a difficulty which has equally been felt with regard to the Philosophy of the Gita. Different scholars have taken it as variously expounding Sankhya and Yoga, Bhakti and Vedanta, Dualism and non-dualism; and Professor Max Muller agrees with Mr. Gough in taking it as fully expounding the Indian school of Vedanta or Idealism. Professors Garbe and Macdonnell characterise the philosophy as ECLECTIC. Says the latter, (p. 405, History of Sanskrit Literature): "Of the *eclectic* movement combining Sankhya, Yoga and Vedanta doctrines, the oldest literary representative is the *svetaswatara upanishad*. More famous is the Bhagavad Gita."

If ever there was such an eclectic school, have these scholars paused to enquire who their modern representatives are? Or is it that there are no such representatives to-day? The real fact is that this was the only true Philosophic creed of the majority of the people and this philosophy has subsisted untarnished during the last 3000 years or more. During the Upanishad period, the schools whose distinct existence can be distinctly marked are the Lokayita or Nastika, Kapila's Sankhya, Mimamsa of Jaimuni, Nyaya and Vaisesika and Yoga. The first three were atheistical and the latter Theistic. And of course all these were professed Hindus* and none would have deviated from the rituals and practice prescribed for a Hindu, though academically speaking, he would have held to this view or that view of philosophy. And this inconsistency is what strikes a foreigner even now in the character of the modern Hindu. Mrs. Besant aptly describes this as the Hindu's principle of rigidity of conduct and freedom of

* The Majority of every people and nation are virtually atheistic and materialistic, though professing a belief in God and conforming to the usages of Society.

thought.* All these schools were based on a certain number of tatvas or categories. The Nāstika postulated four and only four tatvas, namely, earth, air, fire and water and would not even believe in Akas or ether. Kapila increased the number of categories, he believed in, to 19 which he grouped under Purusha and Pradhana. The Mimamsaka believed practically in nothing more, though he laid stress on the authority and eternality of the Vedas. The next three theistic schools believed in 24 or 25 tatvas which they grouped under Purusha Pradhana and Ishwara or God. As all these schools based their theoretical philosophy on a certain number of tatvas, † Sankhya, the theoretic Philosophy came to be called Saukhya as distinguished from the practical Religion and Morality. And during the Upanishad period and even in the Mahabharata period, the word had not lost its general signification. And it will be noticed when ascertaining what these various categories are, that, with the exception of the Nāstika, all the other five schools believed in almost the same things, though the enumeration were various, except as regards the postulate of God. And even in this idea of God, there was practically very little difference between Kapila and Patanjali. To both of them, the freed Purusha was equal to Ishwara, only Kapila believed that no Ishwara was necessary for the origination and sustenance, &c., of the worlds; but that according to Patanjali there existed an eternally freed Being who created these worlds and resolved them again into their original condition. And in the Upanishad period, the yoga school was the dominant cult and these Upanishads including the Svetasvatara and Kaivalya, &c., were all books of the yoga school. And the theoretical or argumentative part of the philosophy or creed was called by the name of Sankhya and the practical part, yoga. And as this yoga postulated the highest end achieved by the study of the Vedas which were set forth in these Upanishads it was also coming slowly to be called Vedānta. That the word Upanishad was actually used as a synonym for yoga, we have an example in Chanda, (1-1-10.) "The sacrifice which a man performs with knowledge, faith, and the Upanishad is more powerful." 'Know-

* Cf. Garbe.

† Tirumular, a Tamil Saint of about the first century after Christ, thus distinguishes the schools existing in his time. "The 96 tatvas or categories are common to all, 36 categories are special to the saivas, 28 are the categories of the Vedānti, 24 categories belong to Vaiṣṇavas, 25 categories are those of the Mayavadi." The particular thing to be noted here is the distinction drawn between Vedānti and Mayavadi.

ledge' or gnam here meant the knowledge of the categories and their relation, which according to Kapila was alone sufficient to bring about man's freedom. This, the Vedānta held to be insufficient unless it was accompanied by earnestness and love, and by the contemplation of a Supreme Being. This contemplation brought the thinker near and near to the object of his thoughts, till all distinctions of object and subject were thoroughly merged (distinction of I and mine), and the union or oneness was reached and all bhanda or pasa fell off. This is the root idea in both words 'Upanishad' and 'yoga.' 'Yoga means union, union of two things held apart and brought together, when the bonds or fetters which separated fell off or perished. And Upanishad is also derived from Upa-near, ni-quite, sad-to perish. Here also the nearing of two things, and the perishing of something is clearly meant. Of course, the two things brought together are the Soul and God and the perishable thing is the Pasa; and the soul when bound by Pasa is called Pasu accordingly.

This was the condition of the Philosophic thought down to the days of the Mahabharat, and we hold this was anterior to the rise of Buddhism and even for some centuries after Gautama Buddha and till the time of Badarayana. It was during this time that the philosophy of India spread into and permeated the thought of Europe, and Professor Garbe has lucidly proved in his short History of Indian Philosophy, that the influence received by the Greeks down to the neo-Platonic school was almost Sankhyan in its character. It was during this time again, that the blending of the Aryan and Tamilian in art and civilization and Philosophy took place (and we could not here consider how much was common to both, and how much each gained from the other). We have an exactly parallel word in Tamil to the word 'Sankhya' and this word is *an* (en) which means both, 'number' and 'to think,' and both Auvayar and Tiruvalluvar use the word to mean logic and metaphysics, the primary science, on which all thought was built, being mathematics or the science of number. A systematic and historical study of the Tamil works will make good our position; and even to-day the most dominant cult in the Tamil is the Sankhya and Yoga as represented in the Upanishads or Vedānta. This system must have been thoroughly established in the Tamil language and literature before the time of Christ and before Badarayana's composition of the Sāṅkhya Sūtras. So much so, when Badarayana's system came into vogue in Southern

India, it was recognized as a distinct school. As Badarayana expressly professed to interpret the Upanishad or Vedanta texts, his school of Philosophy was stereotyped by the phrase '*Vedanta*', and by collecting all the texts in Tamil down even to the time of Tayumanavar (16 century) containing references to *Vedanta*, we could prove what the special view of Badarayana was. This will also show that the exposition of Badarayana contained in the earliest Bhashya or commentary we possess in Sanskrit, namely, that of Srikanta, which was later on adopted almost bodily by Ramanuja, was the true view of Badarayana. This view we may sum up in Dr. Thebaut's own words:—"If, now, I am shortly to sum up the results of the preceding enquiry as to the teaching of the Sutras, I must give it as my opinion that they do not set forth the distinction of a higher and lower knowledge of Brahman; that they do not acknowledge the distinction of Brahman and Iswara in Sankara's sense; that they do not hold the doctrine of the unreality of the world; and that they do not, with Sankara, proclaim the absolute identity of the individual and the highest self." (p. c. Introduction to the Vedanta Sutras).

And he proves also that this was consistent with the teachings of the Upanishad themselves.

What gave it its special mark however is the peculiar relation which Badarayana postulated between the God and the world, the product of Maya or Prakriti. Though he held on to the distinction of the supreme and the human spirit, he stoutly fought against the old Sankhyan view (comprising nearly all the six schools we enumerated above) that matter was an independent entity from spirit, though like Leibnitz, he never denied its reality. He held God was both the efficient and material cause of the Universe. This doctrine received accordingly its name of Parinama vada or Nimittopadana Karana vada, while the theistic Sankhyan systems stoutly maintained that God was only the efficient cause though He was immanent in all nature. As there was nothing inherently vicious and destructive of all true religion and morality in this system of Badarayana, the Tamil Philosophers welcomed this view also and declared they did not see much difference in the two views and ends postulated by both the old and new school. And both Saint Tirumular and Srikanta expressly make this declaration.

But there was one other view which was gaining ground ever

since the days of Gautama Buddha and which was connected with the peculiar theory of *Maya* or illusion. Buddha declared that all existence was momentary, that there was no world, no mind, no soul and no God and that what really existed were the Skandas, and when this truth was perceived, all desire and birth and suffering would cease and then there would be cessation of all existence, Nirvana. And the Buddhists were accordingly called *Mayavadis*. But as the Buddhist theory destroyed the very core of the Indian national beliefs, and as it also afforded no stable ground for a national existence based on morality and religion, this was pronounced heterodox, but the seeds sown by him were not in vain, and a Hindu school of Mayavada slowly raised its head on the burning embers of this old effete philosophy. And its greatest exponent was Sankara. This Hindu school of Mayavada was in existence for several centuries before Sankara, but this was later than the time of St. Manicka Vachaka and earlier than Tirumular though both of them were anterior to Sankara. Sankara's system is referred to as *Mayavada* in all the other Hindu prominent schools prevalent since the days of Sankara, and though South Indian followers of Sankara seem to entertain some prejudice to the word, owing to the abuse made of it by their opponents, followers of Sankara in the North even to-day call it the Mayavada. And in some of its extreme forms, it was also called "Prachanna Bandham." The great learning and the towering personality, accompanied with the austere life, led by Sankara, created a great following among the Brahmans of the Saiva faith, and it made great strides in the time of his illustrious follower Sayana or Vidyaranya who combined in himself both temporal and spiritual power. And the first interpreters of Hinduism happening to be mostly Brahmans of this persuasion, during this century when Sanskrit oriental scholarship came into being, this view of Hindu Philosophy has gained most currency among European scholars. But there were not wanting scholars in the past like Colebrook and Wilson, and like Col. Jacob, Prof. Kemte, and Dr. Thibaut in the present generation, who hold that Mayavada is not the real and true exposition of the Veda and Vedanta. Prof. Max Muller than whom a more learned or earnest student of Indian Philosophy never existed, though he held very stoutly to the other view, has slowly given in, and has accepted Dr. Thibaut's conclusions as correct. We may add that Professor Macdonnell reiterates the old view, and Deussen is the greatest adherent of Sankara to-day.

There is one other great factor in the growth of Indian Religion and Philosophy which we have taken no note of, all this time; and which receives no notice at all in the hands of European scholars. And this is the learning of the Agamas or Tantras. Such a well informed person as Swami Vivekananda has declared, "as to their influence, apart from the Srouta and Smarta rituals, all other forms of ritual observed from the Himalayas to the Comorin have been taken from the tantras, and they direct the worship of the Saktas, Saivas and Vaishnavas and all others alike." But who were the authors of these works and when did they come into vogue, and what great power had they to monopolize the Religion of the whole of India? The same Swami observes "The Tantras, as we have said, represent the vedic rituals in a modified form, and before any one jumps into the most absurd conclusions about them, I will advise him to read the *Tantras* in connection with the *Brahmanas*, especially of the *Adhvaryu* portion. And most of the *Mantras* used in the *Tantras* will be found taken verbatim from these *Brahmanas*." But it could be noted at the same time, that whereas the *Brahmanas* direct the use of these mantras in connection with the yagnas or sacrifices, these *Tantras* direct their use in connection with the worship of some deity or other. And the object of Vedic sacrifices being well known to be only the first three purusharthas, by the worship of the various Powers of Nature, the object of Tantric or Agamic worship was the attainment of the fourth Purusharta or Moksha. By the time we get into the Upanishad period, we could see how a new and spiritual interpretation was put upon the old Vedic sacrifices and the uselessness of sacrifice as an end in itself was strongly declared. Says Mon. Barth: "Sacrifice is only an act of preparation." It is the best of acts, but it is an act and its fruit consequently perishable. Accordingly although whole sections of these treatises (Upanishads) are taken up exclusively with speculations on the rites, what they teach may be summed up in the words of Mundaka Upanishad "Know the Atman only and away with every thing else; it alone is the bridge to immortality." "The Veda itself and the whole circle of sacred science are quite as sweepingly consigned to the second plane. The Veda is not the true Brahman; it is only its reflection; and the science of this imperfect Brahman, this *Sabda Brahman* or Brahman in words is only a science of a lower order. The true science is that which has the true Brahman, the Parabrahman for its subject."

As the story in the Kena Upanishad will show, the most powerful of the Rig Veda deities, Indra, and Agni and Vayu and Varuna were also relegated to a secondary place; and the worship of the only One, without a second, the consort of Uma, Haimavati was commenced. The Kena Upanishad story is repeated in the Puranas, the Supreme Brahman is mentioned there as Siva and Rudra. And the story of Rudra destroying Daksha's sacrifice, and disgracing the Gods who took part in the sacrifice, with the sequel of His consort, named then *Dakshayani* (the fruit or spirit of sacrifice) becoming reborn as Uma, (wisdom or Brahmagnam) Haimavati would seem to go before the story in the Kena Upanishad. The story of the desecration of the sacrifice of the Rishis of Darukarana by Siva and Vishnu would point the same moral. So that, by this time, the backbone of the old unmeaning Vedic sacrifices, petrified in the Godless school of Mimamsa was really broken; and it was here that the Agamas stepped in and used the same old Mantras again, but with a new force and significance, deleting whatever was unmeaning, and preserving only what was useful. It substituted also new symbols though preserving the old names. And from this time, therefore, Modern Hinduism and Hindu system of worship may be said to have commenced. But for these beginnings we have to go far behind the days of the Mahabharata and the Puranas, for the Agama doctrines and rituals are fully bound up with these.

A clear advance in the use of symbols was also made, at the same time effectually preserving the distinction between symbols and truth, by the use of proper words. The sabda Brahman or the Pranava was only a symbol and not the truth, as fancied by the Mimamsakas and it was called a mark or Linga. And the figured mark of the Pranava, (Linga is merely the Pranava as figured to the eye) the Linga became the universal symbol of God and object of worship, as the Pranava in Mantra or sound form was before. In the new system of worship, the Temples that were built were more on the models of the old yagna-sala; and the yupa stambha (Dwaja stambha) and Balipeta, Pasu (Basava or Nandi) and the Gods in their various places were also retained; and a Brahmotsava supplanted virtually the old sacrifice.* In the field of philosophy it did as much to

* In commencing and going through a Brahmotsava, the priests observe technically almost the same rituals as in commencing and going through a great sacrifice. There is a yagna sala in every Saiva Temple in which the Fire is started by the *Dikshita* and the Dwaja Arohana is made by running up a flag

systematise and build up into a whole what was hitherto in scattered form and it did a greater service in drawing out more fully the omnipenetrativeness and transcendency of God over all else, over both Chetana and Achetana Prapancha, the world of souls and the world of matter. The Postulate of God's supreme *Transcendancy* is the special effort of the Agama Philosophy to make out, and as this was the Highest End and Truth, it was called Siddanta *Par excellence* as distinguished from the Vedanta which led up the aspirant only to certain spiritual stages. It divided all philosophy and religion into four paths or Margas, called respectively Chariya, Kriya, Yoga and Gnana; and these were otherwise called Dasa Marga, Satpatra Marga, Saha Marga and San-Marga. In the exposition of these paths it opened out a thoroughly reasoned out system of theoretic Philosophy neither contradicting our experience nor causing violence to the most cherished of our sentiments both moral and religious; a system of thought which was progressive and built on an adamant basis, step by step leading to higher knowledge, a system* which by preserving and pointing out the essential difference of God, soul and matter, established a true relation between them which led to the highest monistic knowledge, a system which was at once dualism and non-dualism, Dvaita and Advaita; a system which appealed alike to the peasant and the Philosopher. Its system of practical Religion, calculated to secure the Highest end and Bliss, was also progressive, commencing from the simplest rituals in the adoration of God to the Highest yoga, adapted to the means and capacity of the

with the figure of a bull (Pasu or Basava) on the Yupastambha and tying Kusa grass to the Post. The Pasu and the Kusa grass standing merely for the soul or jiva that was bound and offered in sacrifice. After Avarohana, the soul or Pasu becomes freed and is no more called Pasu, but is called God or Nandi—the blissful. It will require more space for us to draw out here the parallel between the yagna sala and a Hindu Temple.

* Cf. Garbe, p. 30. The Philosophy of Ancient India.

"As for those who feel inclined to look down slightly from a monistic point of view upon a dualistic conception of the world, the words of E. Röer in the Introduction of the Bhashaparichcheda (p. XVI) may be quoted: "Though a higher development of philosophy may destroy the distinctions between soul and matter, that is, may recognise matter or what is perceived as matter, as the same with the soul (as for instance, Leibniz did), it is nevertheless certain that no true knowledge of the soul is possible without first drawing a most decided line of demarcation between the phenomena of matter and of the soul." This sharp line of demarcation between the two domains was first drawn by Kapila. The knowledge of the difference between body and soul is one condition, and it is also an indispensable condition, of arriving at a true monism. Every view of the world which confounds this difference can supply at best a one-sided henism, be it a spiritualism or an equally one-sided materialism."

lowest and highest of human beings. Readers of Swami Vivekananda's lectures would have noted how these four paths are essential to any system of thought or Religion which claims to be universal; and it is the peculiar boast of the Agama or Pantra that it was the first to systematise this fourfold teaching. And it is in modern Saivism and in the Siddanta Philosophy, this fourfold aspect of Religion and Philosophy is wholly and fully preserved. Saivism is a ritual marga, a Bhakti marga, a yoga marga, a gnana marga. And need we wonder that the Siddanta Philosophy of to-day is as much a puzzle to outsiders, as the Philosophy of our Upanishad and the Gita. And the Siddhanti's definition of *advaita* as 'neither one nor two nor neither' will bring out the puzzle more prominently. It is a system of dualism, it is also a system of non-dualism, but it differs from the other schools of dualism and non-dualism. What was held out in the Siddanta as inner paths or marga, or sadhana or means to reach the Highest end had come to be each and individually mistaken for the end itself; what was held out as the mere symbol of the Highest Truth had come to be mistaken for the Truth itself. What was declared as unprovable, undecidable and unknowable and unenjoyable as long as man was in the bound condition, was held by these sectaries as proved and seen. What was the purest and most transcendent monotheism degenerated into a most crude Anthro-morphism and blatant Pantheism.

Saivism is not anthro-morphic, but symbolic. How can it be otherwise, when it draws such minute distinction between God and soul and matter? And a system of symbolism is quite consistent with the Highest Transcendental Religion and Philosophy; in fact, all our real knowledge is more truly symbolic than otherwise. In the view of the Siddhanti, the Upanishads, though they deal with all the four paths, are specially the text Books of the Yogapada or Sahamarga where certain *Bhavanas* or Vidyas calculated to create and bring about the Highest Nirvana and Union and Freedom from Pasa are more fully explained and illustrated.

The above cursory view of the Past History of the Indian Philosophy will clear the ground a good deal for our present understanding of our particular Upanishad.

(To be continued.)

J. M. NALLAPATI PRASAD.

HOME TEACHING IN INDIA.

LORD Curzon recently observed in his speech made at the Aligarh College—"if British Dominion in India were exterminated to-morrow, and if all visible traces of it were wiped off the face of the earth, I think that its noblest monument, and its proudest epitaph, would be the policy that it has pursued in respect of Education." If the means afforded the people of India in regard to acquiring knowledge have been lavish, it may be said, without fear of contradiction, that India's sons have eagerly availed themselves of the advantages placed within their reach, and have profited in no inconsiderable degree by the acquisition. The value of knowledge as *the* great lever of prosperity and power, was appreciated in this country when Europe was still in the swaddling clothes of an infant civilization. Notwithstanding this, however, the intense conservatism of orthodox Hinduism has been a bar to Education gaining admittance to the homes of the people:—

"There woman reigns, the mother, wife;
And strews with flowers fresh the narrow path of life."

and, until Home-life is permeated with the spirit and power of Education, Education in India will be, for the most part, of no more value than mere sounding brass or tinkling cymbal! Some eminent man once said—"Educate a man and you educate an individual; educate a woman and you educate a number of individuals." This truth the people of India, in these degenerate days of Hinduism, have altogether lost sight of. Thus it comes about that, while the masculine half of India exhibits a quenchless thirst for knowledge, the feminine half passes by, on the other side, heedless of the great gifts bestowed in such lavish abundance at their doors. The consequence of this one-sided condition of things is that, while, on the one hand, the father of a family is often a highly educated, intellectual man, the mother continues in a state of childish ignorance—and there is no true communion between them. Even their moral relationship cannot be of the same texture as that of a husband and wife on the same intellec-

tual plane. This disparity of training and culture is fatal to the formation of a true home-life—a relationship which, as far as their children are concerned, is the preliminary to a wider sphere of activities in after life. Not that enlightened Hindus do not desire their daughters and wives to be educated. They would, I am certain, welcome general reformation in this direction. It is that the Moloch of Custom gives them no choice, unless at the risk of complete severance from the Society in which they live and labour. It takes a very brave, and, may be, reckless man to "face the music" of fanatical opprobrium and social boycott; and rather than do this the vast majority bow to an unchanging and unappeasable deity, and relegate their infant womankind,

"Her dim horizon bounded to a span,"

To the performance of menial household labour, and to the trying functions of maternity. As mother, she is powerless to exercise any kind of beneficial influence over her children after a certain age. Child-marriage is considered, by many, a curse to Hindu women, for the reason that it is, not infrequently, but the foreshadowing of a life-long, and despised, widowhood. But that does not exhaust its evil consequences. Child-marriage is the cause why highly born, tenderly nurtured Hindu girls of quick intelligence and great possibilities, can never hope to become educated and be, what the cultured mother of an English family is, to her husband and children, one of the supreme blessings of God. Bad English wives and mothers there are, no doubt, in plenty, but they need not be considered here. They are the exceptions to the rule. An average English child in middle-class life is, for its years, far and away better informed and infinitely more self-reliant than an Indian child; and for the best of all reasons—that the English child from infancy has enjoyed a large, and ungrudging, share of home-education, adapted to its faculties and nicely graduated intelligence. Though its father may be too much engrossed in business to pay attention of any serious kind to his child, the intelligent mother is ever at hand to advise, to correct, and to teach. The very play-things of children are chosen with an eye to their educative possibilities. Even after her boy has attended school, his mother helps him in his difficulties, corrects his pronunciation, throws side-lights on subjects of study, forms his character, encourages him in his moments of depression and steeps him in an atmos-

phere of care and sympathy. How different it is in an Indian home even of the best kind! Once the boy is sent to school, his mother considers that beyond attending to his physical needs she has nothing more to do with him. After a certain age the son must not sit down in the presence of his father, and as he grows older, the daily intercourse of intimacy between parents and child, so characteristic of Hindu families when a child is still a child, becomes a negligible quantity, and the lad grows up into manhood more or less estranged from, and a stranger to, his father. Family ties among Hindus, notwithstanding this, are very much stronger than among Europeans, and probably the Indian lad loves his father as much as the English son does his; but that the etiquette of Indian home-life interferes seriously with the mental and moral development of children, there can be no doubt. The same liberty of thought, and speech, and action, is not granted to children in an Indian household that is in an English one. No Indian lad would dare to discuss a subject with his father with the same amount of freedom that an English boy would, —and as for contradicting him or emphatically disagreeing with him in honest opposition, it is not to be thought of for a moment. Divinity doth hedge round a father in India; but it may be doubted whether this awe of the parent is conducive to the well-being of the son. An English boy at a school-going age gets to look up to his father as a companion and something of a comrade —one to confide in, and not to dread, or fear, as a superior; and rarely, if ever, does this familiarity degenerate into disrespect. Deprived of this kind of companionship and confidence, the Indian lad relies on his, equally handicapped, class-fellows, and the result is, in very many cases where such class-mates are vicious or worse, hurtful in the extreme. A Hindu mother's ignorance is an effectual bar to closer communion and is a serious loss to the lad at a time, when the new wine of knowledge intoxicates the brain, and opens up vistas of surpassing beauty to the young lad's gaze. The youthful mind is impressionable, and it is no wonder that the Indian young man, thrown thus on his own resources, often miscalculates his ability, or his strength, and becomes denationalized—to put it mildly—in character, in custom, in mind and morality; and denationalisation is an unmixed evil, for it precludes love of country. Again, the tendency of modern education is towards uniformity. One young man is like another, so far as the education in School and College is concerned. The

same conditions of environment produce like results, and the only safeguard against this is the home education received in childhood, and which, the Indian boy is never the recipient of. Indeed purely Indian homes are not singular in this respect, and in many Anglo-Indian and Eurasian homes this lack of home influence is very visible—and a deficiency of this kind makes all the difference, in after years, between success and failure, probity and dishonesty, courage and despair. Anglo-Indians in the Services, who can afford it, send their children to England at a very tender age, and although home education of the most valuable kind is lacking, still it is not altogether absent, in as much as the relations, friends, and institutions of various kinds—institutions which have made the training of children a speciality—supply, as near as possible, a substitute for parental obligations in this connection. Educational institutions of note, and famous schools like Rugby and Eton, may, at some future time, be evolved in India, but that they certainly will not, for very many years to come, is sure. What is within the range of practical education, however, is home education, and before this can become a possibility Indian girls must enter the lists and keep step with Indian boys, in the march of secular and religious education. At the risk of being personal I would ask intelligent Hindu gentlemen whether the children of a lady like Mrs. Sathianadhan, other things being equal, are not likely to be on a higher plane, intellectually morally and even physically, than those of an average Hindu lady of the present day. Knowledge, like sunlight, is subtle and far-reaching in its influences, and a child without home education may be compared to an etiolated plant shut up in a dark cellar away from the vivifying solar rays.

The lack of home education is far-reaching in its ruinous effects. It is the cause of an absence of national spirit, of—in a word—patriotism! An English mother impresses on the mind of her son that there is nothing higher in humanity than an English gentleman; and intensely conservative and exclusive in this respect, she imbues the minds of her children with the belief that to be English is to be righteous, to be English is to be just, to be English is to be fearless, to be English is to be good, and lastly, to be English is to stand shoulder to shoulder with Englishmen. This is hardly the case in India; and the Indian mother, however careful she

may be with regard to petty caste differences and custom, loses sight of the weightier matters of national life and national ideals.

It may be objected that in spite of the lack of incentive offered by home teaching the idea of national life is manifesting itself in India. Granted. But if India's women were patriots and knew how to educate their sons, the spirit of patriotism would be superlatively deeper and more abiding than it is.

There are patriots and patriots, and if one here and there shows that he has the good of his country really at heart; and is prepared to spend his energies, his wealth, and his loyalty to his convictions, in his country's service, the wonder is that there are not more. No lad, I take it, at an age when the mind is impressionable and unselfish can read history without experiencing a thrill of ambition to emulate the noble examples of men who have made history.

"Lives of great men still remind us
We can make our own sublime;
And departing, leave behind us
Footprints, on the sands of Time."

But there is no staying-power—to use a sporting phrase—in such imitation patriots. School boy Hampdens there are in plenty; but they want 'grit,' and in the selfish struggle for existence, such ambitions necessarily evaporate, and in the face of the smallest difficulty vanish into thin air. Great men have, in nine cases out of ten, had great mothers; and that is India's need: Mothers who can educate their sons to noble conceptions of duty, of individual, and national, greatness.

"Tis education forms the common mind
Just as the twig is bent the tree's inclined."

Note that it is the "common" mind; for not one in a million is a genius whose distinguishing characteristic it is to take a royal road of his own. The common mind, educated on a certain plan, is bound, more or less, to achieve certain results. Mr. L. Gordon Rylands, M.A., author of *Causes of Crime*, is of opinion that the "Influence of evil associates and lack of supervision in youth" is the chief cause of deterioration of character, the other causes—I give them in his order—being Inebriated disposition; Drink, strong Temptation with favouring opportunity and, lastly, Poverty. Teach a boy, even if a Pariah, that he is as good as a Brahmin, or an Englishman; that differences in condition, creed,

and colour, are inevitable; that the only desirable things are, to do one's duty, regardless of fear or favour; to love independence and freedom, and to stick to the right; that to be a good Pariah is nobler than to be a bad Brahmin, or a shoddy Englishman, and you make a gentleman of him. But teach a Eurasian to be ashamed that he is a Eurasian, the Pariah that he is hopelessly outclassed and outcaste, and impress on the mind of the Hindu that he can never hope to equal a European, and you destroy all true ambition, all initiative, all self-respect! I do not go so far as to assert that, Indian mothers willfully depreciate their claims to respect and respectable status: it is only that they do not imbue the souls of their offspring with sufficient stamina to withstand the deteriorating inducements of adult life. In this work a day would A generally takes B, at B's own valuation, and if B is so weak as to let A perceive that B considers A his superior, A is not slow to take advantage of B's valuation of himself to his own A's benefit. Modesty of bearing combined with a sense of independence and courage, is a moral quality which should be instilled very early in life. The average Indian—or for that matter European—schoolmaster is not an Arnold, and ordinary Indian schools and colleges are not the training grounds for building up character. In fact, in the opinion of not a few, it is the other way about.

The education of girls in this country especially with high class Hindus is, however, no easy matter. Barely has a lass

"Reached with her reluctant feet
The spot where stream and river meet"—

when she is called upon to take up the burden of irksome and onerous household duties and to become a baby-mother of babe! This is a serious situation; and it behoves the educated men of India to decide upon, and formulate, a scheme to assist those desiring of postponing the marriage of their daughters to suitable age, and to protect them against social odium and religious persecution. The Government of Mysore has made a feeble step in this regard, and it is all that it can accomplish. No government, least of all the Government of India, would be justified in legislating drastically in so delicate a matter. The reform must come from within, and the leaders of the Indian people could not find it to be an unsurmountable task. A strong, influential and representative committee of investigation and enquiry, should be able to feel the public pulse, and

determine the rights and wrongs of the question whether infant marriage has, or has not, the sanction of the *shastras*; and whether, such sanction, if real, could not be relegated to the oblivion of mischievous and forgotten fallacies. The abrogation of the law of infant marriage would be a boon to the women of India, to say nothing of the ultimate beneficial results to the people as a whole. Legislative action would doubtless remove the evil. *Suttee* was abolished by a stroke of the pen, and the Mahomedan Rulers, by repressive measures, converted nations; but coercion is the first resolve of fools and mad men, and no modern government resorts to it without absolute necessity. Free thought and freedom of action are the chief factors in progressive civilization, and it remains for the sons of India to work out their own salvation. Early marriage is either beneficial to the race or it is disastrous. That it is the latter most men will agree with me in thinking. If so, should not a genuine attempt be made to do away with it? Is it the product of evolution caused by India's misfortunes in the past, and now sanctified by time, or has the system its origin in religious teaching? Has a searching investigation been made on the subject and has the last word been uttered regarding it? Man has too often in past history proved himself to be the slave of ideas and the victim of mere shibboleths. Should religion, what though its teachings in past ages were beneficial, yet are now no longer so, be submitted to without a protest? Religion is as much an evolution as is language or custom.

"Then religions take their turn.

And other creeds will rise with other years."

Emerson says somewhere:—"The religion which is to guide and fulfil the present and coming ages, whatever else it be, must be intellectual." Speaking of individual action the same thinker observes:—"Man when his mind is illumined, when his heart is kind, throws himself joyfully into the sublime order of the Universe, and does with knowledge what the stones do by structure." Are the minds of educated men in India really illumined in Emerson's sense? If it were so, would this incalculable evil of infant marriage be permitted to exist for another year? I doubt it! Would not they, without a single exception, enter the lists and do battle for their helpless babes, by pen and speech, by sympathy and example? They surely would! Educated men

in India are in a position to assail, and assail successfully, that which has, perhaps, nothing more than hide-bound custom to sanction it—

"A custom which lies upon them with a weight,
Heavy as frost, and deep almost as life."

And which is absolutely inimical to all true progress.

A. P. SMITH.

SHAKESPEARE'S KING LEAR AND INDIAN POLITICS *

I was nearly forty-years ago that Dr. Miller first landed in India. From the outset, pressure of work, though presumably it must have been very great indeed, has not deterred him from giving to the Indian public something of that which he has been in the wont to give to his "boys" in his classrooms. The latest of the kind is the very interesting and highly suggestive exposition of Shakespeare's King Lear and the application of its more serious lessons to the mighty problems of Indian politics. Anything that may have the merit of aiding practical statesmanship will have to be duly considered by the rulers of this vast continent before they draw up a working hypothesis that will guide their action in respect to the aims and aspirations of the peoples of this ancient and historic soil. Again, reformers both political and social should, with the keenness and sagacity characterising them, see, which way the current flows, what are the lines of least resistance in which they might, with advantage to their country's good, work, and what are the signs of the times so that they could guide in a truly statesmanlike spirit both the lesser lights amongst them and the uneducated populace that is surely behind them but whom they so often do not count. From this double point of view Dr. Miller's critique is instructive both to the rulers and the ruled in India. It is, as Milton would have it, "a good book," for, it "is the precious life blood of a master spirit embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life." Leaders of Indian thought, both among the rulers and the ruled, should bestow their careful consideration on it. Men who have the power to discern their time and bear its burdens are the greatest want of India. Such a man was M. Ranade, whose loss all India mourns to-day. Such another is Dr. Miller. He unites in himself rare qualifications. As an observer of men and things he is unrivalled; as a student he has an historic insight that is rare; and as a true statesman he knows his hour and does his duty at the right moment irrespec-

* Shakespeare's King Lear and Indian Politics by William Miller, C. L. E., D. D., L. L. D., Principal, Christian College, Madras. Price one rupee. G. A. Natesan and Co., Publishers, Esplanade, Madras.

tive of consequences. When such as he, sounds the note it is but meet that due attention should be paid to it.

Apart from its usefulness to the guidance of practical politicians and reformers the literary aspect of the book is stupendous. Perhaps the central difficulty in Lear is the abruptness with which the play begins. This precludes a proper understanding of the play itself. Our conception of the central figure of the play varies with the interpretation that we might bring to bear upon its opening scene. Our conception of Lear must necessarily vary with the reasons that we might ascribe to him for the division of his kingdom. But this is exactly what the poet leaves out for our inference. He does not state in express terms what it was exactly that swayed the mind of Lear to such seemingly foolish action. Accordingly it is no wonder that Shakespeare's commentators and critics have vied with one another in suggesting the probable reasons that might possibly have influenced Lear, "every inch a king," to such gross dereliction of duty as the abdication of the throne to which he was called by a Higher Power or, as one German critic puts it, to the commission of that "great error, and hence a great sin; for, except in rare cases, when a higher will makes itself manifest, man is bound never to desert his post in the State—it is not an accident that has placed him there." First of all there are those who think that the first scene is a gross improbability. Goethe has pronounced it absurd. Coleridge, the steady upholder of Shakespeare, after pointing out that the trial is but a trick and that the grossness of the old king's rage is in part the natural result of a silly trick suddenly and most unexpectedly baffled and disappointed, says that "Lear is the only performance of Shakespeare the interest and situations of which are derived from the assumption of a gross improbability." Kreyssig, the best German literary critic, says that "the form in which Lear's arbitrary humour expresses itself in this scene finds its natural and true significance only in fact as the symbol of a whole series of presumable precedents." To get over this difficulty of improbability the theory of Lear being insane from the very first was started. Perhaps, the first to assert that Lear was insane from the very outset was Mrs. Lennox. Dr. Brigham holds that the ill-treatment of the daughters, did not originate Lear's insanity, for he was insane from the beginning of the play when he gave his kingdom away and banished as it were Cordelia and Kent and abused his servants, but only aggra-

vated the disease and drove him to raving madness. Dr. Bucknill remarking that literary critics have completely overlooked the early symptoms of Lear's insanity postponing its recognition until he is running about a frantic raving madman, holds that as "the common causes of insanity are such as produce emotional changes either in the form of violent agitation of the passions or that of a chronic state of abnormal emotion which pronounces itself in the habitually exaggerated force of some one passion or desire whereby the healthy balance of mind is at length destroyed" Lear's mind conditioned by extreme age as well as by despotism is from the first off its balance and "the partition, of his kingdom involving inevitable feuds and wars is the first act of his developing insanity; and that the manner of its partition, the mock-trial of his daughters' affections and its tragical denouement, is the second and but the second act of his madness." Thus, "if it be accepted," remarks Dr. Bucknill, "that the mind of the old King has from the first entered upon the actual domain of unsoundness the gross improbability at once vanishes, and the whole structure of the drama is seen to be founded not more upon "an old story rooted in the popular faith" than upon the verisimilitude of nature." Indeed, Dr. Bucknill, himself a distinguished member of the medical profession, argues with a vehemence that is born of the courage of his convictions, and with a knowledge that is the result of extensive professional experience. Yet the painful impression that a reading of his psychological essay on Lear leaves on our minds cannot be doubted. It seems to us that Dr. Miller hits upon the right mark when he says that "while many of Dr. Bucknill's remarks are instructive and acute, he tends to see in this majestic drama little more than a careful study of a case of lunacy. It is gladly conceded that Shakespeare notes, with wonderful insight and accuracy, the nature and progress of the king's mental malady; but it is impossible to admit that the whole play turns on the single fact that its protagonist is mad." The question reduces itself to one of probabilities: whether Shakespeare intended his protagonist to be mad from the very beginning or not. It seems to us that Shakespeare could not have intended in this, the greatest of his works, where he was fairly well caught in the web of his own imagination, in this the truest of his tragedies, * in

* For, has not one greater than Bucknill said of this play that the blending of the universal, ideal and sublime comedy with tragedy determines the balance in favour of Lear against the Oedipus Tyrannus or the Agamemnon or if you will the trilogies with which they are connected? (Shelly in his *Defence of Poetry*).

this "the greatest single achievement in poetry of the Teutonic or Northern genius," in this the most Æschylean of his works, his central figure to be mad from the very outset of the play. The utmost that we can do is that in deference to so high an authority as Dr. Bucknill we might, with Dr. Miller, allow that there are indications from the outset that the old king's mind is not altogether sound. But that this incipient disturbance of his mental balance is the direct cause of what he says and does we must deny. But if we say that Lear was mad from the beginning, how are we to explain the violent improbability of his conduct as depicted in this scene? Dr. Johnson attributed it to the barbarity and ignorance of the age to which the story belongs; Dowden, to Shakespeare's dramatic method of driving "forward across the intervening accidents towards the passion of Lear in all its stages, his wild revolt against humanity, its conflict with the powers of insight and tempest, his restoration through the sacred balm of a daughter's love"; Hallam, to Shakespeare's intention of preparing us for the most intense sympathy with the old man; Hudson, to Lear's morbid hungering after the outward tokens of affection, and to his natural look for the strongest professions where he feels the deepest attachment; Lloyd, to his inordinate relish of flattery and for the pleasures of arbitrary though kindly ostentation; and Gervinus, to the manners of the time and to the disposition and age of the king. Accordingly it is not surprising that the conception of the keynote of the play of these writers varies. To Hudson, Dowden and Gervinus it is passion; indeed, the last goes so far as to say "that where other tragedies treat of separate passions this one exhibits passion generally." But Ulrici thinks that it is love; "it is *parental love and filial reverence* that are regarded as the centre of all human actions. Here the family bond, in its deep historic significance, is the ground upon which the poet takes his stand." To represent the aspect of life, presented by this point of view in a poetico-dramatic form and from within the tragic conceptions of life, is the intention, the leading thought, the fundamental idea of the tragedy." Dr. Miller seems to go a step further than Ulrici. "This inner contradiction", says Ulrici, and he is talking of Lear's confounding filial piety with free filial love, "this unconscious and yet actual cause of the discord in the nature of Lear's parental love is the ethical foundation upon which the action is based. The action and aim of the dramatic action is to

solve this contradiction, to conciliate the old man's love with itself, to purify and to restore to its disturbed state as a father and king in an ideal form." But we think with Gervinus that "these family discords are rather the body than the soul of the play." While the unrestrained passion of all the actors leads Gervinus to regard passion to be the dominating idea of the play, Dr. Miller, with far truer insight, suggests that though doubtless unrestrained passion marked the political condition of the dying age in so much that all the fully developed characters are uniformly characterised by it, yet it cannot be taken as the keynote. His long experience as a political ruler had taught Lear that the relation of rulers and ruled was fast changing and required immediate attention. Having discerned this with the true instinct of a statesman he begins to frame measures of reform? In the words of Dr. Miller "It is understood that up to the time when the action begins Britain has been in that elementary condition in which social bond has been simple obedience to a chief. Yet things are at the stage when a step may be taken and ought to be taken towards something higher. The errors made in the taking of that step are to my mind the real subject of the drama." Again, he says: "Hitherto the king has been passively obeyed and by such obedience the nation has been held together. But the time when mere authority is a sufficient bond has evidently gone by. Men have begun to think and judge and act for themselves. When that stage is reached in any nation or society it is no longer right as it is also no longer possible that there should be mere authority on the one side and mere obedience on the other. When men determine to be no longer passively submissive the time has come when some scope for the exercise of the wills and their judgments must be found if the society they make up is to retain its health or even to continue its existence to exist. Such a time has come in Britain when the curtain rises and Lear and his Contemporaries appear upon the stage." But if Lear is really so far-seeing, how to explain his outrageous conduct in the first scene unless it be by supposing him to be mad as Dr. Bucknill thinks? Dr. Miller answers that "Lear's project of dividing the kingdom must not be too closely connected with his determination to make trial of his daughter's love. The division has been resolved on before the action of the play begins. Partly from the old man's weariness of the cares of State, partly from the

feeling that the new age that is coming on presents problems which require to be dealt with by fresher minds, the king has resolved to abdicate. His arrangements for the future Government of the kingdom are determined not only by his having three daughters, but by the feeling that the circumstances of the age require that the ruler shall come nearer to the ruled. He feels that it is an age of transition. He feels that the society which he has long directed is developing and accordingly that the Government it needs must become more complex. Something will be done to meet the difficulties of the new age if each ruler is made to rule over a smaller area with which he can make himself more intimately acquainted and for the wants of which he can therefore more minutely care. At any rate, for whatever reason, it is fixed that the kingdom is to be divided." It is also fixed that Cordelia is to have the largest share. Settled determination is shown in the form in which the question is put to her:

What can you say to draw
A third more opulent than your sisters?
Speak.

The king feels sure of an answer which will justify the resolution he has already come to. For it is not only an old man's freak that has led him to make the obtaining of a share of his kingdom depend on an avowal of love. As appears so fully in the sequel Lear is not a mere impetuous and reckless warrior. He is observant and thoughtful. In some sense he is even wise. As his long reign has gone on he has been learning that the system of authority on the one side and passive obedience on the other no longer suffices. He feels that the need has come for a higher style of rule than his has ever been. He feels that of such rule the prime essential element is detachment from self, altruism, devotion to something beyond one's own feelings or one's own interests. We may call it by what name we choose. The highest name for it, and Shakespeare's name for it, is—Love. The thought strikes the old king that he will emphasise this need for love in those who rule. He will make his devolution of authority depend on an assurance that this unselfish principle is strongly at work in those who are to come after him as rulers. Thereby he hopes to teach a greatly needed lesson, and at the same time to get a good excuse for the preference he means to

show to his youngest daughter. For he has no shadow of doubt that she will best stand the test which he proposes to apply.

"The old man has a grand idea, and a true one, in his mind. He feels that self-forgetful love must be an active element in any kind of Government that is to be suitable to the condition of the governed and therefore fitted to promote their real welfare. So far he is in advance of his time. He recognises as only wise men do, the deepest want of the coming age."

But if this is so why was Lear's action productive of so much evil?

"It is in his method of applying his great idea to practice that he so greatly errs. His error springs from the imperious temperament that is characteristic of the man, and also characteristic of the age which ought now to pass away. He understands the absolute necessity for love. He does not understand how love can be awakened and set to work. So he snatches at what he conceives to be the readiest and quickest means of realising his ideal. He thinks that deep principles of life can be manufactured to order. He fails to see the necessity for that slow development, that patient waiting, which the inflexible order of the world makes an indispensable condition of any real and enduring good."

Shakespeare makes Lear's great error take this simple, outrageous, incredible, form in order that the lesson may be plain. But it is an error which, in shapes less crude, men, and even men who are earnest and in some ways wise are constantly committing. They see that some particular thing is good, but they bestow no thought on the way in which the order of the world allows it to be obtained. They devise ways of their own for getting it—commonly the ways that they regard as most direct and speedy. They forget that good got in an evil way would cease to be good even if it were possible so to get it. They forget how all things around them teach that what is precious and lasting comes only by long continued growth. The highest of all teaching makes it prominent that the kingdom of God—that is everything that is pure and salutary and noble—is like the seed cast into the ground which slowly, step by step, grows towards its perfect fruit "man knoweth not how." Every nook of history may supply illustration of how common and how fatal is the mistake of trying to run counter to this divine law. It is the mistake of those who seem to suppose it possible in a single

generation, if not in a single year, to put into full operation in India those principles and forms of Government which rightly enough they regard as in themselves the best. Shakespeare shows what this mistake results in. The false is preferred to the true. Glib profession is honoured. Slow sincerity is rejected and despised. A welcome is given to the quick-springing seed which has fallen on the stony ground. The seed upon the good ground from which alone there can come a harvest is unvalued if not unnoticed. What evils follow from the preference of loud profession to that low sound which reverbs no "hollowness" this play makes clear."

In the opinion of Ulrici it is the individual with whom the play has to do, but according to Dr. Miller it is with society. For Ulrici it is the family that is mainly in question, but to Dr. Miller it is the State. If this is so, what are the grounds upon which Dr. Miller propounds his exposition of the play? Says the worthy Doctor,

"How is society to be healthily progressive or even to exist when every one endeavours to get his own way when all alike are uncontrolled and uncontrollable? For we learn ere long that this is the leading feature among good and bad alike, at least among all whose characters are fully formed when the action of the play begins. Kent, good as he is, is as uncontrollable as Goneril or Cornwall. He bursts into passion and acts with unregulated violence, when every consideration of prudence and of duty ought to help him to restrain himself. Even in Cordelia who on the whole is a very pattern of goodness and grace we shall see as we proceed that there is an element of sheer wilfulness. Self-will and violence are so rampant that even a servant draws upon his master and that master a royal duke, while no one seems much shocked or even surprised at his doing so. Above all Lear himself illustrates how little any moral or customary influence restrains the men of the time. His every whim must have instant way. Cordelia must be disinherited, Kent must be banished, simply because it is his will that they should be so. He does not so much as think of showing deference to reason or law or custom in the matter. His first impulse and the first impulse of all who are representative of the time is to use whatever power they have for compassing their own ends and carrying into effect their own pleasure."

"Lest we should fail to apprehend that this is the temper of the time, we are told, by the mouth of Gloucester, how "love cool friendship falls off, brothers divide; in cities, mutinies; in countri

sort of way through the mouths of persons other than the principal party concerned, the motives prompting the latter's action. It is for this reason, we think, that the speeches indicating the state of England at the time of Lear's absolute kingship are put into the mouth of characters like Edmund and Gloucester. Also to this must be attributed the fact of not stating in more explicit terms the motives prompting the division of the kingdom. Yet, even as it is, the statement by Lear that

"Meantime we shall express our darker purpose
.....our fast intent
To shake all cares and business from our age :
Conferring them on younger strengths, while we
Unburthen'd crawl toward death."

is suggestive in this light and in the light of Dr. Miller's interpretation of the play. The real motive prompting the division is not stated here. That motive is the good of the state and the resigning of "all cares and business from our age, conferring them on younger strengths." The division at the time the curtain rises has indeed been settled. But the "darker purpose" he has not told. "That is," as Johnson says, "we have already made known in some measure our desire of parting the kingdom ; we will now discover what has not been told before, the reasons by which we shall regulate the partition." We think that this means that Lear has decided upon not giving out the ulterior objects that have prompted the division, but intends only to give out the reason that he actually states but which we are given to understand had not already been discussed and decided upon in company with his courtiers like Kent, &c., *viz.*

"We have this hour a constant will to publish
Our daughters' several dowers, that future strife
May be prevented now.....
.....Tell me my daughters—
Since now we will divest us, both of rule,
Interest of territory, cares of state,—
Which of you shall we say doth love us most ?
That we our largest bounty may extend
Where nature doth with merit challenge."

This is indeed a "silly trick," as Coleridge calls it, but it is a trick played upon his courtiers unawares. It raises the ire of the

worthy Kent. He knew that the king was entirely on wrong lines in his methods of effecting his object. He knew the natures of Goneril and Regan. He would assuredly have attacked this monstrous proposal in private, if it had been already so declared, as he does it publicly. He knew for certain that the king was frustrating the deep political purpose he had in mind and which he had already made known evidently privately by what he was declaring in public. He was in unison with the king in his objects, but he was opposed to his method of attaining them. This is why he chooses to come between the "dragon and his wrath."

"Royal Lear,
Whom I have ever honour'd as my king
Loved as my father, as my master follow'd,
As my great patron thought on in my prayers,—"

he does not mind opposing at this juncture. He would "let it (shaft) fall rather, though the fork invade the region of his heart, than speak not at this critical moment, he would be "unmannerly when Lear is mad" and say

"What wilt thou do old man ?
Think'st thou that duty shall have dread to speak
When power to flattery bows ? To plainness Honour's
bound
When majesty stoops to folly. Reverse thy doom,
[Reserve thy state.]

And in thy best consideration check
This hideous rashness."

He certainly speaks as he ought to when he feels that the king was wrecking his cause. The key to his character which "is perhaps the nearest perfect goodness in all Shakespeare's characters and yet the most individualised" is to be found in the fact that he is over-conscious of the king entirely frustrating his most dear object. It is this that makes him so boldly, yet feelingly speak out. He is passionate. That is his fault. He does not try moral suasion. His violence can be measured only by the king's "hideous rashness." As Dr. Miller puts it "in spite of his utter forgetfulness of self and his earnest desire to help, Kent does little good. He can't lay aside the imperious violence which belongs to the temper of the age. He will not take time to think of how his loving service can best be brought to bear on the circumstances around him. His temper is ungovernable.

He gives way to it when a small infusion of wisdom might teach him to restrain it. Thus he hinders too often where he means to help until at last he aggravates the crisis which brings the final stroke of distress on the master whom he is so anxious to serve." He is equally violent in his methods. He knows not that "force is no remedy." He it is that plans the invasion scheme which only makes confusion worse and works out the climax of the tragedy." It alienates the sympathies of all who are for the king. As Dr. Miller says "his short-cut to the righting of what is wrong turns out to be as foolish as Lear's short-cut to the establishment of love at the heart of the scheme of Government. Kent is too honest and clear-sighted not to know that he has been a failure. In view of the calamity which he has helped to cause he refuses Albany's invitation to join him in his attempt at reformation, an invitation, be it observed, which Edgar does not decline. Conscious that he has marred where he has desired to mend, he feels that for him opportunity is past.

"I have a journey Sir, shortly to go

My master calls me, I must not say no."

Again, if Dr. Miller's interpretation is correct, how are we to explain the fact that Shakespeare describes all through his play a more civilised England than that of Lear's days. He makes us believe that maps were in common use, that courts of justice were in regular operation, that coinage, pressing for the army and trial by battle were in existence in those days. Johnson noting the fact that Shakespeare by the mention of earls and dukes gives the idea of times more civilised and of life regulated by softer manners explains it with characteristic plainness by saying "that though he so nicely discriminates and so minutely describes the manners of men, he commonly neglects and confounds the characters of ages by mingling customs ancient and modern, English and foreign." How does Dr. Miller in the teeth of these anachronisms maintain what may be called his "historical interpretation" of the play? We think that Dr. Miller notes these and many more of such as these that are not apparent to the ordinary student of Shakespeare. For instance, for aught we know, he would think that there is a reference to feudalism even, in King Lear, in the following passage :

Lear O vassal ! miscreant

On thine allegiance, hear me !

As also in the following from another of Shakespeare's plays :
Clarence. Are you drawn forth among a world of men.

To slay the innocent.

The deed you undertake is damnable.

1st Murderer. What we will do we do upon command.
2nd Murderer. And he that hath commanded is our king.
Clarence. Erroneous vassals ! the great king of kings

Hath in the table of his law commanded,
That thou shalt do no murder, will you then
Spurn at his edict, and fulfil a man's ?
Take heed for he holds vengeance in his hand
To hurl upon their heads that break his law.

Richard III, Act I, Sc. IV.

The reference here is, of course, to the principle of feudalism, introduced by William the Conqueror, by which every sub-tenant, besides taking the oath of fealty to the mesne-lord, had also to take the oath of allegiance to the king, by which he became the king's man. Here, the lord is the king and God stands for Lord paramount. The interpretation is both novel and original inasmuch as it has not been noted by any of the critical commentators so far as we are aware, no, not even by the Clarendon Press Editors. So then, it seems to us that we are justified in holding that as a very careful student of Shakespeare Dr. Miller notes these anachronisms, but passes by them without commenting on them for the simple reason that Shakespeare was writing for the stage and as such he had to bear in mind his audience and had to see that he did not unnecessarily antiquate the play. His purpose was served by giving a few bold sketches of the age which was ere long to be depicted before the audience in a complete picture. We are aware of Lamb's famous criticism on the play that "Lear is essentially impossible to be represented on a stage." But the fact could not be disputed that it was essentially intended for the stage, the question whether the Lear of Shakespeare can be acted being altogether in this connection beside the point. Shakespeare so far as is possible takes pains to correctly represent the paganism of the islanders of the time. For example, with one rare exception, the oaths are generally taken upon heathen gods, Apollo, Jupiter, &c. Besides, we ought to remember that Shakespeare is not writing the history of King

Lear's England to note such details, but is only indicating its transition into a later England. But is there any the least indication in the play of the character of the new stage of political existence into which that of Lear is to pass? It is indeed true that there are no specific references to that age, but we ought not, having regard to what has already been pointed out, to expect Shakespeare to directly state such things. At the time when the curtain finally drops the audience feel that a higher stage of existence is reached and that surely need not be told expressly by the dramatist, and so the play closes very appropriately without any express mention of that age or the reaching of it. As Dr. Miller says:—

"When the curtain rises, society has reached the stage at which it ought to be transmuted into a higher form. But there is no inward combining influence to leaven it. Lear feels the need for the only influence that will meet the crying want. He has, however, but the crudest notion of its nature, and is hopelessly unable to set it working. In the absence of any influence to mould society from within, everything grows fierce and uncontrollable. The danger is imminent that power will pass to the unscrupulous and the wholly selfish, and that in their fierce contentings society will be dissolved, so that all the high ends for which it exists will be defeated. But a healing power comes in. Love—love indeed imperfect and unpurified as in Cordelia, imprudent and unregulated as in Kent, timid and sluggish as in Albany,—nevertheless love that is real begins to play its part. Through calamity and suffering for every one, it holds on its course, till, after the halting and obstructed fashion in which good sets itself established in this inexplicable world, it wins a measure of success. The "gor'd state" is "sustained" by the power of that love for which Lear has longed, and which has its seat of action and fullest exemplification in Cordelia and Edgar. So, the people pass into the healthily advanced, if by no means perfect, state which, as has been said already, Shakespeare afterwards delineated in his "Cymbeline."

It is outside the purpose of the play to refer at any length to the new phase of political existence into which the society has passed in this play. Yet the fact that the spectator or the reader feels that he has reached at the end of the play a new stage of political existence cannot be disputed. But if, indeed, we wanted to verify whether Shakespeare intended that his play should be thus interpreted we are happily not without means to do so. We have his *Cymbeline* for that. But it should distinctly be remembered that a knowledge of *Cymbeline* is not neces-

sary for the proper understanding of *Lear*. *Cymbeline* is only a test for the correctness of the "historical interpretation" of *Lear* in the event of our incredulity requiring one. This is how we understand Dr. Miller. First, he confesses that there are no references to the new age and then states that despite that we are not without means to know that Shakespeare refers to it.

For, witness the following passage: says the worthy Dr. :—
 "King *Lear*" tells us nothing of how far Albany succeeded or of how the nation prospered under him. Fortunately however we are not without the means of learning something about Shakespeare's views concerning the healthy growth of national and social life. He returned to the history of Britain when he wrote "*Cymbeline*" about 1609. "*Cymbeline*" is the *Odyssey* to the *Iliad* of "*King Lear*." It sets forth the state of matters which we may presume when some generations have gone by, the state of matters which we may presume that Albany has been chiefly instrumental in substituting for the political and social condition which was becoming outworn when *Lear* was King. In "*Cymbeline*," everything is comparatively calm and regular.

The king has still great power, but others also have their influence and take an orderly and fitting part in all affairs that touch the welfare of the community. There are laws which are understood and to some fair extent obeyed. People have learnt, even the violent have learnt in some degree, to restrain themselves. There are villains still, but they do not get altogether their own way even for the moment. They are compelled at least to disguise their villainy and so to acknowledge the superior power of the many elements of good around them. Selfishness is still at work, as it is and will be in every land and in every social stage; but it does not rage with such unbridled fierceness nor effect such widespread havoc as in the days of Edmund and Goneril and Regan. Selfishness is not eliminated under the reign of *Cymbeline*, but it never gets the field to itself. It still works, but it works in fetters. Society has reached a higher stage and assumed a more complex form and is at the same time inspired with a purer moral life."

It seems to us that Dr. Miller in all that he says in his exposition of the play is only following the most acute and suggestive commentaries of Gervinus. We are aware of the critical essay of Lloyd. But it seems to us that Dr. Miller owes little, if not altogether nothing, to it. It is just possible he may have derived a hint for his interpretation, or received a confirmation of his own independent views, suggested by Dr. Gervinus'

commentaries on the play. By himself he is a close student of Shakespeare. He has something of the poetic fire in him. He is endowed with a rare historic insight. He delights in character study. When such a man comes under the sway of Dr. Gervinus' most suggestive and acute commentaries, we ought to be prepared for something really worthy of such an influence. Nor are we disappointed any the least. Gervinus prepares the soil and plants the trees, but Dr. Miller waters them and makes them bear the fruit. Gervinus, despite the thought that he brings to bear upon the play, sees only Passion generally represented in it. Dr. Miller, with rare insight, sees in it something really higher and more worthy of the genius of Shakespeare. Dr. Miller refers to the width of the canvas on which the picture of King Lear and his age is painted and to a strong infusion of the epic in both "Lear" and "Cymbeline" as the reason why it is difficult to pitch upon any phrase as giving the keynote of the whole play of "King Lear." Dr. Gervinus in his learned commentaries writes thus :—

"In *Lear* and *Cymbeline* Shakespeare takes a much wider subject. If in those tragedies one single passion and its development was essentially treated, in *Lear* and *Cymbeline* whole ages and races are, as it were, represented. We are not here confined especially to individual characters; even in *Lear* this is not really the case and in *Cymbeline* it is far less so. Twofold or still more manifold actions are united; characters equally important and fascinating move in greater number in mutual relation; the actual matter gains greatly thereby in richness, extent and compressed fulness; and we have only separately to select the enterprises of a *Kent* or an *Oswald* to find what a mass of acts here even in the subordinate facts lies almost concealed in well-connected order which at a first glance may be easily overlooked in the abundance of matter. Both these plays on this account are richer in events than all others and approach more nearly to the character of an epic, than even the histories did; and they are therefore still more opposed to the ancient drama than Shakespeare's other works. In this very extension of the events lies the cause why these plays are less rich than others in explanatory sentences, why the actions here must themselves explain the essential, why the accurate consideration of events is just as important here as the psychological development of character."

The whole passage is very suggestive in the light of what has been already said with regard to Shakespeare's reticence in

the relation of matter which we might deem it reasonable to expect from him in this play. Again, compare the following passage from Gervinus :—

"In *Lear* the poet places us in the very centre of such an age (beyond the civilised ages) and shows us in action and movement a whole race of that barbaric strength of passion in which, almost without exception, the resistance of reason and conscience over the emotions of passion is powerless or dead. The same heathenish race he has once again represented in *Cymbeline*, but in a period more advanced; there in full contrast to *Lear*, he has brought before us those rare men in whom the heroic power of self-command and moral energy displays the same superior strength necessary to conquer the mighty passions peculiar to such times. It was intentionally then that he depicted in *Lear* such full bursts of passion.....

"Men are as the time is," says Edmund in our play, "to be tender-minded does not become a sword." Nor an iron age either, was the poet's opinion, an age in which impulses grow to ungovernable strength and crime to a gigantic enormity..... Shakespeare found it himself necessary to make the character of the age evident to the spectator or the reader at the very commencement of the piece by bold sketches of the scene placed in the lips of the actors themselves. Edmund describes them to his brother by quoting a pretended prediction which proclaims "death, dearth, dissolutions of ancient amities; divisions in state, menaces and maledictions against king and nobles, needless differences, banishment of friends, dissipation of cohorts, and nuptial breaches." The old Gloucester had sketched this theme to him before from experiences in actual life. He had found that love cools, friendship falls off, brothers divide, in cities mutinies, in countries discord, in palaces treason, and the bond cracked between son and father. His own house "comes under the prediction; there is son against father; the king falls from bias of nature; there is father against child. We have seen," he adds, "the best of our time: machinations, hollow-ness, treachery and all ruinous disorders." This is in fact a sketch of the age now to be depicted before in a complete picture where we are to be met by cruelty in its most horrid form, intrigues of the most devilish nature, ingratitude in its most glaring color, rage and fury that know no restraint. It is a heathenish time and special weight is laid upon this; nature is the goddess of *Lear* as well as of Edmund; chance reigns above, power and force below. The best of this race know of no inner strength, of no noble will, of no calmness and self-command, of no moral principle, whereby the power of the blood can be broken, the impulse of passion controlled, and immoderate desires baffled.

.....it is,.....the rule of the race generally to follow vague instincts and the bent of the inclination, and to give course to the throng of unchained passions without any scruple of mind or morality. It is the time of which Mackbeth said "if the death-blow were given it were well." No sting of conscience pricks most of the evil-doers here either before or during or after the period; no agonised reflexion upon consequences restrains from crime; here is no Hamlet, no Mackbeth, with excited fancy, with terrifying powers of imagination, with the tender feelers of an innate moral nature. These daughters of Lear, this Edmund, this Cornwall, this Oswald, frustrated in their designs, meet death without a symptom of remorse. Better natures such as Lear and Gloster when their faults bring on them natural punishment fall from happiness to despair and the one then becomes mad and the other looks upon men as the sport of gods.....all human nature in such a generation goes blindly to extremes. Even goodness, where it does appear, fidelity, uprightness, modesty, self-rule, everything is in the extreme. It is humanity as yet uncultivated, which knows of no religious ordinances, no moral laws, no ripeness of experience; a generation near akin to the "bare forked animal" of Edgar cast rough out of nature's hands. That which in this state of nature first imposes a law and sets a limit is relationship. The tie of blood everywhere first quenches the thirst for ruling and possessing, it destroys the selfishness of the individual. But here self-love rends even those strongest ties of nature. A passionate father on the point of sacrificing everything for his children, reaps apparent and real ingratitude from them, turns his wrath and persecution against dutifulness and truth and bestows his benefits on flattery and falsehood in consequence of which he is subjected to the most terrible ill-treatment. A tender father has begotten an adder in adultery, a natural son, who strives to destroy him and through him his lawfully born brother. Brother against brother, children against parents, and parents against children, husband against wife, these are incensed one against the other in the selfish spirit of persecution, a powerful picture of human brutality."

Such is the picture of Gervinus' conception of the age of Lear. Dr. Miller has said that "Cymbeline is the Odessey to the Iliad of King Lear." As to this compare the following eloquent passage from Gervinus:—

"From the past ages of the ancient and mediæval nations, the great epic myths have descended to us,—the Trojan legend and the Nibelungen Lied which celebrate in similar manner the downfall of barbarous races, whose place is occupied by descendants of more advanced civilisation; out of such periods of Tantalus-like

horror, those Iphigenias and Penelopes arise, who like Cordelia here, are the precursors of a better generation. With these tragic epics of old can this epic tragedy alone be compared. The drama has no space sufficient to depict the struggles of whole races and peoples, it must limit itself to the representation of a similar catastrophe in families. But in this narrower compass, the very task of the epos is accomplished. The poet, in this work, with this creation of his own, approaches the most comprehensive changes of epic national poetry as they have grown through the series of centuries, and Aristotle, could he have seen this, would now more than ever have awarded his praise to tragedy: that with smaller means it attained to the great object of the epos. Though Shakespeare at his time might have read the Homeric poems, he had no idea of emulating these magnificent myths in his drama. At the most his great success was the result of a vague desire to strain the theme of his tragedies ever higher and higher in the presence of such poetic performances. That this work would admit of so bold a comparison, he imagined just as little as that his Hamlet would be a mirror to generations of centuries to come. But if the incalculating instinct of genius in our poet has anywhere or in any wise produced greater things than his conscious and far-seeing understanding planned, it is here. With what wonderful, and thoroughly inexplicable profoundness this instinct in this greatest tragic poet has wrought, compared with the grandest creations of epic poetry, we first perceive when we place "Cymbeline by the side of Lear. It is indeed remarkable enough, that at the side of those grandest heroic poems of old times, both Greece and Germany possess a second epopee of more domestic character and a more conciliatory purport, the *Odyssey* at the side of the *Iliad*, *Gudrun* at the side of the *Nibelungen*. In both there is the same theme, the fidelity of a married or betrothed wife, which, after many and severe trials, meets with its reward. Most remarkably the very same subject is treated of also in that song of Imogen. (*Cymbeline*) which not alone in its whole inward bearing, but even in its outward construction, appears as a companion piece to *Lear*, as the *Odyssey* to the *Iliad*. Allowing it to be a mere chance which places these three pair of poems in parallel reference to each other, it is still one of the most profound chances, in which history is pleased to sport, and only as such it must awaken our keenest interest." *

There are a great many other passages in Dr. Gervinus' famed commentaries on the play which fully bear out Dr. Miller's interpretation of it. But we cannot pursue this line of

* Also see Gervinus' commentaries on *Cymbeline*, pp. 243-4.

enquiry any further. Suffice it to say, then, that there is not a statement put forth by Dr. Miller that cannot be substantiated either by the play itself or by Dr. Gervinus' commentaries on it. If that is the case, where is the necessity for Dr. Miller's book? While fully admitting Dr. Gervinus' claims to what we have called the "historical interpretation" of the play as the pioneer in the field, we cannot but recognise Dr. Miller's more fruitful study of the same. With all the deep insight that Dr. Gervinus brings to bear upon the play, he sees in it only passion. To the clearer insight of Dr. Miller, passion is only the characteristic of the passing age; for him the play has deeper foundation; it is the healing of the passion, it is the recognition of the principle "self-abnegation is the law of life," it is the sacrifice of the ego to the good of society at large, it is altruism in the highest sense of the word, it is Love. If Dr. Gervinus is the explorer, Dr. Miller is the empire builder; if Dr. Gervinus is Livingstone, Dr. Miller is Cecil Rhodes—by which we mean to cast no reflection on Dr. Miller's ethics. Such being the real merit of Dr. Miller's production we ought not to look upon it as the essay of a IVth Form school boy but as the fruitful result of the reflections of an accurate scholar, a serious thinker, and a practical statesman.

Thus much about the historical interpretation of the play. From the point of view of morals Dr. Miller says that there are two companion thoughts round which all others may be seen to range themselves in real though not mechanical order: "that evil works punishment by its own intrinsic nature, but that the final issue of such punishment depends upon the character of those whose faults have brought it on them." From this moral standpoint he has some very interesting remarks on how ruin comes down on Lear for his faults and how he bears the discipline of life; on how, divine Cordelia, the tenderest of Shakespeare's creations, made perfect through suffering, becomes "the martyr and saviour,—the precursor of a better time"; on how the twin daughters, Goneril and Regan, die their desparate deaths and carry in their downward destructive march those who had taken their part and resembled them in character, Cornwall and Oswald; on how sin and suffering ultimately come, to Edmund, the Iago of the play; on how the discipline of life has gentler issues for Gloucester who gets his moral sight after the extinction of his visual sight; on how Edgar and Albany by virtue of that which

is good in them become the noble promisers of a new future and survive the wrath; and on how the heart, the purpose, and the wisdom of the Fool, a creation as wonderful as Caliban in the "Tempest," and the noblest creation of the kind in Shakespeare, is wasted in the void. But we have no space to tarry long on them. That we leave to our readers. For, there they will see Dr. Miller in the very best of his character study, a study in which he, as a student of history and as a Shakespearean scholar, has always taken the deepest interest.

At this point we may well leave the "exposition" part of the book and come to the more practical portion of it. Here as we read on, we become conscious of the statesman in Dr. Miller. He starts with two assumptions, first, that India is a learner in the region of progressive politics and that hitherto the bond of society in India has been bare authority on the one side and unreasoning obedience on the other, and secondly, that the time has come in India when this condition of society must give place to a better and a higher. These are axioms the truth of which can hardly be disputed. Indeed, the truth of the first is conceded on all hands. But it is the fashion of the day to dub them enthusiasts who assume the truth of the second. Enthusiast is, perhaps, the last word that can, with justice, be applied to Dr. Miller who, in matters social, political and educational, is a reformer of the Kanade type. One is almost tempted to call him a conservative. He is calm and dispassionate in all that he says and earnest and serious in all that he does. His views have always that soundness about them which is the result of his ripe experience, deep study, and serious thought. As an earnest student of history he has studied the past, as an acute observer of current events he carefully watches the present, and with the true prophetic vision characterising the statesman he looks into the future. An earnest educationist of more than five and thirty years standing he can certainly gauge the effects of the introduction of European knowledge and culture through the medium of the English tongue into India. He sees that Ancient India is played out and that Modern India is dawning. He sees the germs of those moral forces working within Indian society which this play sums up under the comprehensive name of "love." He sees that in the near future "public spirit, unselfish desire for the common good," in fact all the principles of action which Shakespeare sums up in the one term "love" must do as much to re-

strain and guide as once was done by fear of force or respect for authority." In the teeth of Congresses and Conferences are we justified in holding that Dr. Miller is in the wrong? Is not Hindu society slowly coming to be based upon that true self-controlling freedom, 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? If there is this change in the ruled, ought there not accordingly to be a corresponding change of attitude in the rulers? "Those must certainly be ignorant of the forces which are at work, and which ought to be working in the India of our day," says Dr. Miller, "who can imagine it to be either possible or right that the inmost principle of rule for the generations next to come should be that on which countless by-gone generations have been governed." If they have not the foresight to see, it will never do to call the man who has not only the eye to observe, but has also the heart to call others' serious attention to it, an enthusiast. If, indeed, he is an enthusiast, he is a typical example of a Scotch enthusiast, that is, one who never allows his enthusiasm to get the better of his commonsense.

Dr. Miller never for a moment maintains that India as she is now is fit to enter upon that higher stage of social and political existence. He says "the time is upon us when if there not be such transition, dissolution of society would necessarily commence. We have to take stock of this. We have to note that when the question as to the time at which in India the principle of correlated authority may fall into the background and the forces at work in the society may be safely trusted to come, we must steer between the Scylla of too soon and the Charybdis of too late in effecting the transition from the lower to the higher stage of social and political organisation, for on both sides there is danger, and fatal disorganisation will be the result if either force be withdrawn before love has gained sufficient power or the dominion of bare authority be maintained too long. On the one hand "those who see, as Lear saw in his kingdom, that the time has come when India must be ruled on principles different from the principles that have been supreme till now,—those who rightly see that India needs to be transformed into an organism far more self-directed and affording far more scope for individual energy, are not to suppose that no condition of society is healthy or satisfactory except the most fully developed that is exemplified in the world" and are not to be disappointed when it grows clear to

them that there can be full consummation of their hopes only in a distant future. Every step on the way to that consummation, if only it fits the time, will be beautiful and healthy,—far better and more beautiful than any portion of the way will be if progress is pressed prematurely on. On the other hand, the indispensable transformation of the principle of rule must not be delayed for ever on the pretext that preparation for it is insufficient, and that inward moral forces are still too weak. We ought to grasp the distinction between preparation that is adequate and preparation that is perfect. What is wanted is that constructive statesmanship that will discern when what Shakespeare calls "love" is present in sufficient force to bear the community through the dangers of transition and will have the strength of will to choose the time that is neither too early nor too slow. Or, in other words, the want is in men both among the leaders and rulers who, in the words of the poet,

Know the seasons when to take
Occasion by the hand, and make
The bounds of freedom wider yet
By shaping some august decree
To keep the throne unshaken still
Broad-based upon the people's will.*

In conclusion, of that time, in regard to India, Dr. Miller sums up by saying that "the transition from the first stage of civilised society to that which ought to develop out of it, can be safely made only when that public spirit, that postponement of self to the common good, that devotion to the great ends that society subserves, which Shakespeare sets forth as 'love,' has place and power in the everyday machinery of the community."

It is thus that Dr. Miller has set forth the first and fundamental principle as suggested by a study of *Lear* which must regulate the indispensable transition from the lower to the higher stage of social and political existence. The remaining lessons are all, he says, fitted for the guidance of those in whom "love" is at work. The most important of them is the lesson that such men must give free play to whatever of this love they have. If those are silent when they ought to speak, or inactive when deeds are called, the inevitable result is that the neglected opportunity will be seized by the Gonerils and Ragans of the hour.

* Concluding lines of Tennyson's, "Of the Queen," slightly altered.

Power will pass to those who will use it for wholly selfish ends. These will soon find Oswalds to be their tools, Edmunds to bring energy and talents to their aid, and perhaps Cornwall to emulate their atrocities. Again, it is needed that those who desire to help in bestowing a larger life and a freer rule on India must in regard to everything, and chiefly in regard to patience, conform to the laws by which this whole frame of things is governed. Edgar, not Lear, must be their model. They must try no short-cuts. They must follow the patient path by which alone it is possible to reach them. Thirdly, they must be men of self-restraint, like Edgar and unlike Lear and Kent. Lastly, they must be prepared to pay the price not only of loss of popularity, but of real trouble and real suffering. They must suffer for their own mistakes, for the mistakes of others and from the hatred which their very devotion to unselfish ends is certain to inspire in those whose motive is self-interest or love of applause, or love of power. It is only by treading the path of suffering that love can combat the evils of its time and vanquish them. Happiness, success, prosperity, is not the aim of life. The doing of the deed, whatever be the consequence to the doer, is the supreme and only purpose of those in whom love prevails. All these lessons might very well be summed up in the words of the late laureate :

" Self reverence, self-knowledge, self-control,
These three alone lead life to sovereign power.
Yet not for power (power of herself
Would come uncalled for) but to live by law,
Acting the laws we live by without fear ;
And because right is right, to follow right
Were wisdom in the scorn of consequence."

All these lessons are driven home with a wealth of illustration which it is impossible to reproduce here but which the readers of the book will find to be of the most varied and interesting character. The Shakespearean scholarship brought to bear upon the play for its proper interpretation and the practical statesmanship laid bare in the application of its more serious lessons to the problems of Indian politics are extensive. Well has Dr. Miller begun the work of smoothening the difficulties that beset the path of the transition and well has he done his portion of it. If only some of his readers show the self-sacrifice and sense of duty, irrespective of consequences, that Dr. Miller has shown in the publication of this little book. we

need not despair of the transition period being passed over with the greatest ease. We commend it to the care as much of the rulers as the ruled, as much to the true Britain who likes his Shakespeare and has the good of his empire at his heart as the Indian Patriot who likes his adopted language and longs for the elevation of his native soil in the gallery of nations.

H

MATHEW ARNOLD: HIS LIFE AND POETRY—1.

(Continued from page 81).

WE saw the dawn of the unrest of the poet's soul, how it reasoned and determined the question of "to be or not to be," how in the next stage, the doubts grew stronger and stronger until the very basis gave way and the poet very nearly approached Empedocles in the mental crisis, how in the next stage which we may call the classical stage, he nearly forgot them all in the ancient writers, his voice of despair being heard only by fits and starts. Is the poet never to see the lamp of his life, should he live and die a doubting Hamlet? "Lo! Forward the gracious hours have fared and the sun is risen." Of all the poems of the volume published, that which help us the most and in which his soul's struggle and its issue are described, "Obermaun Once More" enshrines some of the best and happiest moments and thoughts. Even in "Neckan" the change is clearly discernible;

"But, lo, the staff, it budded
It greened, it branched, it waved."

As a literary production, "Obermaun" is unique. But the poet's description of seeing the light is rather hazy and the poem lacks the fresh air of conviction. He does not tell us what the new world is and the hope and its dawn. The same cloudiness, the same want of lucidity, is also to be found in the concluding lines of "Thyrsis"

"Roam on! the light we sought is shining still
Dost thou ask proof? Our tree yet crowns the hill,
Our Scholar travels yet the loved hill-side."

• But in what the poet's new hope consists can be seen better in "Dover Beach"

Ah! love, let us be true
To one another! for the world, which seems
To lie before us like a land of dreams,
So various, so beautiful, so new,
Hath really neither joy, nor love, nor light

MATHEW ARNOLD: HIS LIFE AND POETRY. 18

Nor certitude, nor peace, nor help for pain;
And we are here as on a darkling plain
Swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight
Where ignorant armies clash by night."

Arnold did not after this bring forth any new poems; he published the old and gave them a touch here and there. The clergy on Arthur Stanley, on "Geist," "Poor Mathias" and "Kaisas" are not of any biographical importance though they are not deficient in imagination and beauty. But he engaged himself ever afterwards in the line of criticism. And this has led some of the best literary critics, and Stedman is one of them, to guess that Arnold changed the sphere of his mental work from poetry to criticism because he had felt more and more that that was his real province. It is important that this question should be settled since it would establish if Arnold loved or not his own elder offspring and what it was that made him ever afterwards turn away from it.

Stedman is a respectable critic, but here it seems he has misdirected his ingenuity. Of course he is excusable; at the time that he wrote, Arnold's letters could not have been available nor was there any chance of his having had any private information on the case. We cannot gather any such tendency from his letters. On the other hand, Arnold loved his poetry the most. From the quotations to be found elsewhere we can see that he loved only poetry and his engagement in producing poetry; and that political, religious and social ideas were cherished only so far as they could be treated through poetry. Again he says after the publication of "Culture and Anarchy," "I have done with social and political essays for a long time to come." Further we now, that at this time he was revolving in his mind various projects of grand efforts in poetry. If we read his letters, we shall find with what child-like simplicity and eagerness he indulged after the delight given by his poetry and enumerated the circumstances of their production. Of course he always loved his prose works; but he loved his poetry more. The most popular period for his unpopular poetry was from 1850-60, and in the field was taken by other writers and a host of novelists. It was during that period he produced the greatest number of poetical works and for sometime longer, he continued to produce. But in 1865 we saw that his "Essays in Criticism" did very well and he says "It seems doing better than anything of

mine has yet done." And he was so much dissatisfied with the reception given to his poems that while publishing "New Poems" he said it was only Browning's desire to see Empedocles republished that was the cause of his poems having seen the light of day. His affection for poetry was so great that his mind became keenly sensitive to the welcome given to it and to the last day of his life he was expecting a better time. Further as he became older, his hands became fuller; all his life was spent in a work for which he said he was not born. And therefore he could spare very little leisure for the more exacting labours of poetry; nor did he realise his desire of retiring to Florence on £200 a year. He took to criticism not because he saw that it was his proper sphere but because his poetry was not appreciated by the people, and because he was not a man to cry in the wilderness. Arnold died suddenly on Sunday, April 15th 1888, of a heart disease.

We shall now consider his poetical works under the several heads in which they are arranged in the Macmillan edition. Regarding his "Early Poems" all that could be said has already been given while treating the life of the poet. Of the "Narrative Poems" I shall deal only with "Sohrab and Rustum" and "Balder Dead" as considerably evincing the poet's powers of narration. They were produced during the classical stage of the poet and therefore breathe to a considerable extent the air of classical writers. According to his conception of the chief merit of classical writers, he has conceived in them noble and excellent actions. The story of Sohrab is a grand one and wedded to the most harmonious verse. It has richness of thought, majesty and nobleness of diction, and picturesqueness of description. The introduction of the horse has a most human effect on the story and the scene where Ruksh is described to have cried at the piteous sight of the father and the son is indeed pathetic. The similes are all in the grand style. They all indicate a close observation of Nature in all its minutest details. The comparison of the unknown father and the wounded son to the unknowing eagle and his wounded mate which is but a "heap of fluttering feathers," of Rustum's thoughts of his youth to the shepherds, seeing at dawn, from his mountain eagle.

"A far, bright city, smitten by the sun
Through many rolling clouds;"

of the striking of Sohrab at the hand of Rustum to the cutting

of some rich hyacinth by an unskilful gardener's scythe, reveals a profundity of observation and a delicate capacity for the application of the same. One or two objections could be taken. The simile of the rich woman, on a winters morn, eying,

"Through her silken curtains the poor drudge
Who with numb blackened fingers makes her fire
...
And wonders how she lives and what the thoughts
Of that poor drudge might be."

though real is not appropriate. The idea, as has been happily hit upon, is entirely modern. Again when Sohrab fell and Rustum spoke, the thought of father is brought too much to the front, although it might be justified by the fact that he himself was an old man and further had a father at home to care for. Also it might be said that the poem is wanting in the Homeric rapidity of movement. Making these allowances, still it is a perfect gem of the English language and unlike other stories, every time we read it, it never fails to give us pleasure. And let us see what the author himself says about it;—"All my spare time has been spent on a poem which I have just finished, and which I think by far the best thing that I have yet done, and that it will be generally liked, though one can never be sure of this. I have had the greatest pleasure in composing it—a rare thing with me, and as I think, a good test of the pleasure what you write is likely to afford to others; but then the story is a noble and excellent one."

"Balder Dead" is also done in the same manner; there is the same Homeric character of similes and picturesqueness of description. The description of the funeral pyre of Balder is life-like and the most beautiful part of the whole story. There is a better workmanship and a more masterly touch here, than in "Sohrab," but the subject being Scandinavian, it does not interest those who have no Scandinavian element in them so much as "Sohrab" does. The author himself does not speak of this so very exaltingly as he does of "Sohrab and Rustum."

The next class we have to consider is his "Lyric Poems." This is the most unsatisfactory of the author's muse. He has not the lyrical vein in him; he is too deliberate, too self-conscious and "too hard" to attain any degree of success in them. The essential characteristics of a lyric are spontaneity and flow; and it is these that Arnold's poems woefully lack. They are often

musical; sometimes they echo the sense they convey; but do not contain that easiness of flow and lightness of touch which are the chief sources of the delight and pleasure of lyrics. Lyrics are but the poetical outpourings of one's heart and their subject is invariably a man. Even if they treat of high philosophy, that philosophy must be the outcome of the author's own feelings and creep unconsciously into the reader's mind, while he is intent on the personal reflections contained in them. Let us take the following lines of Shelley;

"We look before and after
And pine for what is not;
Our sincerest laughter
With some pain is fraught;
Our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thought

and side by side place the following lines of Arnold;

"The sea of Faith was once at the full
...
...
Ah, love, let us be true
To one another."

the difference is at once visible. His lyrical poems have a deep cast of melancholy and there is not one instance of a happy, joyous strain. The general impression of the lyrics is not satisfactory; there is so little spontaneity, so little of the free expression of the author's inward feelings that they appear to be the outcome of the passion of the intellect and of a sort of voluntary intellectual melancholy. "They are so elaborately charged with material, so studiously burdened with meaning, so economically packed with thought that it has lost every trace of the easy spontaneity, the headlong speed, the tyrannous impulse which are essentially associated with this form of verse composition." Some of his lyrics are a series of art criticism as "Epilogue to Leaning Laocoon."

Next come his "Elegiac Poems", and here Arnold is at his best. Qualities fitted for them are tenderness, softness and a subdued melancholy, and it is just these that Arnold possessed in a high degree. He is not hampered here as in the lyrical poems by the necessities of art; nor is there so much unevenness in the success of his attempts; on the other hand the very heat of his intellect and his very nature help him. The best of these

poems are "Scholar Gypsy," "Thyrsis," "A Southern Night," "Rugby Chapel," "Stanzas from the Grande Chartreuse," "Obermaun Once More."

"The Scholar Gypsy" and "Thyrsis" are steeped in Oxford sentiments and have done for Oxford and the Cumnor hills what Wordsworth has done for the Lake country. Arnold found in Glaun's Vanity of Dogmatising the title and subject of the "Scholar Gypsy." He has also borrowed from him the ideas of "pregnant parts" and "knocking at preferments' door"; but the idea of "a heaven-sent moment" when the "spark from heaven" would fall is his own. The story just suited Arnold's temperament, and he therefore took it up as a vehicle for the expression of his own thoughts and feelings. The Scholar Gypsy had early left the world and his wits were therefore fresh and clear and did not feel the "lapse of hours." Although one may not sympathise with the author's ravings of his time and its baleful effects on his soul; yet must be struck by the soft music and the slow cadence to be heard in every line. It is a faultless work and though it is a pastoral poem, the pastoral nature is not an intellectual abstraction, but the shepherd is a real shepherd and the landscape a real one. The picturesque simile of the modern times is simplicity of the old with the complexity of the modern times is given with a most telling effect. "Thyrsis" is "a monody to commemorate the author's friend, Arthur Hugh Clough, who died in Florence in 1861." The form is the same as that of "Scholar-Gypsy" and a note of the author tells us that it was meant to be a companion poem to it. It is a little more intentionally pastoral and breathes a happier and more hopeful spirit than the other. As the author himself tells us, it is based on Theocritus and does not render full justice to Clough's highest gifts, but chiefly connects his name with the Cumnor country and its associations and is for that very reason, in certain places, obscure to one who has not seen the place. Its chief merit is its quietness, and it expresses a deeper sorrow for the loss of his friend than the other master elegies do. "Lycidas" does not mourn for Lycidas, but is an occasion for Milton to expose the vices of the "blind mouths." "Adonais" does not mourn for Adonais, but is an attack on the literary critics of the day. In "In Memoriam" Arthur Hallam is only in the background and the occasion is but a peg to hang on the author's views of Life and God. It resembles Gray's Elegy though the subject of the

latter is more general and of universal sympathy. Arnold does not give us much of his views of his time, but in two noble stanzas beginning "yes, thou art gone" and "And long the way appears", describes his own advancing age and the little that he had done in the lived part of his life. Also the stanza beginning "O easy access to the hearer's grace" is splendid. "A Southern Night" was composed during the author's tour in Italy as a Commissioner; and allusion is made to the Bay of Naples, the Mediterranean sea and the death of his brother, William Arnold. The soft beauty of the southern sky seems to have lent its charm to the poet and the poem is a lovely one. The author's imagination of the scene of the death of his brother is very beautiful and life-like. And here are the lines;

"Slow to a stop, at morning grey,
I see the smoke-crowned vessel come;
Slow round her paddles dies away
The seething foam.

A boat is lowered from her side;
Ah, gently place him on the beach!
That spirit, if all have not yet died—
A breath might quench.

Is this the eye, the footstep fast,
The mein of youth we used to see,
Poor, gallant boy—for such thou wast—
Still art, to me."

His conception of the Indian sage, the Crusading Knight, the youthful troubadour and "some girl" is highly picturesque. "Rugby Chapel" is an elegy in memory of his father. It is a grand sermon informed with the purest sentiment and the noblest poetry on the biblical dea of a shepherd saving his flock. Dr. Arnold was not only one of those few who were called and chosen, but also a shepherd of men and saved his flock while very few men are called; and if called chosen; and even if chosen, it is "without friends, companions and train." The course of life that mortal men lead on earth is described in lines which echo the very life that they lead; and the storm scene in the life of men is splendid. On the whole it is a noble poem and displays the deepest feeling and the most austere sincerity. The literary value of the "Grande Chartreuse" might be understood from the quotations already given from it. A suggested reference

might also be made to the two stanzas describing Byron's groan and Shelley's lovely wail. "Obermaun Once More" was written during the author's continental tour as "A Southern Night" and is in every way splendid. The author takes to Obermaun Once More and falls into a dream while on the Alps. In the dream Senancour, the author of Obermaun, appears to him and describes the history of the Faith of the world. First there were the Pagans and the Romans with their hearts of stone, cool halls and haggard eyes; but the soul was wanting there and life was dreary and meaningless to them. Then appeared Christ who bathed the world with love and hope. But

"Slow that tide of common thought
Which bathed our life, retired;
Slow, slow the old world wore to nought,
And pulse by pulse expired."

Then came the Reformation, but this time there was not that common thought but men saw only

"Blocks of the past, like icebergs high,
Float on a rolling sea."

After a time even this imperfect hope was gone and now

"Some new such hope must dawn at last,
Or man must toss in pain."

Since this new hope did not dawn in his time he betook himself to the wilderness: but now that hope had dawned he exhorts the poet not to despair but see the light and save himself. As has already been observed, Arnold is rather vague and we do not know what that hope consists in.

Next come his "Dramatic Poems." He is not a great dramatic poet, nor did he ever pretend to be one. "Merope" is a classical tragedy produced at the height of his classical enthusiasm. He says that its object was to inaugurate his Professorship with dignity and see in it a specimen of the world of the Greek imagination, which, he says, had a peculiar power, grandeur and dignity for him. As all classical dramas are, "Merope" is badly wanting in action and the many-sided development of the modern life does not find any expression in it. Arnold has not given us the Greek life and imagination without having adjusted them to the modern conceptions of justice and womanhood. Merope is the central figure

of the drama; and although so far as her determination to murder the sleeping Aepytus is concerned, there is historical truth, still her pleading for Polyphontes and her sympathy for him are not the characteristics of a woman of that time. Again he gives Polyphontes a touch of the milk of human kindness which a tyrant of that age could hardly be expected to possess. Further the interest in the whole story flags after the recognition of the son; and a play that has a happy end is not a tragedy. But the play contains some of the finest lines and the loftiest heights of his imagination. Though the speeches are long, yet they are all pure and noble poetry. "Empedocles on Etna" which has not even the slight action that "Merope" has, is not of any dramatic interest, but its only biographical importance has already been pointed out above. The chief beauty of the poem consists in the song of Callicles. They are like Greek choruses and sometimes highly lyrical. The song beginning "The track winds down to the clear stream" is remarkable for its simplicity and beauty. The philosophy contained in the five lined stanzas has already been given while treating the life of the poet, but the following quotation may be made for its pithiness and force:

"Riches we wish to get,
Yet remain spendthrift still;
We would have health and yet
Use our bodies ill;

Bafflers of our own prayers, from youth to life's last scenes

We would have inward peace,
Yet will not look within;
We would have misery cease,
Yet will not cease from sin;

We want all pleasant ends, but will use no harsh means.

We do not what we ought,
What we ought not, we do.
And lean upon the thought,
That chance will bring us through;
But our own acts, for good or ill, are mightier powers."

The soliloquy of Empedocles is full of sustained grandeur and dignity. The play was first published in 1852, but suddenly withdrawn from the edition of his poems of 1853, the reason being that it was not in accordance with the author's theory that the

end of poetry was to give delight, the poem itself having a mournful end. It is doubtful if this was the real cause. The sudden change of Empedocles from fortitude to despondency would tell upon the author's moral philosophy, and the play itself having a biographical element, Empedocles' solution was opposed to all manliness and spirit of courage and calmness that Arnold had learned from his classical teachers.

Now I shall consider Arnold's poems as a whole and fix his place in literature. The first thing that strikes one is the quantity of his poems. In spite of the efforts of Macmillan who has printed his works in a very large type, this comparative smallness is noticeable. It is not difficult to explain it. It was due to Arnold's want of leisure and the lack of hearty appreciation of his poems by the public. These causes have already been touched upon. Arnold never realised his hope of retiring to Florence on 200 £ a year, nor had he leisure enough either to plan new ones or even to carry out the designed ones of the Fall of the Roman Republic and the life of Lucretius. He could not prefer the precariousness and anxiety of living by one's pen to the steady income of an Inspector; and we must also remember his peculiar tenderness and soft-heartedness almost amounting to weakness which depended for stimulus on the popular welcome of his poetry. And this it is important to remember, in order that any want of fertility might not be insinuated against him. Then there is the ineffable note of sadness and the absolute want of any joyous strain. And this is intimately associated with another feature of his poetry—their incoherence and irresolution and the impotence of his practical teachings. We have already seen that the poet was born in a time of doubts; and so far as his poems are concerned, did not issue out of the conflict with a fresh truth and a firm conviction. We hear only his sad muse; and even when we hear the note of hope, the note of joyousness at the discovery of his light of life, there is something vague, something imperfect. And this want of any clear truth that could be imparted very deeply affects the poet's claim on posterity. If any one takes to his poetry to arrive at any convincing conception of life, he will only go away with his despair and sorrow deepened and fed and perhaps with some disconnected ideas of man being greater than Nature or of Nature being more lasting than man. But that delight, that silent satisfaction which those that impart a truth can give cannot be met with in

his poems. Also there is the absolute want of humour, and in this he resembles Milton. He gives us flashes of his vein of humour in his prose works, but in his poetry, except in that solitary instance given above from the *Forsaken Merman*, there is not a trace of it.

But his poetry is not without merits. The diction is always pure. Though sometimes his rhymes are poor and the movement is uncertain, yet his poetry is never wanting in dignity. He is at his best in his blank verse and makes use of "and" with a surprising effect. His poetry contains within itself all his ideas of literary criticism and criticism on social and religious matters. They are entirely free from any of the dilettantism of modern art. It is well said "It is no aim of his to talk for talking's sake; to express what is but half felt and half understood; to embody vague emotions and nebulous fancies in language that all its richness cannot atone for." His chief success lies in the field of Elegiac and of Narrative poems and his claim to posterity will only rest on them. Quietness and austerity of thought are the essential characteristics of his poems.

He has not been improperly called the Nineteenth Century Gray. In the melancholy tone of their poems and the care they bestowed on their diction, they resemble each other. But Gray's poems do not give that impression of austerity in which the charm of Arnold's poetry principally consists, nor have Arnold's, Gray's "terseness and concentrated force." Further, Arnold's brain was not so barren; Gray conceived during the whole of his life and brought forth only two excellent poems, the *Elegy* and the *Ode to the Progress of Poetry*. Arnold's own idea of his place in literature was that he had combined within himself both Tennyson and Browning; and these men have not been far removed from our own time as to give any calm literary judgment. This much can be said, that each excelled the others in some quality or other, but Arnold's range of affections was the most limited of them all. Tennyson has not his austerity of thought and even flow of verse; and Browning's diction cannot stand by that of Arnold; but they have treated a wider sweep of subjects and struck greater chords of human nature. Above all, they have the air of courage, the air of strong conviction, and impart to us firm truths. Although Arnold by diction and dignity of thought could rank with Tennyson and Browning, yet this want of an air of conviction

tion and of the sure grasp of principles considerably reduces the charm of his poetry. It is only his poetry that is open to grave objections, his prose is perfectly faultless and contains all the qualities of a masterly style. He will always and more and more attract a crowd of readers of his prose works and through them of his poetry also, so that although his poetical works by themselves, except a few ones which would give him a prominent place in an Anthology, cannot stand the wear and tear of many generations, yet through his charming prose they will never fail to find an audience.

S. VENKATACHARI.

THE SUN*

IN what follows an attempt has been made to gather together some of the main facts that are known about the sun, and in doing so works of such authors as Sir Robert Ball, Sir Norman Lockyer and Proctor have been freely used. The fairy land of Science abounds in wonder, and many a fascinating story has been told of what can be met with there. There is no story, however, which transcends in grandeur and soul-enthraling power the story of the sun. It is indeed a most wondrous story, full of never-ending interest and exquisite beauty. Of all the heavenly objects to which the thoughts and imagination of man could turn, the sun, from his pre-eminence over all the other celestial bodies, must occupy the foremost place. Milton's Satan, roaming upon the frontiers of the creation between the mass of matter wrought into worlds and that shapeless unformed heap of materials which still lay in chaos and confusion, and surveying the whole creation from East to West and North to South, is lured by the golden sun, "in splendor likest Heaven," "the great luminary," who, "aloof the vulgar constellations thick, that from his lordly-eye keep distance due, dispenses light from far." When he lands there he is filled with wonder.

"Compared with aught on earth, metal or stone,

"Not all parts like, but all alike informed

"With radiant light, as glowing iron with fire."

The poet exclaims,

"What wonder then if fields and regions here
Breathe forth elixir pure, and rivers run
Potable gold; when with one virtuous touch,
The arch-chemic sun, so far from us remote,
Produces with terrestrial humour mixed
Here in the dark so many precious things,
Of colour glorious and effect so rare?"

It will be my endeavour to show that what the imagination of the great poet has here conceived is in its substance scientifically true.

* This is an Essay read in connection with the Lecture Series of the Morris College, Nagpur, C. P.

The mighty orb of the sun is not only the ruler of the planetary system but its light and life. He not only keeps his family of planets in bondage compelling them to revolve in closed paths and thus preventing them from running away and be lost in the abysmal depths of space, but he vivifies them by his light and heat and supports whatever of life there may be in them.

The first thing to know about the Sun is his distance from us. Without determining his distance, we cannot determine either his bulk or his weight; and our views regarding his physical condition depends materially on our accurate knowledge of these two elements. Every school boy now knows that the distance of the sun from the earth is about 93 millions of miles. But the problem is one of immense difficulty, and to solve it, has taxed the ingenuity of men of the highest powers. Just think for a moment the nature of the problem. As compared with the sun, the earth is but a tiny orb. This orb is not stationary, but besides rotating on its own axis, it is sweeping through space with a velocity of which we can form no conception, and it is the inhabitants of this ever-rotating and on-rushing minute world who are to find out the vast distance of the sun.

After many failures, the astronomers have at last succeeded in solving this most difficult problem, which lies at the root as it were of all calculations regarding the solar system. The actual distance is about 92,700,000 miles; but by merely reciting the figure, we can form no adequate conception of its real vastness. The diameter of the sun or the length of the line passing through its centre from one side to the other is 8,67,000 miles. If a railway were laid round the sun and we were to start in one of the swiftest of express trains moving seventy miles an hour, it would take us five years without any intermission before the journey would be accomplished. A journey round the earth at the same rate would only take a fortnight. More than 13,00,000 earths would be required to make one sun. This does not take into account the atmosphere of the sun, which extends to fully half a million of miles from its surface. The sun weighs 3,30,000 times as much as the earth. But bulk for bulk 13 million earths would go to make up one sun. It follows from this that the matter composing the sun must, on an average, be about $\frac{1}{13}$ th as dense as the matter composing the earth, or less than $\frac{1}{13}$ th as dense as water; so that we may fairly conclude the sun to be mainly a gaseous body.

One of the most important of the functions which the sun discharges is to rule the motions of his family of planets and keep them within the influence of his illuminating, heating and actinic rays. But for his mighty over-mastering attraction they would rush out in a straight line and be lost in space beyond the reach of his vivifying rays. This attraction, as every body knows, is the force of gravitation. The celestial bodies float and move in infinite space. Compared with the enormous distances between them, each of them is but a grain of dust. But notwithstanding these enormous distances, there is an invisible tie between them, which connects them together and keeps them in mutual interdependence. We call this force gravity, when it is operative between an earthly body and the mass of the earth. It is, however, in its essence the same force which compels the moon to accompany the earth in its path round the sun, and which keeps the earth and all the other planets from vanishing into space, away from the sun. At equal distance, the sun would exert 3,30,000 times as much force on any body as the earth. So that if the earth's mass were as great as the sun's, her dimensions remaining unchanged, a body which now weighs a seer would weigh about 8,200 maunds. A body if raised but a single inch and let fall, would strike the ground with a velocity three times as great as that of the swiftest mail train. This illustration gives us some idea of the proportion which the sun's attractive force bears to that exerted by the earth. We have next to form similar estimate of the extent of the sun's force at different distances. Taking our own earth, notwithstanding the inconceivable velocity with which she moves, and therefore the inconceivable energy of the tendency she has to run away in a straight line, she is forced to travel in a nearly circular path round the sun. Mathematicians have calculated the velocity with which a body must be projected so as to travel round the sun at a distance of 9,30,00,000 miles, which is the distance of our earth from the sun. Over bodies moving with a velocity below this limit and within this distance, the sun's influence would be absolute. They may travel onwards as they may, but a point will in due course be reached beyond which they cannot go. Their power of rushing onward in a straight line will continue to diminish until this point is reached, when they will be forced back and made to go through all the orders of distance they have passed through, and finally return to

the point they started from to pursue the same journey for ever. It has been calculated that an increase by one half in the earth's velocity would be enough to release her from the sun's control, and we would then be carried away continually farther and farther away from his life giving influence. From Mars and Jupiter and perchance from Saturn, Uranus and Neptune, if they are inhabited by sentient beings, the unhappy careers of the earth might be traced for many a long year. But long before she crossed the confines of those distant regions, life, at least all higher forms of it, would have become extinct from her surface. There would in any case be no scientist left to mark the changes in the physical constitution of the truant planet. She would still rotate on her axes; day and night would still for a time at least succeed each other, but the orderly sequence of the seasons would disappear and be replaced by a continued diminution of light and heat, until a cold more intense than any we can conceive would bind the earth and every thing in it in one everlasting frost. A similar fate would befall us if the sun's mass or in other words, his power of attraction, were reduced by one half, the only difference being that in that case, we shall have the other planets as companions in our misfortunes.

The all pervading activity of the sun in every part of his wide domain suggests thoughts as to the origin of the planetary system, which, though from the very nature of the case, cannot be verified by direct observation, are well worthy of consideration. Science is not only entitled, but is bound, to enter into such speculations. It is an all important question with her, whether the laws of nature which rule everything around us at the present moment, have always held in the past, and will always hold in the future. To say that it is not given to us to dive into the past, to investigate into the possible or probable primeval history of our present world, is to say that its beginning could not have been due to processes known to us or knowable by us; or in other words that the natural laws were not what they now are. It need hardly be pointed out that such a supposition strikes at the very root of all scientific investigation and is therefore inadmissible. Now in gravitation we have discovered a property common to all matter. It is found to be shared not only by every particle of matter in our system, but to extend beyond it, as far as in the celestial space our means of observations have hitherto been able to penetrate. Not only this, but

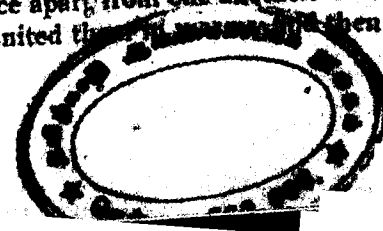
spectrum analysis, of which more anon, has made it clear that a number of well-known terrestrial elements exist not only in the sun but in the fixed stars and even in the nebulae. The ground is thus made clear for a theory which explains the origin of our system by reference to forces and processes which meet our observation in the present. That it must have been moulded by an uniform common process is also made highly probable by the number of remarkable coincidences in the orbits and motions of the planets and their satellites. These coincidences are too many to be the result of accident. The astronomers are so far convinced of the ever-lasting uniformity of the laws governing the solar system that they have not hesitated to predict the existence of unknown bodies from any apparent discrepancy between calculated and actual motions, and their audacity in this respect has not been misplaced. All who take interest in the subject must have read of the wonderful discovery of the planet Neptune, a discovery so startling that the whole annals of science may be ransacked in vain for a parallel. The ordinary way to discover a heavenly body is by the application of the telescope. But the existence of Neptune was revealed to the world by profound mathematical analysis,—not only its existence but its orbit, its mass, its velocity were all made known before any human eye had seen it in the heavens.

The circumstances attending its discovery were most dramatic. To quote Sir Robert Ball, "we picture the great astronomer buried in profound meditation for many months; his eyes are bent, not on the stars, but on his calculations. No telescope is in his hand: the human intellect is the instrument he alone uses.....He attempts one solution after another.....At length he begins to see harmony in those results where before there was but discord.—Gradually the clouds disperse and he discerns with a certainty little short of actual vision the planet glittering in the far depth of space. He rises from his desk and invokes the aid of a practical astronomer; and lo there is the planet in the indicated spot. The annals of science present no such spectacle as this." The mysterious companion of that most brilliant of stars, Sirius, was also discovered by the calculations of the mathematician before it was revealed to the telescope of the astronomers. Now these discoveries constitute an almost irrefragable argument in favour of the uniformity of the laws and processes governing the formation of our system both absolutely

and as compared with the laws and processes which are observed in the present day. Let us suppose a system resembling ours in every respect save one. In our system all the planets revolve in the same direction round the sun. Let us suppose this law violated in our imaginary system in the case of one planet; that slight change alone would render a discovery like that of Neptune impossible. It would also expose the system itself to the risk of self-destruction by planetary collisions.

Thus prospective prophecies duly verified support the claims of the astronomers to dive into the past. For retrospective prophecies are nothing but the result of following backwards the very same methods as that which invariably lead to verified results, when it is worked forwards. Retrospective prophecy is therefore a legitimate function of the astronomical science. Thales, the Greek philosopher who flourished about 600 B. C., is said to have predicted an eclipse of the sun which took place in his time during a battle between the Medes and the Lydians. Sir George Airy has proved by elaborate calculations that such an eclipse was visible in Leydia on the afternoon of the 28th May in the year 585 B. C. Although incapable of verification, we put as much faith in this retrospective prophecy as we do in the predictions of similar eclipses in the future.

Now we have seen how the sun by his great attraction controls velocities. He is capable by means of this attraction of drawing towards himself all such cosmical matter as comes within the sphere of his attraction in the course of his own motion through space. For we must bear in mind that he is not stationary, but is urging his way through the realms of space with tremendous velocity bearing with him in his stupendous voyage his whole family of planets and comets and the incredible host of minute bodies which acknowledge his sway. By thus attracting to himself swarms of cosmical matter floating in space he is adding to his own mass. Arguing from the present to the past, it is legitimate to postulate that he was perhaps formed in this very way. Projecting our view backwards, we come to a time when the sun, in a more or less completely gaseous state, filled the space out to the orbit of the remotest planet. Looking still further backwards, the original condition of things in our system was probably that of a swarm of particles or meteorites as they are called, floating in space apart from one another. The force bound up in each particle united them, and then



gravitation came into play and drew the masses towards their respective centre of gravity. This process of concentration, continued through countless ages, probably led to the formation of a big mass which became the nucleus of the solar system. Heat and light would be generated in the mass by the in-rush and collisions through mutual attraction of the cosmical matters composing its substance. The masses thus formed would continue to give out their heat into space, and so long as the loss through this giving out of heat or radiation would be compensated for by the supply generated by the fall of new matter and the condensation of its own mass, it would remain a self-illuminating body like the sun. When, however, the loss would exceed the supply, the body would commence to cool and when in course of time the whole of its stock of heat would be exhausted, it would become a cool body like our earth. In thus tracing back the history of our system, we might conceive of a time when the sun's supremacy was still incomplete, when the planets struggled with him for absorbing into their own mass the continually rushing materials from which his substance as well as theirs was to be recruited. This process, as has been indicated before, is even now going on before our eyes. Who has not seen that beautiful occurrence called a Shooting Star? In their more glowing form they are called meteors. They are small bodies generally formed of the same substance as our earth. They exist in space in countless myriads, and though small, each one of them revolves round the sun just like the planets. In the course of its wanderings, a particular meteor comes near the earth and within a few miles of its surface begins to come in contact with the upper stratum of our atmosphere. To a body moving with the immense velocity of a meteor, a rush through a thick medium like our atmosphere means the dissolution of its particles. The friction of the air generates heat, the meteor becomes red-hot, then white-hot, and is finally driven off into vapour with a brilliant light. Even now the earth, it has been estimated, swallows up millions of these meteors every 33 years; and the same is no doubt true of the sun and the other planets. This rush of cosmic matter, as now observed, affords but the faintest conception of the stupendous conflicts in which our system had probably its birth. We see with our mind's eye the sun by his mighty energy of attraction absorbing all matters within a very wide range of space. The relatively tiny orbs as Venus and the earth, Mars and

Mercury being comparatively nearer the sun were handicapped in their struggle with him. With the more distant planets, the struggle was less unequal. At their distance the sun's attraction was less powerful and they were thus able to grasp a goodly proportion of the available material to build up their own mass or form subordinate systems round them like the moons of Jupiter and the wonderful rings of Saturn. This process of sweeping together into their own mass, the loose matter in space by the sun and the planets has been going on for millions of years, and what they once attract they hold fast. Thus it follows that these celestial bodies were once much smaller than they are now and that there was more matter in space than now. And as already pointed out, if we follow out this consideration backwards, it takes us to a state of things in which all the mass now concentrated in the sun and the planets, wandered loosely through space. Still farther back, we may think of the small masses of the meteors as they now fall, as formed by the gradual aggregation of fine dust. And we are thus led at last to a primitive condition of fine nebulous matter. The nebular theory, as it is called, is thus a deduction arrived at by reasoning backwards from facts taking place before us on an assumption of the uniformity and constancy of the laws of nature. The verdict of science on the whole subject cannot be better expressed than in the words of Professor Newcomb:—"At the present time we can only say that the nebular hypothesis is indicated by the general tendencies of the laws of nature; that it has not been proved to be inconsistent with any fact; that it is almost a necessary consequence of the only theory by which we can account for the origin and conservation of the sun's heat, but that it rests on the assumption that this conservation is to be explained by the laws of nature as we now see them in operation. Should any one be sceptical as to the sufficiency of these laws to account for the present state of things, science can furnish no evidence strong enough to overthrow his doubts until the sun shall be found growing smaller by actual measurement, or the nebulae be actually seen to condense into stars and systems."

Having discussed the sun as Ruler, I next take him up as the light and life of our system. Sir John Herschel has thus described him in his character as the giver and sustainer of all force and life in earth: "The sun's rays are the ultimate source of almost every motion which takes place on the surface of the

earth. By its heat are produced all winds and those disturbances in the electric equilibrium of the atmosphere which give rise to the phenomena of lighting. By their vivifying action vegetables are enabled to draw support from inorganic matter and become in their turn the support of animals and man and the source of those great deposits of dynamical efficiency which are laid up in our coal strata. By them the waters of the sea are made to circulate in vapour through the air and irrigate the land, producing springs and rivers. By them are produced all disturbances of the chemical equilibrium of the elements of nature, which by a series of composition and de-composition give rise to new products and originate a transfer of materials." It will have been observed in the above extract that it is not only the action of the sun in supporting vegetation at the present time that renders the world a fit habitation for man. It is the action of the same agency in the remote past that gives to the civilized man in the present day his principal force. The fugitive sun's rays were fixed and deposited as it were in a reservoir in the primeval forests, and our coal mines which constitute for us our main source of power are nothing but the fossilized remains of those primitive trees and plants. It will thus be seen that for the power to live and move, for the plenty with which we are surrounded, for the beauty with which nature is adorned, we are indebted to one body in the countless hosts of heaven and that body is the sun. No wonder if our forefathers looked upon him as the emblem of the deity, as the giver of all life, as the ultimate source of almost everything that happens on earth. It has been calculated that the heat thrown on a square mile exposed at noon under the equator would melt per our 26,000 tons of ice. This amount has to be multiplied fifty million times to arrive at the quantity of heat received by the earth's surface during a single hour. Yet this enormous supply is even less than two thousand millionth part of what the sun pours forth with the utmost prodigality in all directions in space. Our fellow planets are able to intercept only a trifle more, but how great is the portion of the mighty perennial torrents of heat and light which are thus wasted in the depths of the space.

The question naturally arises whence does the sun acquire and replenish this enormous store of heat and light which he has been continually pouring forth through countless ages in the past without showing any apparent signs of exhaustion. No con-

clusive answer is as yet forthcoming to this problem. Various explanations have been given, and I shall put them before you with the remark that the facts themselves are so extraordinary that even the soberest hypothesis will appear wild speculation. One theory maintains that the sun's heat is generated by the incessant downfall of cosmical bodies such as meteors gathered out of infinite space by the sun's mighty attractive energy. We see in the case of our own earth that the comparatively small mass of a shooting star is able to give rise to extraordinarily large amount of heat when its passage through space is arrested by our atmosphere. The heat is so great as at once to dissolve it into vapour. Now we may be almost certain that very many more meteors fall upon the sun than upon the earth, and with much greater velocity, and they therefore give out more heat. But the entire amount of heat which the sun gives out cannot be made up in this way. For to replenish the loss would require the fall of such an enormous mass of cosmical matter that it would increase the sun's mass very rapidly. The result of the increase of sun's mass would be an increase of his attractive power, which again would result in an accelerated motion of all the planets. We know there is no such increase in the velocity of the earth and the other planets. It follows therefore that a portion only of the entire quantity lost can be made up in this way. Another theory is that there is constantly going on in the sun the dissolving of compound bodies into their elements and this constantly creates a fund of force which is only to be used up as the dissociated elements unite once more in chemical combination. This process can only explain the restoration of a very small portion of the heat given out by the sun. The third theory is a theory which finds most favour with the scientists of the present day, is that the gradual contraction of the solar orb is the chief source of the sun's apparent inexhaustible energy. If the mass of the sun had been once diffused in space as vapour, and had then been condensed or brought together under the influence of celestial gravity and if the motion thus generated by gravitation had been destroyed by friction and impact, the motion thus apparently destroyed would take the form of, that is, produce heat. The new world formed by this process of condensation would thus have a store of heat of almost colossal magnitude. Again so long as this process of condensation would go on the old store would continue to be replenished. The sun is sti-

slowly contracting and as his mass is more than 700 times the combined mass of all the planets, there is as yet no apparent diminution in his energy. It has been calculated that at the present rate of expenditure of heat, the sun's diameter would contract 4 miles in a century, and in a few millions of years, he may become as dense as our earth. Thus unless other forces come into play, a time will come, when the turmoil in the sun's surface will be calmed, his light extinguished and his store-house of energy utterly gone. He is bound to be what the moon now is, a dead and extinct world. This final catastrophe may be delayed, but we know of no natural process that could save our sun from sharing the fate which has manifestly overtaken other suns like him. Such in fact is the history of all the heavenly bodies. Each has passed or is passing from a state of vapour, through numberless stages, to the solid state. Thus what holds good in the animate world also applies to the heavenly bodies. They are born, they grow, they attain youthful vigour, then infirmities of age overtake them and at last they become extinct worlds. There is, however, no annihilation but merely shifting of the constituent of the never-varying total resulting in the formation of new forms.

I now come to a still more wonderful part of the story of the sun, I mean that relating to his physical constitution. It may at first appear that an attempt to determine the chemistry of the sun and what is going on there among the substances composing his mass is an attempt almost to do the impossible. But an alphabet has already been invented which has placed man in a position to read the celestial hieroglyphics.

The new instrument of analysis by which we are enabled to discover the physical constituents of the heavenly bodies is in its essence nothing more than a piece of prismatic glass. It is a fact within our common experience that the sun's ray seen through such a glass appears as a coloured band, red and yellow at one end, blue and violet at the other and green in the middle. Such a coloured image is called a spectrum. The rain-bow is such a spectrum. The sun's rays falling on the small particles of water suspended in the air are operated upon in the same way as when they fall on a glass prism, each particle discharging the functions of a small prism. Now it is a characteristic peculiarity of lights produced by ignited solid or liquid bodies that when operated upon by a prism, they all present a

continuous band of coloured light. The case is, however, different with the light given out by an ignited gas or vapour. Its spectrum is not a continuous coloured band, but consists of one or more entirely distinct and disjointed bright lines. Each gas has its own set of bright lines, so that from the appearance of a bright line spectrum we can infer that the source of light is a gas and not a solid body and also what kind of gas it is. Spectra of this sort, *i.e.*, detached bright lines, have been observed in the case of many nebulae. The bright lines they give when their light is decomposed by a prism correspond with the bright lines given by ignited hydrogen and oxygen and along with them, a line that has not yet been found in the spectrum of any terrestrial gas. From this we can safely conclude, (1st) that the nebulae are gaseous bodies, (2ndly), that hydrogen and oxygen exist in them in an incandescent state. Now an ignited solid body gives a continuous spectrum and furnishes no clue as to the physical constitution of that body. If the sun's spectrum had been absolutely continuous, we could not have known much about his material constitution. But his spectrum is, as a matter of fact, not continuous, but full of gaps, *i.e.*, its coloured band is crossed from one end to the other by a very large number of dark lines. Thousands of such lines have been carefully mapped by astronomers and physicists: In the reading of the riddle involved in these strange dark lines lies the key to the knowledge of solar physics. The honoured name of Kirchhoff must for ever remain associated with the elucidation of this, one of the most wonderful facts observed in nature. Now the spectrum given by lighted gas consists of bright coloured lines whose colour and position depend on the particular gas which emits the light. Kirchhoff observed that the light of ignited sodium gas, when decomposed by a prism gives two bright lines in a certain position. Comparing the position of these lines with the dark lines in the solar spectrum, he found them to correspond in a remarkable degree. He obtained a tolerably bright solar spectrum and placed a flame coloured by sodium vapour in front of the slit through which the sun's ray came. He saw the dark lines which have been named D lines—appear darker. Let us understand the full significance of this result. The sun light alone would have given the ordinary solar spectrum with the dark lines D. The sodium flame alone would have given two bright-lines just where the dark lines D of the solar spectrum appear. The combination of the

two turned the dark into darker lines. Before proceeding further it would perhaps be convenient to give here the main principles of spectroscopic analysis. These are, (1st) Every substance which at a given temperature emits certain kind of light, possesses the power at that temperature of absorbing the same kind of light.

(2nd) when the light of an ignited solid or liquid body passes through a medium of vapour of lower temperature, *i.e.*, cooler than itself, we see a rainbow tinted band of light but crossed by dark lines, which are visible in the places where the vapour constituting the medium would, if ignited, show bright lines *i.e.*, dark lines correspond in position with the spectrum of the vapour through which the light of the ignited solid or liquid body has to pass.

(3rd) The converse happens when the temperature of the vapour—surrounding an ignited solid body is higher, *i.e.*, when the vapour is hotter than the solid body, lines corresponding to the spectrum of the former, (*i.e.*, of the gas) are seen as bright instead of dark lines in the continuous coloured band appertaining to the spectrum of the latter, (*i.e.*, the solid body). The application of these principles to the case observed by Kirchhoff naturally led to the conclusion that the sun's light must before reaching us have passed through vapour of sodium. Either then in our own atmosphere or in the atmosphere of the sun, this familiar metal which forms the basis of such common substances as soda and salt, must exist in quantity sufficient to cause the dark or absorption lines. It was then shown that it could not be in our atmosphere. It followed therefore that it must be in the atmosphere of the sun. The reasoning was like this. Imagine a body of very high temperature, in whose spectrum the double line D does not appear, surrounded by a gaseous atmosphere of somewhat lower temperature. If sodium be present in the latter, the spectrum of the whole system so constituted will, according to the rules given above, contain the dark line D. From the presence of these lines the presence of sodium may therefore be held proved. Now the sun is undoubtedly a body of this description, and therefore from the occurrence of these dark lines in the solar spectrum, the existence of sodium in the sun may be concluded. What is said here about sodium holds good of every other substance which when placed in a flame produces bright lines in its spectrum. After experimenting with sodium,

Kirchhoff next took up iron. Now the spectrum of the luminous vapour of iron differs from that of sodium in this, that it consists of a number of lines, some strong, some faint. He compared this spectrum with the dark lines in the solar spectrum and found to his great astonishment that line for line, and not only so, but strong line for strong line and faint line, for faint line, every line of the iron spectrum appeared as a dark line in the spectrum of the sun.

The white light coming from the sun must have its origin in a solid or liquid nucleus, heated to a temperature of the brightest whiteness, which produces a continuous spectrum, but before it reaches us, it has to pass through a screen consisting of the comparatively cool solar atmosphere containing the vapours of sodium, iron, &c. Like iron and sodium various other substances have since the day of Kirchhoff been discovered in the sun. All the dark lines have not, however, been accounted for. This shows that substances exist in the sun not yet detected by chemistry on the earth, or that his temperature is such that substances undecomposable by us are there split up into components unknown to us in their separate states. I have hitherto talked of dark lines. From this we are not to conclude that the vapours in the sun's atmosphere which absorb the white light from the glowing mass inside are really dark. They are only comparatively so. In fact if the glowing mass could be suddenly extinguished leaving the atmosphere in its present heated condition, the light of the faint sun that would be left would give under the spectroscope a spectrum of bright lines, their position corresponding with the position of the present dark lines. So the dark lines are really intensely bright lines. If owing to any cause the sun's globe were to remain as at present, but his atmosphere excited to many times its present degree of light, then all these dark lines would become bright and the rain bow tinted back-ground would be dark. This sometimes actually happens. At times disturbances take place in the sun which cause the hydrogen in his atmosphere to burn with such an intense light that instead of its lines appearing dark, they stand out not as a continuous spectrum but as brilliant bright lines. The general results may be thus summed up:—The sun consists of a nucleus surrounded by gaseous envelopes called the photo-sphere and the chromo-sphere, outside which lies the mysterious corona whose beautiful silver light

forms such a glorious spectacle in a total eclipse. The nucleus is a mass burning at a temperature of which we can form no conception, being probably millions of degrees. It was probably at first gaseous, but the condensation which has been going on since ages past must have reduced the core to a liquid state. I have already spoken of this process of condensation in connection with the question of generation of the sun's heat. Sir Norman Lockyer has thus described the atmosphere surrounding the nucleus, "we have first of all an enormous shell of some gas, probably lighter than hydrogen, about which we absolutely know nothing, because so far none of it has been found here. Inside we have a shell of hydrogen; inside this one of calcium, another of magnesium, another of sodium and then a shell, in which we get all the metals of the iron group plus other metals. The solar atmosphere then, from top to bottom, consists of a considerable number of layers, its composition as one went down into it, gets more and more complex. What happens with those layers is this, if the sun is quiet, the layers are merely concentric; but the moment there is any agitation in the subjacent photosphere, the lower layer shoots up into the next layer above it, the next shoots up into the one next above that and so on. From the very lowest layer to the upper hydrogen one the layers are made to obey the same impulse, and bulge up like so many domes on that part of the sun which is being violently agitated. In these layers of gas most violent storms take place, which are as much greater than those of our earth in extent and velocity as the sun is greater than the earth. Currents of glowing hydrogen and other gases burst forth several thousands of miles high, like gigantic tongues of flames, with clouds of smoke above them." These remarkable objects are called prominences. They were first fully recognized during the total eclipse of 1842. They surround the sun at other times as well as at an eclipse; but at other times the great light of the sun renders them obscure. From the darkness which envelopes the sun at a total eclipse as a background, these prominences start into brilliancy. At first they could only be seen on these rare occasions. But now a method has been discovered by which they may at any time be observed by the spectroscope. The spectra of these objects have conclusively established that they are stupendous masses of glowing gas. "Majestic indeed are the proportions," says Sir Robert Ball, "of

some of these mighty prominences, which leap from the luminous surface. The velocity with which they move frequently exceeds 100 miles a second. Still more violent are the solar convulsions when from the sun's surface, as from a mighty furnace, vast incandescent masses are projected upwards. All indications show that the surface of the sun must be agitated by tremendous storms and tempests, where the winds are intensely heated gases and the clouds are incandescent vapours." The following remarkable history of one prominence has been chronicled by Professor Young: "On October 7th, 1880, a prominence was seen, at about 10-30 A.M. on the South east limb of the sun. It was then about 40,000 miles high, and attracted no special attention. Half an hour later a marvellous transformation took place. During that brief interval the prominence became very brilliant and doubled its length. For another hour the mighty flame still rose upwards until it attained the unprecedented elevation of 350,000 miles. At this climax the energy of the mighty out-break seems to have at last become exhausted, the flame broke up into fragments and by 12-30, an interval of only two hours from the time when it was first noticed,—the phenomenon had completely faded away." These facts constitute evidence of the wonderful violence of those fiery storms by which the surface of our great luminary is at times convulsed. The velocity of up-heaval of the above prominence must have been at least 200,000 miles an hour or 100 times greater than that of the swiftest bullet ever fired from a rifle. It remains now to say a few words about the spots of the sun. When we look at the sun we observe the circular outline and the general bright surface, but this brightness is not uninterrupted. There are, here and there, small dark objects, and these comparatively dark parts of the sun are called spots. Their existence has been long known. The well-known lines of Milton will occur to every body. "When Satan lands on the Sun the poet exclaims, "a spot like which perhaps Astronomer in the sun's lucent orb through his glazed optic tube yet never saw."

To adopt the language of Proctor, "The centre of a spot is perfectly black. Round that centre or core there is a part called the nucleus which is a shade less dark. Round the nucleus again is a shaded region of lighter line still, called the umbra, and round which again is another region called the penumbra." But not only the penumbra but the umbra, not only the umbra, but

the nucleus, not only the nucleus but the deeper black which constitutes the core, shine really with the lustre far exceeding that of the electric light, though by contrast with the rest of the sun's surface, the penumbra looks black, umbra darker still, the nucleus deep-black and the core jet-black." A remarkable peculiarity has been observed in these spots. They always move in the same direction and those of them that last long enough are observed to complete the journey across the sun's disc in the same number of days, about 12 or 13 days. After they disappear at one edge of the sun's disc, they reappear at the other edge after remaining invisible for 12 or 13 days. From this it is clear that they travel round the sun, a complete revolution taking about 25 days. This remarkable movement which has been seen in the case of every spot which last long enough has led to the discovery of a fact equally remarkable, namely, that the whole sun, spots and all, turn steadily round and round like our earth, the period of rotation being about 25 days. Besides this apparent motion of the spots, which is not real motion but made to appear so to us owing to the body of which they all form part rotating in its axis, there are real changes and movements always going on in them. Sometimes they stand for weeks or months without any change. Sometimes very rapid changes are observed in them. This phenomenon is only explainable on the supposition that the visible portion of the sun is not a solid mass—is not even a liquid mass, but that the globe, as far as we can see it, consists of intensely heated matter in gaseous or vaporous condition. We might almost say that the spots are holes, by which we see through the brilliant surface into the interior and darker parts. Sometimes these spots close up and fresh ones open elsewhere. The movements of the heated gas which give out the sun's light probably cause these gaps and also their closing up.

Another mysterious law seems to govern these spots. Their number fluctuates from year to year, but the epochs of maximum sun-spots succeed one another with a certain degree of regularity, *i. e.*, a certain periodicity marks the recurrence of years rich and poor in these spots. This progression from maximum to minimum and *vice versa* is a steady change and is marked by a certain uniformity of character. The period on an average is eleven years. Another extraordinary feature noticed in connection with them is that a maximum of sun-spots is marked by an unusual amount of disturbance in the terrestrial phenomenon of

magnetism. This would go to show that there is some connection between these two phenomena, one solar and the other terrestrial, but what that connection is, is as yet not known. All these open up questions of profound interest which the future must unravel. I have barely touched even the fringe of a vast subject. I talked of the fairy land of science. The facts and discoveries I have had occasion to mention do indeed constitute

a poem more sublime and more enchanting than has yet been addressed to the imagination. The ideas involved in them beggar even those of Milton. So grand and great are they that their contemplation fills us with bewilderment. But great as has been the progress of knowledge in the past, more difficult are the problems which have to be grappled and solved in the future. Seeing what has already been done it bespeaks an ill-regulated mind to set any limits to the discoveries of science in the future. We are living on the inheritance which our forefathers have gained for us, and that which we acquire by the application and extension of the same methods that have in the past proved so potent in their hands, will in like manner, advance the knowledge and ennoble the life of our posterity. End there is none to the universe of God and end there is none to the limits of positive knowledge that it is permissible to us under His infinite wisdom to acquire and utilize for our ultimate and everlasting good.

B. K. BOSE.

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THE TREATMENT OF NATIVE RACES.

IN a short article on this matter it is not possible to deal with it exhaustively even as regards the situation of the moment; still less as regards the history of the past. The revelations which have been made in recent years as to the Congo are fresh in the minds of all those who are acquainted with the subject. The shocking contrast between the professions with which civilised Europe set out (at Berlin in 1885, and afterwards at Brussels) to lay down the principles upon which Central Africa was to be governed, and the practice of that spoilt child of Europe, the so-called Congo Free-State, or African Empire of the King of the Belgians, is familiar to all who care about the native African races. In a short article, however, it will be better only to deal with some cases of our own, premising that we are not the worst offenders, although perhaps we cannot claim to stand in the first place among the best.

Many will have noticed debates in the House of Commons ever since 1894 upon slavery in British Protectorates in East Africa. The state of things in the islands of Zanzibar and of Pemba has been somewhat improved in consequence of Parliamentary action: but the long coast strip which also forms a Foreign Office protectorate, known as British East Africa, is supposed to be covered by a promise which was made virtually to continue slavery, under circumstances as to which there has been some confusion. The promise is contained in a speech de-

livered by Mr., now Sir Lloyd Mathews, who was once a midshipman in the British service, and then for a long time general commanding the armies of the Sultan of Zanzibar, and Prime Minister of that Prince. When the Zanzibar coast was to be handed over by his master to us, General Mathews, addressing the chiefs, employed the language which is usual on such occasions, as to the continuance of existing laws and customs. Supposing that such language had been made use of by an officer of the British Government, under direct instructions, it is only language such as has been used in India over and over again, and it has never in India been held to imply departure from British law and custom with regard to slavery. Sir Arthur Hardinge, our representative at Zanzibar and in East Africa, took General Mathews under his wing. The grandfather of Sir Arthur Hardinge was himself Viceroy of India at the time, about that of my birth, when slavery was abolished throughout India. As long ago as 1818 Sir Stamford Raffles had abolished slavery by his famous proclamation at Bencoolen, and, although he had been reprimanded by the East India Company for having gone too fast, the abolition had stood in British Further India. When certain Malay States, in the earliest days of my service in Parliament, came under the Protection of the Crown, exercised through the Colonial Office, the moment that attention was called in the House of Commons to the existence there of slavery, the practice was put down; although in Further India the law of the Koran has remained in force; and although in India itself that law is observed as regards Mohammedans. In British East Africa a great scandal was produced some years ago by the Missions of the Church of England and of the British Nonconformist bodies being forced to surrender fugitive slaves. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in whose period of office the speech of General Mathews had been made, repudiated the construction which was put upon it. The then Attorney-General, Sir Richard Webster, declared that the action taken by our officials had been illegal. But it was a long time before the House of Commons succeeded in forcing Sir A. Hardinge to modify the principles upon which the British East Africa Administration had been proceeding. Bishop Tucker by his repeated letters the *Times* has kept the question to the front. Although scandals have recently been avoided, slavery is still virtually recognised in British East Africa, as far as the coast strip is concerned; as

the nation ought not to rest content until the legal status of slavery is abolished there as completely as it has been in India.

A matter which is still more pressing is that of the condition of the natives in the Transvaal. In the early days of the war many declarations were made as to our mission to improve the treatment of the natives, which was held to have been disgraceful under the Government of the South African Republic. Many of us have, indeed, been the enemies of the Boers through a long past on account of their native policy, and it is the more incumbent upon us to be satisfied that under British Administration things are to improve.

When the Industrial Commission granted in 1897 (after the Raid) by the Government of President Kruger to the Uitlanders held its sittings at Johannesburg, under the presidency of Executive-Councillor Schalk Burger, every witness who appeared before it on behalf of the Chamber of Mines and of the great enterprises of the Rand put first among their grievances the non-enforcement of the Pass Law. By the Pass Law natives cannot freely move about except they are, as it were, consigned to a definite white employer; and they are punishable with flogging for any second breach of the extremely minute regulations of the law. It was given in evidence that it was necessary to "protect" the natives on their way to the mines in charge of the agents of the mine owners, because otherwise they might be carried off or lured away by other employers. Various suggestions were made for keeping them in a state of more complete imprisonment. Not only does the Pass Law exist, but there is also a native labour clause to be found near the end of the latest of the Transvaal Gold Laws; and under this only whites can employ natives in the mines. Every native in the mines must be employed by a white, and every native negligent in his work may be flogged for a first offence. No doubt in asking for the enforcement of the Pass Law the witnesses had in view both the Native Pass Act, and also the Native Labour Clause of the Gold Act—an act procured by the Chamber of Mines who had presented it to the Government of the Republic, by which it had been accepted with this change in it, one change being made in relation to a very different matter. The horrible laws to which I have referred are still in force; and a South African Native Races Committee has been set on foot which has brought such matters to the notice of the Gov-

ernment. Very different plans are pursued, as is shown, in British South Africa for dealing with the natives. In Basutoland, for example, the natives are left alone. They supply an enormous quantity of grain, and of ponies to surrounding districts, and feed them with labour to the extent of 35,000 to 40,000 workmen in the year. On the other hand, the Glen Grey Act virtually introduced compulsory labour into portions of Cape Colony. In the distant past the British were superior to the Dutch in their treatment of the natives. In recent times the South African British have loudly proclaimed the Dutch to be right in this respect, and have openly regretted in the South African Republic that natives were treated there more favourably than in Cape Colony, which is indeed stated by several of the witnesses before the Industrial Commission of Enquiry.

The evidence of Mr. Hay, the Chairman of the Chamber of Mines, and Director of the great Robinson Company, was most interesting upon this point. His first answer with regard to it was, "We are all of us agreed that native labour is far too high" Q.: "The native is not willing to work and cannot be compelled to work?" A.: "Yes, especially in the Transvaal." Q.: "Do you think it would be desirable to get forced labour?" A.: "Yes."

It has also been stated by Mr. FitzPatrick, whose book is the text book of the British party in South Africa, that (as he puts it) *even* the Pass Law is not properly put in force; and that "Boys . . . desert" and are not "recaptured." The representative of the French group of mine-owners, in his evidence before the Industrial Commission of Enquiry, stated that Almighty God put the gold in the Transvaal, and must, therefore, have intended that it should be worked. This meant worked to pay; from which the witness derived the view that it must be right that the Pass Law should be enforced. He and others vaunted the Government of the Cape Colony as being better than that of the Transvaal because the Cape Government gave help to find "the material." This witness, like all the others, pointed out that the Pass Law had been voted by the wish of the Chamber of Mines, and thought it ought to be "fully enforced" by employment of "detectives." Not only was it shown that under the Labour laws no coloured person could be a license holder or connected with the gold industry except as a workman in the service of a white, but it came out that the term "coloured per-

son" includes every British Indian subject, every half caste, every Chinaman, and that, in one case, the son of a white British subject by a St. Helena half-caste British mother was treated as coloured, and brought under the Pass Law, involving flogging "at discretion" for any second offence, and "lashes at discretion," by the Gold Law, for negligent work.

It is intolerable that we should maintain in the Transvaal the native laws as they now exist. It is essential that throughout the British Empire we should proclaim that every subject of the King is entitled to the same protection of the law, and that every offence of the Penal Code is equally an offence whatever the colour or the condition of the sufferer. Such is the law of India; and we cannot have South Africa or East Africa inferior to India in this matter. After our declarations at the beginning of the war we have a specially deep responsibility to the black subject races of the late Republics; and it is for the electorate of the United Kingdom to see that we act upon this view.

CHARLES W. DILKE.

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THE TZAR, NICHOLAS II.

NICHOLAS II., present Emperor of all the Russians, the absolute master of 120,000,000 of his fellow-men, was a bright, but rather shy little boy of thirteen, when his father, Alexander III., crowned himself, amid circumstances of unparalleled pomp, in the Kremlin at Moscow in the early summer of 1883. After witnessing and describing all the festivities connected with the coronation I repaired to St. Petersburg to await and describe the arrival of the newly crowned Tzar and his consort in their capital on the Neva, and during the few days' interval before the coming of their Majesties every opportunity was given me to see all the sights of the magnificent city, and in particular the insides of all its palaces. Through these I was conducted by a military member of the Tzar's household; and I remember that the thing which most impressed, because it most surprised me, was the sight of the schoolroom of the imperial children in the Antchokoff Palace on the Nevski Prospect, which had hitherto, so to speak, been the Marlborough House of the Heir Apparent.

THE TZAR'S SCHOOLROOM.

This uncarpeted room was bare to severity, with desks and forms running all round it, just as if it had been a board school-house in one of the poorest villages of England: and the ornamentation of the walls had been added by the imperial children themselves, as if they had resolved to make up for the penury of their parents. The walls, in fact, had been pasted all over with pictures from the *Graphic*, respecting the chief battles of the Russo-Turkish war,—prominent among them being the crossing of the Danube at Simnitz, and the storming of the Gravitza Redoubt at Plevna, with the help of the Roumanians. Yet those warlike scenes, in the midst of which the present Emperor of Russia was taught his lessons, would appear to have ministered more to his love of art than to his love of arms—*magis arte quam Marte* being his private motto. Moreover, whenever his father, the Tzar Peace-keeper, talked to his children about his experiences in the war with Turkey, he generally closed his narrative

with such a remark as: "Boys, war is dreadful, horrible, beastly. May God ever keep you from seeing it, or from drawing a sword!" From the war-picture-pasted schoolroom, the aide-de-camp who was my guide, conducted me to the dormitories of the imperial children; and in proof of the parental love and tenderness which had ever been their portion, he mentioned to me the fact that no matter how late the Tzar returned home from brilliant ball or banquet, he would ever come slipping in to the side of each little cot, and cross himself, and stoop to kiss its slumbering occupant before himself retiring to rest.

It was no wonder that the Tzar peace-keeper was so beloved by all his children, and by none more so than by "Nicky" who is now seated on the throne of his father. The gentle "Nicky" has inherited his father's autocratic throne, as well as much of his father's character, yet no man ever looked less the son of his father than does Nicholas II. Like many children, he is much more the son of his mother than his father, who was a giant, a son of Afan, a man who, Hercules-like, could rive a horse-shoe in twain—the seeming incarnation of physical strength and will-power; in brief, the very outward ideal of an autocratic ruler of all the Russias; while his eldest son and successor looks the very reverse of all that. Perhaps, indeed, no one outwardly ever looked less what destiny has made him than the present Emperor of Russia; and from the mere sartorial, or philosophy of clothes point of view, it was even a cruel mistake of judgment on the part of the English Court to indue him with the honorary uniform of the Scots Greys, in the bearskin of whom their imperial Russian chief seems utterly lost.

HIS TASTES AND RECREATIONS.

But while thus presenting so striking a contrast to his father from the merely physical point of view, Nicholas II. has many things in common with Alexander III. He has, for example, the same simplicity and straightforwardness of character, the same truthfulness and hatred of hypocrisy, the same ardent religiosity of the Orthodox Greek type with a little more tolerance for other sects, the same aversion to show, the same love of peace and retirement, and the same horror of a drawn sword. It is perhaps the most peculiar anomaly of all in the character of Nicholas II. that the master of so many millions of fighting men should be so little of a soldier himself—by instinct I mean, though

course he has gone through the usual routine military training of his position, with his head at least, if not with his heart. Two years ago I stood close to him at the grand review in his honour at Châlons, the Aldershot of France, on the occasion of his visit to President Faure; but Nicholas II., in his showy scarlet uniform of the Guard Cossacks, did not seem to be in the least moved to enthusiasm by the superb military spectacle unrolling itself before him. It was a necessary ceremony like a reception at the Elyse'e—that was all. How sensitive is his heart, and how little calculated to withstand the horrors of a battlefield may be inferred from the fact that the catastrophe at Moscow, on the occasion of his coronation, when so many of his poorer subjects were crushed to death on the Khodynskoi Plain, laid him open to a severe attack of jaundice.

Not by any means keen as a soldier, Nicholas II. has also not very much enthusiasm for the chase, which has well been called the image of war; and even when he was at Balmoral, as the guest of the Queen, he made but a very poor figure as a deer-stalker. His outdoor pleasures are of a milder kind—walking, boating, cycling, and lawn-tennis, of which he is very fond, and also sketching, which he often practices in common with his consort. Only the tendency of the latter is all towards caricature, and once the young Empress scrupled not to exercise her striking faculties in this respect on her own husband—at his particular request, with a result which could not better have symbolised the proverbial uneasiness of the head which wears a crown. In this sketch, the Tzar is represented as a solemn, bearded, but bald infant, in long clothes, and tied into a high-chair. He is surrounded by a crowd of anxious relatives, Grand Dukes and Duchesses, flourishing feeding bottles and napkins, and each insisting on his being fed in a different way, so that the imperial infant, distracted by the well meant attentions of his friends, is beginning to look very piteous and to cry. I fancy that this sketch expresses the political situation at St. Petersburg, and sums up the sovereign character of the Tzar to perfection.

A HOME WITHIN A PALACE.

When in residence at St. Petersburg, the court inhabits the famous Winter Palace, which is built along the broad, majestic Neva, and is an edifice of such colossal extent that it is capable of quartering six thousand people—household officials and ser-

vants, guards, guests and their suites, &c. But, though facing the Neva on its north side, its proper front may be said to be towards the vast public square on the south with its tall bronze and granite column surmounted by a huge black-winged Victory, in memory of Alexander I., the antagonist of Napoleon. Few visitors ever cross this squire and approach the grand entrance to the Winter Palace without thinking of the Nihilist explosion, that, originating in a vaulted chamber under the guard-room, which in turn is immediately under the banquetting hall, was aimed at the life of Alexander II., Liberator of the Serfs, just about a year before he was borne back to his apartments in this same palace mortally mutilated in the most ghastly manner by the bombs of the same malignant revolutionaries.

These apartments are religiously preserved to this day in exactly the same condition they were in when Alexander II. breathed his last in them—and immediately next them are the suite of rooms tenanted by Nicholas II., and his consort, when resident in the capital. Nothing could be more striking than the contrast between those two suites of apartments—one with their sombre garniture and ghastly memories, and the other bright, simple, and cheerful as the comfortably furnished rooms of a middle-class English family, which, indeed, at first sight they seem to be. And no wonder; for they were furnished by a well-known London firm by express selection of the Empress, in whom the English-woman is perhaps more dominant—being, indeed, as she is, the child of her mother—than either the Germany of her birth or the Russia of her adoption. Pink crockery, cretonne-covered sofas, simple oak furniture, brightness, lightness and cheerfulness form the domestic environment of the present imperial couple of Russia, which contrasts very strongly with the heavy and cumbrous magnificence of their predecessors. And if you take a peep into the Emperor's study you almost fancy it to be the sanctum of a private English gentleman, with its trim cleanliness and order, its steel engravings on the walls, its framed photos of friends and favourites standing here and there, its brass-fendered fire-place, and its modern books and newspapers scattered about. Nothing gives greater pleasure to the imperial pair than to retire from the brilliant but tiresome functions of which the gorgeous State saloons in the Winter Palace are the frequent scene during the Court season, to taste the delights of simple domesticity in their own private apartments.

THE TZAR'S "RURAL COURT."

Nowhere in all Europe is any Monarch housed so magnificently as Nicholas II. in this Winter Palace of his, and yet it has no attractions for him as a residence, with all its sombre and saddening memories, in comparison with what may be called the Summer Palaces, in which he prefers to spend his time "far from the madding crowd" of courtiers. No monarch, moreover, has so many palaces in the immediate neighbourhood of his capital—palaces that were built to suit the particular fancies and freaks of his predecessors—Gatschina, the favourite resort of his father; Tzarskoë Selo—the erection of Catherine II; and Peterhof, as its name implies, the Versailles of modern Russia's immortal founder. But throughout the spacious grounds of each of these country palaces there are scattered a great variety of other minor châteaux and châteaux, Monrepos, Monplaisirs and Sans-Soucis; and it is in these lesser abodes of No-bother that the imperial couple of Russia prefer to hold their rural court, aiming as they do at leading an English country life as far as this is possible on the shores of the Gulf of Kronstadt. A visitor to the Tzar has said that life here reminded him vividly of existence at Sandringham in its simplicity, naturalness, and freedom from all restraint; and indeed it has been the aim of the imperial couple to model their family life as much as possible on that of their English relatives to whom they are so devoted.

It is at the small Alexander Palace in the grounds of Tzarskoë Selo, where this kind of existence is most attainable. The view from the terrace is very pretty with its spacious lake, on which are floating the miniature craft of all nations, while the park is a curious mixture of nature and art—a mosaic of white marble bridges, statues, and artificial ruins. Dinner is frequently taken in a quaint summer-house without the presence of servants. At the end of every course, a bell is touched, and the entire circular table descends through the floor into the culinary regions beneath, presently to re-ascend freshly laden in the manner of the Arabian Nights, or rather of the "Confidence Table" of Louis XV., which was adopted by Frederick the Great at Potsdam, and so passed on to the court to the great but dissolute Catherine of Russia. This "confidence table" was of course first devised to baulk the curiosity of listening servants at a time when they were richly bribed by foreign diplomafists to betray their master's secrets; but in the case of the Russian Court, even if

the old unscrupulous practices still survived, this result would be obviated by the fact that English—which is the mother-tongue of the Empress—is generally spoken at the imperial table. During the two previous reigns French was all the mode at the court of the Tzars—German being a hated and prohibited tongue. But now English bids fair to usurp the sway of French, and with it English habits and customs of various kinds, in the household of the present Emperor denote his predilection for the country of his cousin the Duke of York, to whom he is so devoted, and to whom, moreover, he bears so striking a resemblance, that, on the occasion of his marriage, the St. Petersburg Press announced that his Majesty, in the most fearless and winning manner, had gone out shopping on the Nevski Prospect.

HIS DAILY LIFE.

Nicholas II. has certainly shown that he is very much less nervous about his personal safety than was his Nihilist-terrorised father; but it would be a mistake to imagine that he dispenses entirely with the "agents of security" who used to attend upon the movements of Alexander II. with as much ubiquitous secrecy as characterised the clansmen of Rhoderick Dhu before summoned from their concealment in the heather by the whistle of their chief. If Nicholas II. could not go out deer-stalking at Balmoral without the near company of detectives from Scotland Yard as well as from St. Petersburg, how much less likely is he to omit these precautions when driving through the streets of his own capital, or even lounging in a garden-chair on the lawn of his little rural residence at Tzarskoë Selo, reading the latest story by his favourite Jules Verne, or glancing through a volume of Rudyard Kipling, of whose verses he is a great admirer. Prominent, too, among his favourite authors, of whom he has a goodly collection at the Alexander Châlet, are Stevenson and Scott. But his literary tastes are catholic, and lately, when one of his Ministers went to present his Majesty with a report, he found him deep in the perusal of Zola's "Paris."

But with all that, the youthful Tzar devotes himself courageously to the routine of official work, though for this he does not by any means possess the same iron capacity as his father, with his immense physical strength and powers of endurance. He trusts more in his subordinates than his father did, and that he is not endowed with the same clearness of judgment and

decision of character is proved by the published Armenian correspondence as to the coercion of the Sultan, which shows to demonstration that the Emperor of Russia did not know his own mind in the matter, and changed it repeatedly to suit the exigencies of the moment. The truth is that Nicholas II. of Russia, with all his virtues, does not seem to be endowed with a tithe of the force and character which distinguishes his fellow-sovereign, William II. of Germany. The latter had not been on the throne a month before it was abundantly clear that a sovereign of great originality and force had succeeded to the throne of Frederick the Great; but even now, after several years of sovereignty, it cannot be said of Nicholas II. that he has said or done anything that lets in very much light on his character, apart, of course, from his initiation of the Peace Conference, which was held at the Hague and which must always be counted to him as a shining landmark in the path of human progress. The one principal occasion on which he put his foot down with something like the emphasis of decided character was when he declared his firm resolution to walk in the autocratic footsteps of his father, of "imperishable memory;" and as for his attitude to the Graeco-Turkish war, it is known that he allowed himself at first to be more influenced by his political counsellors than by his own personal convictions.

TRAVELLING PALACES.

That the young Emperor, however, has courage of the physical kind was shown by his admirably cool demeanour when his life was attempted by a Japanese fanatic during his tour in the east as Tzarevitch; and of this tour, one of his travelling companions, Prince Ouchtomsky, has published a very elaborate account, which the Tzar is fond of presenting to his visitors as a token of his friendship or his favour. Gorgeously bound, these presentation copies of the Tzar's travels look like the huge prayer-book of that Orthodox Church, of which his Majesty is so devoted an adherent, so much so that he has a private chapel, in some cases several, in every one of his residences, including the imperial yacht "Standard," which is by no means the least splendid of his palaces. Equipped with a crew of over 300 officers and men it contains a dining saloon, capable of seating 80 guests, and of being converted into a concert room. Every member of the imperial family had been thought of in the

construction of this floating palace, and a special suite of rooms was assigned to the Empress-mother, to whom the Tzar continues to be tenderly devoted, writing to her every day when absent.

As for the special saloon-train used for the journeys of the imperial family, its splendour and domestic comfort simply defy description. For reasons of safety it never travels more than 35 miles per hour during the day time—which is a very slow rate even for a Russian train. But on the other hand Russia herself, in spite of the lack of that personal go-aheadness in her ruler, which is so marked a feature in the character of his fellow-Emperor at Berlin—has been lately travelling at a surprising rate of speed—especially towards the Far East. The contrast between the character of Russia's ruler and the forward policy of Russia herself is one of the most interesting mysteries of the time.

CHARLES LOWE.

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THE CHINESE PEOPLE.

THE two facts which make the Chinese at once the most extraordinary people of whom we have any knowledge are their enormous number and their antiquity. These, added to their isolated position, have combined to form a national character so complex, obstinate, and unlike that of any other nation that the Chinese almost seem to occupy a different planet to ourselves. We can see his outward shape, but of the true Chinaman,—the thinking, scheming being, the lurking soul which lies behind the impassive face, and dark, inscrutable eyes—we can form but a very hazy idea. At the best any estimate of the Chinese character is bound to be full of mistakes.

The history of the Chinese people emerges, partially, at all events, from the mists of mythology more than a thousand years before Christ. Ethnologically they belong to the Mongolian family, and throughout China proper the type varies only in the same degree as, for instance, in the different counties of England. There are still left in the south-west provinces remnants of races who were the aborigines of the country, and who preserve their dress and certain customs which are entirely distinct from the Chinese. They are far more like the Caucasian than the Mongolian type. The Manchus belong to the same family ethnologically, but are differentiated by an infusion of Turkic and Tungusic blood, being one of the races which, under Genghis Khan, became known as the Tartars. The Manchu language originally borrowed its written form from the Mongols, but is entirely different when spoken, belonging to the Turanian group, of which Turkish is the most prominent, while the Chinese is a purely Mongolic language, monosyllabic, and, in its written form, hieroglyphic or pictorial.

Literature plays an extremely important part in the life of the Chinese, and they possess a literature quite unrivalled in Asia, not only for its antiquity, but for its comprehensiveness. Confucius, their great Teacher, lived no less than 500 years be-

fore Christ, and the basis of all education is the learning by heart of his works and other classics.

GOVERNMENT APPOINTMENTS AND CHINESE LEARNING.

All Government appointments are reached through the portals of competitive literary examination, and the entrance examination takes place every three years in the capital of each department. The successful candidate may hold office, but is called on to go up for examinations again and again until, on reaching the highest grade, he passes the final at Peking for a doctor's degree, of which only 200 are given every year, and is thereupon entitled to immediate promotion. It is no uncommon sight to see two generations competing, in different grades, in the same examination hall, and an idea of the competition may be gained from the numbers at one of the triennial sittings, when 10,000 bachelors contended for 1,000 vacancies, of whom 200 only could ever reach the highest and final stage of doctor. There is, however, a back door to Government office, and a system is not unknown by which a substitute is employed, who passes the examination in the name of the aspiring candidate. The Government examining officials are bribed to wink at such evasions, and many are the stories current in China on this topic.

The effect of an education, at the same time severe and narrow, on the Chinese character is self-evident. The chains of superstition and custom which have been growing stronger and stronger for so many thousand years, are rivetted on the mind of the youthful Chinese by an education which insists solely on memorizing the classics. Strings of maxims, many wise and sententious, others merely the outcome of gross and ignorant superstition; long and fabulous histories, dating from a period when everything was expressed in the language of symbols, train the Chinese mind to a habit of thought both inelastic and tortuous. He is accustomed to *double entendre*, to subtle meanings and twists of rhetoric; at the same time he gains no knowledge of the modern world, of recent science, or of contemporary history. He is both highly educated and extremely ignorant, a child and a *servant*, and this system explains to a great extent the absolute crystallization of Chinese knowledge which makes her, once in the forefront of civilisation, many centuries behind the Western world to-day. To explain the causes which led to the adoption of such a system and shut off China from outside influence after

she had by herself attained to a high pitch of knowledge and refinement, would involve an examination of geographical and historical conditions outside the scope of this article.

RULING INSTINCT OF THE CHINAMAN.

We are, therefore, concerned with a people of unparalleled proportions, whose traditions have gathered force and intensity for thousands of years and given a permanence to their national character against which we may dash in vain our own superior qualities of mind and heart. It will take centuries even to modify this national character which to us appears at once so childish and enigmatical. Meanwhile let us take the Chinaman as he is, and discover, if possible, some *modus vivendi* with him. The great characteristic which the Briton and Chinaman have in common is the commercial instinct. The Chinaman is seldom a politician, save in a local sense, and never from choice a soldier, the military profession being held in contempt and being entirely subordinated to the civil officials; even the priesthood is looked upon as a low grade of life, and outside official ranks the merchant—even the petty trader—is held in the greatest repute. In a provincial town the leading banker ranks next to the perfect. Hard working, ingenious, economical, the genius of the Chinese is preeminently for trade. The very games of the children are all about buying and selling and the first words a baby is taught to lisp are the names of coins. A Chinaman, to quote "China in Transformation," "thinks in money." His first idea, on being shown any object is how much it cost, and his intimate conversation is almost entirely connected with the commercial side of affairs. Religion plays a very small part in his inner life, though superstition governs his lightest actions. Commercial integrity is both high and universal in China, although honesty is not counted as a virtue in private dealings, a fact affording an instance of the curious paradoxes so common in this country of topsy-turveydom. The Chinese, *par excellence*, is a shopkeeper, and no better description of him can be found than that given by the Abbe Huc, who describes him sitting behind his counter, waiting patiently for customers, and beguiling the time with calculations of possible profits on his little arithmetical machine. When the customer comes the merchant accepts eagerly the opportunity of the slightest profit, and drives the best possible bargain while in the evening his

great joy, when he has barricaded his shop, is to count up his earnings and calculate the day's profits. It is not mere greed which inspires this passion for commerce, it is the fascination of the sport, the hazard, the give and take of commercial life and the opportunities for individual skill in the actual bargaining. Even wealthy men like the Viceroys, have the same instinct, and are therefore open to bribes, which, indeed, play a most important part in official life. The system of bribing is so general and widespread as to have attained a certain respectability. It is a regular source of income to a large number of officials whose pay is wholly inadequate. The Chinese love for money gives impetus to this system of corruption, and it is difficult to imagine anything that a Chinaman would not do—short of dishonoring his ancestors—for a sufficiently large bribe. He is not, however, mean. He is generous, almost to a fault, when the mood takes him, lends freely, with little expectation of return, takes small account of trifles in settling a bill, and seldom sues for a debt.

The Japanese who by reason of their more picturesque qualities, are frequently compared with the Chinese, are wholly lacking in this distinctive feature of commercial morality, and whereas the spoken agreement is everywhere binding between traders in China, the smallest commercial transaction in Japan must be reduced to writing.

THE TWO SPIRITS OF THE RACE.

While on the subject of Chinese virtues, it must be said that the estimate of their character which makes them mere barbarians devoid of any feelings is totally inaccurate. The Chinese have several ideals which are not unworthy of the highest civilisation. Their self-control, to which they are trained from earliest infancy, surpassing the conventional impassibility cultivated by the youth of our own country, is akin to the stoicism of Sparta. Like ourselves, only in a far greater degree, the open display of emotion is considered ill-bred, and the Chinese have carried this principle to a point where speech itself is made literally to "conceal the thoughts."

This is the outside. Within lies dormant the soul of an ignorant child, half a savage. The courtliness of the mandarin, who is master of an etiquette rigorous and elaborate beyond that of any other people, does not proceed from any inner conscious-

ness of the meaning or worth of such ceremonial, but from long usage, and from an accretion of custom. Sometimes the slumbering volcano, fed by the meetings of the secret societies to which every Chinaman belongs, and by the press, whose influence is strong, is roused by some act which affects his private or communal rights, and bursts into a flame. Then rebellion stalks through the land, and, once he has given the rein to his passion, the peaceable orderly Chinese is a veritable fiend. It is the same in domestic life. Ordinarily a good husband—despite the inferior position of woman, which makes the wife merely her husband's servant—a loving father, a devoted son, a single moment's passion may rouse a man to deeds of cruelty unworthy of a savage. The domestic tie is, however, the strongest factor in Chinese life, and, as a rule, is seldom outraged.

There are two spirits, as it were, inhabiting each Chinese body. The one makes for peace and industry. Servants are not only hard working and skilful, but faithful and devoted. They are clever at expedients, quick to devise, and on the whole dependable. If your cook takes a day off without leave he will nevertheless provide an efficient substitute from his numerous relations, and if your dinner has gone wrong he will be able to borrow something quite as good from a friend. This model servant, "childlike and bland," to whom you feel such conscious superiority in every way, is at the same time capable of turning in one moment into an unreasoning, unthinking creature, mad with passion, thirsting only for blood. It is the "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde" phase of character, and can only be worked on by a steady course of conduct which will convince the man of your real desire for his welfare. The Chinese are, notwithstanding much assertion to the contrary, capable of this conviction, and once their confidence is gained there is little chance that their evil genius will turn them against those whom, from a commercial as well as a social point of view, they regard as friends. This possibility is not only personal but national, and in it lies the great hope for China in the future.

HOW TO DEAL WITH THE CHINESE.

Unfortunately their dealings hitherto with European Powers have not led them to a belief in the disinterestedness, or even the good will, of those Powers.

Whatever the outcome of the present crisis may be there can be no permanent settlement of the Chinese question which disregards these salient features of the national character, and which, treating them as savages—taking them at their lowest level—punishes their treachery and ignorance with fire and sword and the iron heel. Were they really savages this might be an effective, if hardly a Christian, method of reducing them to order. But they are a nation, a gigantic and by no means effete nation. We cannot dispose of them summarily.

We want to make them understand two things,—that the British nation has a definite object in view, and that she means to develop and not to extinguish the Chinese themselves.

Enough has been said, even in this brief sketch, to show that the Chinese nation is not a barbarian horde, but a people of distinct and powerful characteristics, capable not only of evil but,—with the virtues of commercial morality, of endurance and of industry,—of much good. China composes one-fifth of the world's population, and possesses unequalled resources. Whether it is to be portioned out among the Powers, or maintained as an independent empire does not affect the fact that this great mass of people have ideals and theories of life quite opposed to those of the nations who are squabbling for the prior right to carve up their country.

If Great Britain decides to play a part commensurate with her interests, she must not be dragged at the heels of such a policy as that dictated by the German Kaiser. We cannot drag the Chinese into submission to us, and without their friendship we can do little. To gain their friendship we must not make the mistake of truckling to their peccadilloes, but uphold our own national ideals, and at the same time show them that they will gain and not lose by co-operation with us.

ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN.

INDIA AND THE NEW IMPERIALISM.

THE constant appeals which Mr. Chamberlain and other prominent politicians of Great Britain make to the imperialistic aspirations of the nation do not produce a reassuring effect on the people of India. In the expansion and growing power of the British Empire, India has, indeed, the greatest interest possible. In fact, England's greatness is the very foundation of India's future prosperity. A weak and corrupt England will in a short time lose her supremacy in this country, and the experience of the great Roman Empire twelve centuries ago will be repeated in India in the twentieth century. If India is to be redeemed from her present fallen condition, if she is to become rich and happy, England should be powerful and prosperous. The growing attachment between England and her wide colonial possessions, and the constant efforts made by leading politicians to draw together more closely than ever the bonds of union between the two, India does by no means regard with jealousy. But as an important part of the great imperial edifice, India looks with eager eyes on the benefits she expects from this growing consolidation of the British Empire.

The present feeling of the Indian people in regard to their political situation is one of dismay and despair, and the Government of India, as carried on during these six years under the direction of the Tory ministers in general, and of Lord George Hamilton in particular, has presented no ray of hope for the future. Famine, pestilence and war, to which India has been a victim for some years, have only deepened this blank feeling of despondency. Ever since the Marquess of Ripon left these shores, a policy of disregard for the best interests and the most tender feelings of the people, and a most unwarranted distrust in their loyalty and good feeling, has been pursued by their rulers. During these sixteen years, taxation has increased, revenues have been collected with greater vigour, and the material condition of the people has much deteriorated. Two great famines have occurred besides small ones, and besides taking away the life of hundreds of thousands of people, they have left the condition and work-

ing power of millions more in a state of permanent wreck. The State has spent on these two famines more than twenty crores of rupees, and the people themselves have lost many more crores of their property in the shape of agricultural produce, horned cattle, and their previous savings. In the earlier years of the period I am referring to, the Government of India had spent large sums every year to meet the loss from the exchange of their revenues received in the silver coin of the country for the sterling money of England, and under this pretence large additions were made to the fiscal burdens of the people. But within recent years, exchange has improved and has saved to the Government millions of money. Still all these savings have been absorbed in military expenditure and in famine relief, and the poorer classes sinking under their oppressive burdens have received no relief from the State. The dreadful poverty of the people, the increasing burdens on them, the general discontent which is spreading slowly among the lower orders as the result of expanding education and intelligence, famine, disease, all these are assumed to be necessary and unalterable features of Indian life, to be visitations of Providence which no human ingenuity can hope to avert or cure by its interference. Public opinion has for many years pointed to important and pressing reforms in the general administration and in the fiscal policy of the Government. But no disposition is shown by responsible rulers to take them into their consideration. Great hopes are entertained that Lord Curzon will prove wiser than his predecessors; will do something to mark the originality and far-seeing wisdom of his statesmanship. Other viceroys have been content to be guided entirely by the so called "Experts" of the bureaucracy. They, no doubt, honestly and efficiently discharged the duties that came to their hand from day to day, but thought little of those great reforms which are necessary to secure the future well-being of the country.

It is hoped that Lord Curzon will rise above this average of Indian statesmanship. But his last speech in his Council in Simla on famine is disappointing. He made that speech, he said, with the object of demonstrating to the Indian public that in the administration of the famine he and his Colleagues in the Government had not been unworthy of their trust and that this year of storm and suffering would not have passed away without their profiting by its lessons. So far as the first part of this ob-

ject is concerned, he might have entirely spared himself the trouble, for the Indian public had not the shadow of a suspicion that the Government of India, during this mournful period of suffering and distress, were unmindful or unworthy of their trust. On the other hand, of the liberal help that came from Great Britain and her colonies and of the devotion and sacrifice that marked the work of the officials in administering relief to the suffering multitude, the people of India, even in these Provinces which the terrors of famine did not reach, have a most vivid and grateful appreciation. But in regard to the lessons by which the Government propose to profit, Lord Curzon's remarks are entirely disappointing; for he assumes that the famine is a national malady which no human effort can prevent or cure, but of which the evils can only be palliated by careful preparations when it is actually on the land pursuing its appalling career. As the result of the investigations which have been undertaken, the Famine Code will be further subjected to amendments though there is no guarantee that, when next time a famine has to be combated, the then Government of India would not set aside its chief provisions as Lord Curzon found it necessary to disregard some of the recommendations of the Lyall Commission of 1898. Famine Codes are excellent things, no doubt, for without them the famine campaign will prove a disastrous failure. But something more than the perfection of the Famine Code should be done if India is to be contented and prosperous, and is to be saved from these crushing misfortunes which happen, not once in a century, but recur at intervals of a few years. The Famine Commission of 1878 surmised that a serious famine would recur once in twenty years; but between the two last famines there was hardly an interval of two years.

It is a great mistake to suppose that when a famine once occurs and disappears, its worst evils have been done. Administrators and Finance Ministers may marvel, for their purposes, at the recuperative power of the country. But a great famine such as the one that has now happily come to an end, has left thousands of families with fortunes permanently wrecked, and stories of families that separated and were ruined during the famine of 1878 may still be heard in the rural parts of Southern India. Millions of working men have their health shattered permanently and are left disabled from earning an honest livelihood by hard work. Each time that a famine sweeps over the land, the

vitality of the people is reduced and a progeny of weak and sickly children issue, bringing forth, in its turn, another, still weaker and more sickly. A famine seldom occurs without being preceded by a year or two of scarcity; and after it is officially declared to be at an end, a year or two more of privation and hard pinching follow. So that, a famine means about five years of more than the usual scanty feeding to the millions of labourers and poorer class of farmers, on whom the gaunt spectre lays the weight of its crushing hand. The six millions of people that were saved from death by public charity and the sixty millions that remained at home preferring starvation and misery to the indignity of seeking relief in public relief camps could not be the same in their means and in their health that they were before the ravages of the calamity commenced. These frequent visitations, added to the normal lot of poverty and ill health to which the great bulk of the population are victims more or less throughout their life, are gradually producing a mass of people without health or strength, deformed in body, stunted in growth, unfit for hard and sustained work, morose in temper, reckless and cheerless—in fact, a people, who cannot enjoy life, who are moved by no hopes or aspirations, and who care less for a healthy and happy perpetuation of the species. Far from the rapid growth of the population indicating prosperity, it indicates in this country a life which means no responsibility, has no pleasure to be missed, nor hopes to be fulfilled. Such a people multiply in the most careless fashion possible. They must become in course of time an embarrassing burden to any civilised state. In a country where there is no wealth, no industry, no incentive to progress, a civilised administration must be well nigh an impossibility. And indeed it is already becoming such in India.

For nearly twenty years the history of the Government of India has been a history of its struggle against financial difficulties. The cost of the administration is steadily increasing, but the revenues to meet that cost are not forthcoming in sufficient abundance. Tax is piled upon tax and the ryot is squeezed and squeezed, until he has hardly a drop of blood left in him. Discontent and despondency prevail everywhere, seeking vent in occasional outbursts which to put down the Government has recourse to repressive legislation. Higher education, Municipal Government, and political organizations are brought under a ban, and a general policy of reaction guides the rulers.

That the difficulties of a progressive administration are dangerously increasing from the growing impoverishment of the people is evident from the fact that ever since the Marquess of Ripon left India, everyone of his successors has confessed his inability to undertake a single measure of internal reform calculated to improve the material condition of the people or to allay their growing discontent, notwithstanding the most earnest desire and the most anxious intention to undertake such measures. England holds India that mutual benefit may follow. India is indebted to England for the peace and order that prevail from its one end to the other. England has also given us security of person and property and political freedom. But these latter boons are becoming more difficult of realisation, for increasing poverty is stimulating crime, and property and person are no longer as safe and secure as they ought to be under a strong and resourceful Government such as Great Britain has established. Riots, dacoities, murders and kindred offences are as rife as ever, if they are not increasing. Lord Curzon has, indeed, endeared himself to the people by his stern sense of justice, by demonstrating to the people that British Justice is even handed and regards no accidental differences in color or creed. He has arrested the spread of a general impression that between the white and the black subjects of His Majesty, no such thing as impartial justice can be expected. Other appliances of modern civilization such as Railway and Telegraph have been introduced. But peace, order, security, justice and civilization in general—what good are these to a people who are ground down by poverty, are weak in body and smitten by disease, who cannot work and cannot enjoy life? This growing poverty which the people do not hesitate to attribute to the excessive taxation of British rule, is making it unpopular and is neutralising the effect of the great boons that it has conferred on them. Lord George Hamilton more than once said in Parliament that British rule being an alien rule, it was bound to fail to win the affections of the people. As usual, this idea of his is an extremely shallow one. Why should the Indian people, who have been under a foreign sway for over a thousand years, whose religion, social system, and past history are such that they have been, until the establishment of British rule, entirely incapable of conceiving a national political existence, and to whom it used to be immaterial whether a *Rama* or a

Ravana was the king—why should they dislike British rule in spite of the most valuable benefits which it has conferred on them and which are thoroughly appreciated by them? And if the Indian people disliked it, would there have been that marvellous outburst of loyalty which was witnessed at the commencement of the recent wars? British rule is unpopular not because it is alien, but because the burden it imposes on the people is becoming unbearable. The blessings of British rule or of a rule strong and enlightened like it, are only for a strong and rich and buoyant people, but not for a people impoverished, depressed and despondent.

Nor can Great Britain long continue to derive the same benefits from her Indian possession in the face of the growing impoverishment of its people. We shall suppose that they will continue to pay the 18 millions of taxation which England exacts as the price of her rule in India. But the profits that the British people now derive from their trade with India cannot possibly increase, although in the aggregate, the amount of these profits is very large—reaching, according to the calculation of some people, about 20 millions a year. Yet, the share of the British trade which, in an average, each individual of the whole population takes, is hardly a couple of shillings a year. Articles of British manufacture are now consumed entirely by the small class of Indians educated in English or under the influence of a direct contact with English residents, but have not penetrated below into the huge mass of the cultivating and labouring classes. What the trade of Britain with India will be, if these latter classes were well to do, educated and progressive, can well be imagined. The English people are wise enough to know that it is far more profitable to carry on trade with a prosperous and advancing nation which develops fresh wants, and is ambitious of an honorable national existence, than to be the rulers of an effete, tame, and poverty-stricken people, whose wants are few and whose only ambition is somehow to live and to propagate. The British people are proud of their colonies and, strong in the assurance of their help in times of trouble, their statesmen boldly hurl defiance at other nations whom political or commercial jealousy may move into hostility to Great Britain. But before the colonies can become as populous as India is, several centuries must elapse, and apart from the needs of warlike times, the exigencies of the British

nation in peaceful times, including the necessary outlets for the products of their art and industry, can be more easily and quickly supplied by their Indian dependency than by their colonies, if only the 300 millions of the dependency be prosperous enough to buy and enjoy these products.

Historians say that no state can thrive long which has not the support of a strong, wealthy and progressive middle class; and the neglect of rulers in past times to bring such a class into existence has brought about the ruin of mighty empires. There is absolutely no sign that such a class is being formed in India. The only class approaching it in resources and in intelligence are the Indian officials and followers of various learned professions, whom British rule has brought into existence, and who live mostly in towns. They are an extremely small class and exercise no influence whatever on the commerce or industry of the country. They are not a wealth-producing but are a wealth-consuming class. Their existence in towns operates as a drain on the slender resources of the villages, where the bulk of the people live. The large numbers of officials, lawyers, schoolmasters, doctors, and others who ply their professions in towns, draw away a large portion of the wealth which in former times used to remain in villages and nourish village industries. There is a constant transfer of wealth going on from villages to towns in India, and the Indian towns, unlike towns in western countries, do not feed the village population. No great industries flourish in Indian towns, and give employment to the village labourers who may resort to towns in quest of labour when cultivation does not require their presence in their villages. Nor is the surplus produce of the villages wholly consumed in towns, for the great portion of it is exported to foreign countries. A middle class such as will prove the true pillar of the state must be constituted by thriving landholders and by a prosperous community of manufacturers and merchants. Such a class has yet to be formed in India.

Rains having fallen in most parts of the country and good harvests having been expected, Government in March last, expressed its admiration of the recuperative power of the peasantry of India. But so did Government at the end of year 1897. The famine of 1896-97 was followed by abundant harvests, and Government was glad that the recovery of the country had been more rapid than it had anticipated and that the general condition of the people, as evidenced by the returns of trade and of revenue, was

prosperous. Still, while these very words were spoken, the country was in the throes of another dire famine which proved more intense and disastrous than the one on the cessation of which it was congratulating itself. Speaking in the Legislative Council in March 1899, Sir James Westland said:—"the Famine of 1896-97 is now little more than a memory, its effects being obliterated by the return of prosperous seasons." But while saying this, he was only too painfully aware how shortlived the effects of prosperous seasons are in this country, for he felt bound to add the following melancholy admonition to the Government of India in general and to his successor in particular. "I cannot however pass," he said, "from the subject without deriving from it one lesson, which it seems to me to afford—namely, that the margin between prosperity and adversity in India must be a very narrow one, for if we have learned that one bountiful harvest suffices to restore the country after a widespread and severe famine, we have learned also that the failure of the seasonal rains in a single month of the year is sufficient to set back a full tide of prosperity; and that this is a possibility which, in the administration of India, and in its financial administration especially, we dare not leave out of account." Such is the precarious condition of the agricultural classes, and there is no certainty that the prosperity that will follow this year's or next year's good harvest will not be as short-lived as the prosperity that followed the good harvest of 1897 and 1898. Is not this precariousness, this narrow margin between prosperity and adversity, a serious economic evil calling for the most serious consideration of the Government? The so-called recuperative power of the people is a delusion and a snare, they sinking deeper in the slough of indebtedness every time that Government applies the screw to extort its revenues from them. The great majority of the landholders are exceedingly small farmers whose lands yield barely enough to pay for their labour. But in the case of those that own fairly large properties the heaviness of the Government's demands and the revision of these demands at intervals of 20 or 30 years, each revision invariably ending in an enhancement of the amounts demanded by Government, render any accumulation of profit impossible. Thus most of the agricultural classes are deeply immersed in indebtedness, while the rest manage to eke out a bare subsistence from the lands they own.

If only the policy that found favour with British Indian rulers in the early sixties had been adopted, a different state of things would be obtaining at present. It was the policy of Lord Canning and Lord Lawrence, and had the hearty support of Lord Halifax. They expressed their conviction that by fixing in perpetuity the demands of the State on the landed property of the country, a loyal and prosperous middle class would be created and their prosperity would reflect on the general prosperity of the whole population. Lord Halifax expected great political and economical advantages from such a policy. It would stimulate or confirm, he said, the peoples' sentiment of loyalty and attachment to British rule and would afford facilities for the gradual growth of a middle class connected with the land, without dispossessing the present proprietors and occupiers. "To give to the intelligent, the thrifty and the enterprising their condition," said Lord Halifax, "by opening to them the opportunity of exercising these qualities can be best accomplished by limiting the public demand on their lands. When such men acquire property and find themselves in a thriving condition, they are certain to be well affected towards the Government under which they live. It is on the contentment of the agricultural classes, who form the great bulk of the population, that the security of the Government mainly depends. . . . Her Majesty's Government confidently expect that a people in a state of contentment and progressive improvement, will be able without difficulty to contribute to the revenues in other ways to such an extent as more than to compensate for the disadvantage of foregoing some prospective increase of that from land." These were the views that prevailed in the years that followed the great Mutiny, when the Government's desire was strong to conciliate the people by wise concessions. But this desire grew weaker as the loyalty of the people became more manifest, till at last the chronic financial difficulties of the Government took away from it all courage and sympathy, and, in the year 1883, a despatch arrived from the Secretary of State for India formally abandoning the policy (of permanent settlement of land revenue) laid down in 1862. It is, however, never too late to do a good thing. The financial difficulties caused by the depreciation of the rupee have been surmounted by the legislation of 1893, and henceforth, if there be no famine or war, the finances of India may be expected to show steady prosperity, enabling the State to

make some temporary prospective sacrifice of limited extent in order to secure the permanent well being and abiding attachment to British rule of the great masses of Indian people. Moderate demands from Government, fixed in perpetuity, will banish these famines from India as it is expected that they will do, then the millions of money that Government has to spend in famine relief—the last two famines have cost 15 millions sterling—not to speak of the dislocation of the administrative machinery and the retardation of all progress for the time being—will be averted. The Marquess of Ripon attempted to introduce a modified system of permanent land revenue, but that too was vetoed by the then Secretary of State. Besides fixing in perpetuity the demands of the state on landed property, there are other means of improving the condition of the agricultural classes and forming a prosperous middle class. The old indigenous industries having died out or being in the process of extinction on account of the ceaseless inroads of the cheap machine-made foreign articles, agriculture is virtually the one national occupation in India, and consequently there are parts where the pressure of population on the land has reached a point positively dangerous to the well-being of the people. The pressure in some districts in Bengal has reached the astonishing figure of over 800 to a square mile; in the North Western Provinces and Oudh, twenty-one districts have a population of over 500 to a square mile; in the Punjab 86 have a rural population rising to 400 per square mile in the Madras Presidency the density varies from 583 per square mile in the district of Tanjore, and 515 in Vizagapatam to 9 in Kurnool. In Bombay the density of normal population nowhere reaches a high figure; but the census figures indicate that in some districts the struggle for subsistence is very severe. To relieve this perilous state of congestion in many parts of the country, the Government of India under Lord Dufferin considered a scheme of Emigration to Burma. As the author of the annexation of Theebaw's dominions Lord Dufferin had the satisfaction that "it will help to solve the problem of relieving the congested tracts of India on a scale and in a manner which could never have been obtained by emigration to the limited and unhealthy area of the Central Provinces." The Chief Commissioner of Burma was ever instructed to collect information which would show the area of waste land available for cultivation, the nature of the soil, the

character of the cultivation practised in the vicinity, the climatic conditions of the neighbourhood, the routes by which the land might be reached and the conditions under which the land was to be leased. This information was to be published in all provinces of India and people in over-crowded tracts were to be given every reasonable inducement to seek their fortune in Upper Burma. But Lord Dufferin's successors were so overwhelmed by financial difficulties that all their energies were exhausted in combating them; and latterly the two famines have fully taxed the energy of the Government.

But it is not alone from one part of the British Indian Empire to another part that emigration is possible. As a fact in almost every British Colony are Indians found as labourers, petty traders and money lenders; and in some colonies there is a great demand for Indian labour. In the Protected Malay State, for instance, and in the Straits Settlements generally, the authorities offer strong inducements to Indian labourers to emigrate to those parts and work at the construction of railways and others large public works, which are delayed from scarcity of labour. In his report for the year 1899, the Resident General of the Federated Malay States says: "We are now in position of offering free passages, very high wages, quarters, medical attendance, and perfectly reasonable work in a climate similar to that of their own homes, but we cannot induce the surplus labouring population of India to leave their over-populated land for an easy life and plenty in the Malay Peninsula." There must be something wrong in the condition of emigrants in the Malay Peninsula to account for this apathy; because, as a fact, Indians are not averse to emigration to foreign lands, as is shown by the large number of Indians settled in South Africa, Mauritius, Ceylon, and Zanzibar and even in Fiji Islands. Even in the Straits Settlements there are already large numbers of Indians, although more are wanted. If only the Government of India will give to the Indian working population an assurance that in these strange and distant countries they will be properly taken care of and that they are sure to get what they are promised by the emigration agents, there will be no paucity of Indian labourers in these colonies. The barbarous treatment that the Indian settlers in South Africa receive from their white fellow subjects has necessarily a deterrent effect on the would-be emigrants from India. Lord Curzon belongs to the imperialistic school of British

politicians and if there is any sincerity in the pretentious talk about the equality of rights among the constituent countries of the British empire, he will give his best attention to the question of Indian emigration to British colonies as one of the solutions of the great problem of Indian poverty, and begin by affording adequate redress to the just grievances of the Indian settlers whose treatment is little short of a scandal and a disgrace to civilisation.

There is yet another direction in which relief might be sought for the poverty of the Indian people, and foundation laid for the formation of a thriving middle class; and that is the gradual creation of other industrial and productive occupations than agriculture. The old indigenous industries have died out, what new industries have sprung to take their place are mostly under the management of foreign capital and talent. How to enable the intelligence and enterprise of indigenous India to take a share in the industrial renewal of the country and thereby not only divert from agriculture large numbers now depending on it for their livelihood, but also create other than agricultural wealth, and diminish the evils arising from failure of rain and deficient harvests, is a problem to which British Indian rulers cannot give too much of their attention. This can be done only by giving to the younger generations such industrial and practical education as will enable them to convert the raw produce and natural materials to be found in abundance in every part of the country into articles of utility and thus to relieve the people from their dependence on foreign countries for almost every article of daily use. It is this dependence that is the chief cause of the dangerous drain of the wealth of India that is going on from year's end to year's end, and to stop this drain is possible only by accomplishing as far as possible the industrial independence of India. The University of Research of which that eminent Parsee philanthropist of Bombay Mr. J. N. Tata is contemplating the establishment, will be an important step in this direction. But this great object is not one that can be attained by private philanthropy alone, it requires all the resources that the Government of India can make available for the purpose with a full sense of its importance. These and other questions Lord Curzon did not touch upon in his speech at Simla, and has caused great disappointment among his Indian admirers. Nor do the imperial politicians in England seem to care much for the critical condition into which their great Indian dependency

is drifting. Their eyes are on the colonies and, blood being thicker than water, England's tenderness and sympathy are reserved for her colonies. When *they* have to be conciliated, British statesmen do not complain of their want of a bottomless purse. But when India appeals for help, the claim of British tax-payers are brought out and the ethics of financial independence is dilated upon in all solemnity.

G. SUBRAMANIA IYER.

THE MALABAR TENANTRY.

DURING the course of a century of British rule the customs and usages relating to the Malabar land tenures have undergone great and radical alterations. These alterations had the effect of depriving the tenantry of several of their valued rights and privileges. The attempts of the Legislature, though repeated more than once, to restore to them something of their old position have hitherto proved unsuccessful. It may not therefore be uninteresting if I attempt in the course of this article to sketch the history of the system of land tenure as it obtained in Malabar, pointing out and contrasting the position which the tenantry occupied both before and subsequent to the occupation of that District by the British in 1792 A. D.

The land laws of Malabar possess no code; nor are they contained in any systematic treatise. The customs and usages which have grown up around the rights and duties of the agricultural classes, form what may be designated as the common law of Malabar. The systems of land tenure sanctioned by these usages possess certain fundamental characteristics which distinguish them from those obtaining in other parts of India. Nowhere else do we find a system of feudal polity wherein the prevailing modes as to the possession and enjoyment are so many and involved as in the tract of country known to ancient geographers of India as Keralam consisting of the modern provinces of *Cannara*, *Malabar*, *Cochin* and *Travancore*. One of the distinguishing principles of Malabar law lies in its conception of private property in land. According to that law it is assumed that the lordship of the whole soil of the District is vested in a handful of men locally known as *Jemmies*. So complete indeed was their dominion over their estates that they were not under any obligation to pay land tax during all the time that Malabar was under her native kings. Though the British Government would not respect their claims to be exempted from the payment of taxes, the *Jemmies* have been recognised to be absolute proprietors of their estates. In their despatch of 17th December 1813 relating to the settlement of Malabar the

Court of Directors observed that in Malabar they had no property in the land to confer, with the exception of forfeited estates. (*vide* Revenue Selection, vol. 1, p. 511, and I. L. R. 9 M. 180.) "There is no reason to suppose that private landed property, ever at any time existed upon the same footing over the greater part of India. From Pulicat to Ganjam, in the Ceded Districts and Coimbatore, it seems to have been always as now, little known, except as *Enam* from the Sovereign. Along the Malabar Coast . . . it seems to have existed from a remote period." (Sir Thomas Munro's Minute, 31st December 1824). The prominent and essential qualification of the *jenmam* right of Malabar is that which vests in the holder thereof an absolute property in the soil (see Warden's Report). Innumerable authorities could be cited to prove the position that the British Government in the early years of the last century recognised that the *Jemmies* possessed absolute proprietary interest in their estates. It therefore follows that there can be neither analogy nor similarity between Malabar *jenmies* and landlords like *Zemindars*, *polygars*, &c., of the East Coast who are only qualified owners of their estates. It is the recognised law in other parts of India that the land belongs primarily to the Sovereign and that the subjects have only a qualified interest therein. This distinction has been productive of various and important consequences. While the relations between the *Zemindar* and other landlords are regulated by legislative enactments, the *jenmi* remains free and untrammelled by any restrictions in his dealings with his tenants.

We have said that the *Jenmi's* title has been identified as the counterpart of the *English freehold*. We shall find that this view is the result of a false conception of the position of the *Jenmi* and of applying European ideas of property to systems of Malabar land tenure. No doubt the position which the *Jenmi* occupied in pre-British days has always remained a subject of controversy. It is unnecessary if not impossible to refer to the opinions of all those writers who have investigated the subject.

From amidst the several and conflicting authorities we can form a tolerably correct account of the state of the agricultural classes of Malabar in pre-British days. There can be no question that the *Jenmi* was the proprietor of the soil, but he had certainly none of the powers possessed by an English landlord. He had no right to eject his tenants while the rent due to him had been fixed by custom. It is a mistake to import European

ideas of property into the land laws of India. Nowhere has this mistake been more unfortunate in its consequences than in investing the Malabar *Jenmi* with the rights and powers of an English landlord.

The *jenmies* being an aristocratic class had to farm out lands on subordinate tenures. *Kanomdars* hold a prominent place among these inferior tenure holders. Under the tenure known as *Kanom* the tenant has to deposit with the *jenmi* as security for the due payment of rent a sum of money generally not more than the value of one year's rent. The rent payable will not be more than one-half of the net produce after deducting the cost of seed and cultivation and interest on the sum deposited as security. The *Jenmi* continued the tenant by means of a system known as *Policheshuthu*, i.e., renewing the deed on payment of a periodical fee which was in the nature of a succession duty payable on the death of either the *jenmi* or tenant or once in twelve years. When the *jenmies* wanted money it became customary for them to borrow from the *Kanom* tenants who deducted from the rent the interest on the sum so lent. When the sum thus borrowed becomes so large that the interest thereon extinguishes the rent, the *Kanomdar's* interest becomes what is known as *otti*. An *otti* holder as distinguished from *Kanomdars* has the right of preemption in case the *Jenmi* wishes to sell the land.

Verumpattam is another tenure common in Malabar. The tenant deposits no security, and he has to pay to the landlord as rent the whole of the produce after deducting the cost of seed and cultivation. This lease runs generally for a term of one year. These form the most important of the various tenures under which Malabar tenants hold their lands.

We may, I think, conclude that in pre-British days the *Jenmi* was the theoretical but not the practical owner of the soil and that he out of necessity must have farmed out lands to *Kudians* or tenants under the several sorts of tenures we have before imperfectly described. But the *Jenmi* could in those days never exercise all the rights of a landlord. He had no right to raise the rent which was fixed and defined by custom. He could also not oust a tenant except under circumstances declared to be legal and proper by custom. In the opinion of the Board of Revenue—"it seems evident that the *jenmam* property is not so much in the land as in the income of it; the land was so

much more the property of the kanakar than that of the jenmika, for the Board have not been able to discover that the proprietor has the power to raise the *patton* or jenmika's income." The result was that in those days the tenants had something like permanency of tenure and fixity of rent. The relation between landlord and tenant was cordial and friendly and the country enjoyed in consequence prosperity and abundance. Foreign travellers who visited Malabar in the 16th and the 17th centuries give a glowing account of the wealth and honesty of its inhabitants. Such or nearly such seems to have been the state of the country during the centuries which preceded the occupation of Malabar first by the Mysorians and subsequently by the British in the middle and in the closing years of the 18th century respectively.

In 1763 A. D., Hyder Ali of Mysore invaded and conquered Malabar. Though Mohomuddan occupation was not of sufficiently long duration yet Hyder, for the first time in the history of the District, imposed a regular land tax. In 1792 the British occupied the country but the land tax was retained. In 1793 the joint Commissioners, ignorant of the rights of the Kanomdars and other tenants and conversant only with the European ideas of property, authorised the jenmies as proprietary owners to sue and oust Kanomdars from their holdings. In the same year regular courts were established. Indeed the year 1793 marks an important epoch in the history of land tenure in Malabar. In the light of the remarks which have already been made it becomes apparent that the imposition of the land tax and the investiture of the Jenmies with the power of evicting tenants are innovations of no insignificant character. They have in fact completely revolutionised the economic aspects of the agricultural classes. For the first few years of British rule the old order of things continued. The peace and security enjoyed under that rule made the people prosperous and wealthy. The land became more and more valuable. Then it was that the consequences of the changes effected in 1793 began to be felt. The Jenmies began to exercise their newly vested rights. They came to occupy a position which they never could do in pre-British days. They became both theoretically and practically the lords of the soil. Instead of demanding the rent fixed by custom they fixed it by competition. The effect of this change was soon felt. As remarked by Mr. Logan in his Manual, the country teemed

with false deeds, the courts were crowded with litigants. Matters continued in this unsatisfactory condition till at last the squatters or cultivators with whom the revenue settlement had been made by the Mysorians and continued by the British Government were mostly induced or compelled to attorn to some neighbouring Jenmi. The tenants on the other hand gained out of this struggle some privileges which are not at present enjoyed by ryots holding from proprietors in any other part of the presidency where the courts recognise a similar power of eviction. One was that the usual local form of lease—the Kanom—should run for 12 years; another was that the tenant should on eviction receive compensation for his improvements. Both these rights are the offsprings of pure judge-made law. But in the course of the first-half of the century they became thoroughly engrafted with the customary law of Malabar.

In spite of these privileges which the Kanom tenants have obtained there can be no doubt, as will presently be seen, that the changes which have been effected in the customary law have prejudicially affected the interest of all classes of tenants. We have said that the bulk of the tenants in Malabar hold their lands either on simple lease or on Kanom tenures and both have suffered by the jenmi's exercise of this new power of eviction. The simple tenant was and is nothing but a cultivating labourer. His holding is the one thing he can hold his own. The pernicious effects of fixing rent by competition of labourers have been clearly set forth in his Manual of Political Economy by the late Mr. Fawcett. What he says of Cottier tenants may with very little change be applied to the Malabar tenantry. In the case of Malabar tenants as in that of Cottier tenants it is population and not capital which competes for the land. The simple tenants are miserably poor, possessing absolutely nothing in the shape of capital. When therefore they compete for a plot of land it is absurd to suppose they calculate the rent they are willing to pay by considering whether capital would secure a higher rate of profit in some other investments; they are themselves fit for no other employment and all the capital they possess would scarcely realise more than a nominal sum. To a simple tenant the possession of a plot of land is not a question of profit but of subsistence; and consequently in any District the more numerous the peasantry, the more actively will the land be competed for. The whole of the people of Malabar with very few exceptions subsist upon

agriculture and on agriculture alone. It is no wonder then that the peasantry compete for and cultivate lands even at a loss. The consequences can easily be imagined. The rents almost always fall into arrears. Decrees are obtained against the tenants and in execution their effects, if they have any, are sold, and not unfrequently they are sent to jail.

The kanom tenants have not fared better. They are, no doubt, entitled under the judge-made law to undisturbed possession of their holdings for 12 years. But they are bound to pay rents, renewal fees, and numerous other fees fixed according to the caprice of the Jenmies. They are again entitled under the law to the value of improvements effected by them in their holdings. The fact however remains that they are liable at the end of the prescribed period to be turned out of their holdings. This leads us to the consideration of what is known as *Melcharth*. If the Jenmi is unwilling or unable to spend money, in the shape of court costs and of the value of improvements which must be incurred in turning out an old tenant, hos.s of people are ready to supply him with the necessary amount provided the land is subsequently agreed to be leased to them. This method of leasing out land, which is already in the possession of one tenant, to another is known locally as *Melcharth*. This is nothing more than a consequence of the power of ejection possessed by the Jenmi. It is the fashion to abuse the jenmies for leasing their lands on *Melcharth*. I am however unable to find anything illegal or immoral in the transaction. Kanomdars have been identified by the Courts to be mortgagees. The jenmies therefore as mortgagors have every right under the law to create subsequent mortgages, and the granting of *Melcharth* is nothing but the exercise of that right. Again where is the immorality in turning out a tenant who holds his lands with the full knowledge that he would be liable to be turned out after the expiration of the period specified in the Kanom deed? By resorting to *Melcharth* the Jenmi is not only saved the trouble and expense incidental to turning out an old tenant, but he enjoys the fruits thereof in increased rent and renewal fees. It may be that indiscriminately turning out tenants may be injurious to the well being of the country. But it is the legislature certainly not the Jenmi who must bear the blame for the unsatisfactory condition of the law.

Well, Improvement Acts have been passed with the avow-

ed intention of checking the capricious exercise of the power of eviction either by the *jenmis* or *melcharthdars*. The scheme of the Act is to raise the value of the improvements to such an extent as to be prohibitive of eviction. No doubt, the tenants are entitled to a substantial sum under the Act for the value of improvements effected by them. But how is this value to be ascertained? The practice of the Courts is to send a Commissioner to draw up a list of improvements for which compensation is due, and to make an account of the sum payable. And who is this Commissioner? Is he an officer of the Court? Is he at least a man who has a reputation to lose? No. He is usually a penniless pensioner who has somehow gained the favour of the Munsiff. When a Commission is issued to him he utilises the opportunity to the utmost. His decision is always in favour of the party who pays him most, and the Jenmi being almost always the richer gains the day. The value of the improvements is reduced to a minimum, the arrears of rent are deducted out of the amount due to the tenant who is forthwith thrust out of his house and land. Thus though the law secures to a tenant the market value of his improvements what he actually gets depends on several other circumstances. It must however be added that in big cases the position of the tenant is not so bad as Commissioners of a superior order are employed. There can be no doubt that the provisions of the law regarding the employment of Commissioners remain crude and imperfect.

The unscrupulous use of the power of eviction by Jenmies has led to serious consequences. It is unreasonable to expect that tenants would effect improvements in those holdings if they are liable to be turned out at the pleasure of the landlords. According to Mr. Logan "one result of this has been that large tracts of land, which would otherwise have been brought under cultivation lie waste and unutilised." This state of things has also been productive of many social evils. Crimes which could be traced to eviction are of frequent occurrence. Obnoxious Jenmies are sometimes murdered by their dispossessed tenants. Again, by means of this power, the landlords have reduced the once proud and independant peasantry of Malabar to a "condition little better than that of menial servants removeable at pleasure and obliged to conform in all things to the will of the landlord."

We have now gone over the history of the rights of tenants

in Malabar. We found that they were in pre-British days prosperous and contended and they had then security in the possession of their holdings. They are in these days liable to be evicted and we find them poor, half fed and miserable. Permanency of tenure and fixity of rent appear to be the only adequate remedy for the present unsatisfactory state of things. The feeling of ownership exerts by far the most powerful influence that can be brought into operation to secure the most efficient cultivation of land. "Give a man" writes Arthur Young "the secure possession of a black rock and he will turn it into a garden; give him a nine years' lease of a garden and he will convert it into a desert." The magic of property, continues the same writer, is potent enough to turn sand into gold. Instead therefore of playing at reforms by passing *Acts* like the Improvement Act it is absolutely essential in the interest not only of the tenant class, but of the society at large that the legislation should, at an early date, grant to the cultivating tenants *permanency* of tenure and *fixity* of rent.

B. GOVINDA NAMBIAR.

THE LATE PROFESSOR SESHAGIRI SASTRIAR, M.A.

THE new century which dawned a few months ago has been a century of mournful interest. Within a few days from the commencement of the new year, the whole of this land was thrown into the deepest mourning by the death of one who was so near and dear to us as the late Mr. Ranade. Yet a few days later all the civilized world received a shock from the demise of the great and good Queen Victoria, a shock from which it has not yet recovered. About a month from the date of the setting of the guardian Star of the Empire, India and especially our Presidency, had to suffer another loss in the death of Mr. Seshagiri Sastriar. I was greatly surprised to see that no appreciative notice of his life and work had appeared in many of the leading local journals, and I have been tempted, while yet the loss is keenly felt and the wound has had hardly time to heal, to speak of him and do justice to his memory.

The late Mr. Seshagiri Sastriar was born on the 20th March 1847. His father was a Zemindar owning a landed estate in the Taluk of Tirupatur in the Salem District. His father, though himself no great scholar, was not unaware of the beneficial results of a sound education and determined on giving him as liberal an instruction as his means could afford. While quite young, Mr. Sastriar made a surprisingly rapid progress in such varied languages as Sanskrit, Marathi, Telugu, Kanarese and Tamil. It may be interesting to note that Mr. Sastriar did not or rather would not take kindly to the study of the English Language in his very young days. His father, it seems, wanted to put him to school in a local institution where attention to English was compulsory. But Mr. Sastriar would not take any opinion on compulsion and he was prepared to follow a course of conduct that to his own judgment seemed to be just even at the cost of filial obedience. Accordingly, seeing that English Education would be forced upon him, if he remained in his native place, he left the paternal home without his father's consent and came away to Madras to undergo a course of Sanskrit Studies. But the juvenile truant was soon found out by his anxious father who took better care of him and showed greater consideration for his

tastes and feelings than before. I mention this anecdote for illustrating his independent spirit and his thirst for Oriental knowledge.

But time conquers the greatest prejudices and, in course of time, Mr. Sastriar managed to get over his *bete noir*. He had fain to put up with his father's opinion to which he yielded with a good grace. In due course he appeared for the Matriculation Examination and came out successful. It must be borne in mind, however, that his studies for the University Examination did not abate his interest in Vernacular and classical literature. Side by side with his English studies, Mr. Sastriar went through a course of instruction in the Oriental Languages. He set himself to a severe study of Sanskrit including Poetry, Grammar, Rhetoric, the Drama, and the Vedas. It was not for pleasure alone that he read, but for instruction. He seems to have had an idea even from the very beginning that something ought to be done in the way of spreading Oriental Studies. Neglect of the Vernaculars was commencing even in those early days. But Mr. Sastriar was too much of a patriot and knowledge-seeker to fall into the mistaken idea that our languages and our literatures could do little for us. Many a pleasant discussion did he have with learned pundits about matters that concerned but little young boys of his age. We can picture him now holding his own in argument with Sastries so much his elders in learning and age. Even in those early days, we see no uncertain glimmerings of the light that was to dawn. The eager and inquiring spirit, the undaunted perseverance and the alacrity to learn from all who had anything to teach, that are characteristics of his mature age, are all forecasted by this pleasant trait of his early life.

After the first years of school life, Mr. Sastriar left his native place for Madras. He joined the High School (now the Presidency college) in the F. A. Class and passed the examination. He continued his studies in the Presidency college and graduated in 1871 with Logic and Ethics for his Optional subject. His attainments in Sanskrit might have been very considerable and must have been known to be so as can be inferred from the fact that he was appointed in August of the same year to act as Professor of Sanskrit in the Presidency college. He was only 27 then and it is very remarkable that he was able to attain this high position by his own merits and his own efforts. It is creditable also that he was able to produce a good impression

on his superiors, especially on Mr. Thompson who in a letter to the Director of Public Instruction said "Mr. Seshagiri Aiyar has worked well for the five months of his tenure of the Office and is, I believe, well qualified for the post." In these terms did one who is now held as one of the first educationists in the Southern Presidency and who was remarkably well-disposed and kind to the late Professor in all the years of their connexion recommend Mr. Sastriar's being made permanent as the Professor of Sanskrit in the Presidency college, with an increase of pay. But Government did not unfortunately choose to give proper consideration to the strong and sensible suggestion of Mr. Thompson. Mr. Sastriar held the post till the 14th November 1872, on which date he was relieved by Dr. Oppert.

It was about this time that the late scholar's earnest search for original manuscripts came prominently before the public. He began collecting manuscripts in 1872 and in October he forwarded a report on a collection of Sanskrit manuscripts offered for sale. This report was referred by Government to the late Dr. Burnell who was one of the foremost of the Oriental scholars of his day. Dr. Burnell was pleased to speak encouragingly of Mr. Sastriar's zeal and earnestness. In a letter to the Director of Public Instruction, he said "As regards the acting Professor's letter, I am much pleased that he has taken up a line of research very uncommon in India and I hope he will persevere in it." About the same time too, Mr. Powell, the Director of Public Instruction, recommended Mr. Sastriar's efforts to the attention of the Government, in these certainly complimentary terms: "Before passing an order regarding the purchase of the Manuscripts offered for sale, I trust Government will be pleased to recognise the good spirit with which Mr. Seshagiri Sastri has laboured." The Government were not slow in responding favourably to this request and passed an order to the effect that "the Government appreciate the zeal and industry displayed by Mr. Seshagiri Sastriar in the researches on which he has been employed." From this time onwards, Mr. Sastriar's interest in the collection of Oriental Manuscripts did not abate in the slightest; but on the other hand, we see in later life, that his passion led him into many personal inconveniences. He did not hesitate between money and manuscripts and he was prepared to sacrifice his own interests in the cause that he had undertaken.

His philological studies have not been hitherto noticed by

ne. It is very difficult to find out when he commenced them. But from the preface to his 'Notes on Aryan and Dravidian Philology,' it can be inferred that his inclination towards a comparative study of the Eastern languages became pronounced even in his collegiate career. I cannot do better than to quote himself in order to bring out fully his rage for philological studies:—
 "Having seen my taste for linguistic studies, my teacher, Mr. E. Thompson, the late Principal of the Presidency college, recommended to me a comparative study of the languages and I carried out the advice. This comparative method gave a fresh impetus to my study of languages and made the otherwise uninteresting and barren investigations of words and grammatical forms and phrases very pleasant and fruitful."

In February 1875, he took the degree of M. A. in English and Sanskrit. It may be interesting to note that he was the first Sanskrit M. A. of the Presidency. He then extended his studies to languages to which he had not hitherto paid much attention, Malayalam, Uriya, Hindi, Bengali, Khond, Latin, and Greek. It was Mr. Thompson who recommended to Mr. Sastriar a close study of the last two languages and furnished him with all the facilities for the same. Mr. Sastriar had a lively sense of gratitude to his old principal for the many benefits he had received at his hands and was never so happy as when he could thankfully acknowledge his obligations to one who had ever befriended him and who had tried his best in forwarding his fortunes. In February 1877 the late Professor was appointed Deputy Inspector of Schools and his services were soon transferred to the Court of Wards. Here he was the guardian and tutor to a minor Zamindar. His services under the Court of Wards were continued till June 1879, when he was appointed Superintendent of Vernacular Studies in the Presidency college. This post was the same as the Professorship of Vernacular Literature which had been abolished in 1879. When Mr. Sastriar was appointed as the Superintendent of Vernacular Studies, he was assured that on his showing sufficient proficiency in the Dravidian Languages, the Professorship of Vernacular Literature would be revived and conferred upon him. In this new capacity; he had to teach various languages allied and unallied. His duties were not of the least onerous kind, for he had to engage the School and college classes in Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kanarese. He did confine himself to the language he was teach-

ing at any particular time to a class. He lectured on the philology of these languages, showing their connection with the other chief languages of the world. It must be remembered that Mr. Sastriar had, by this time, become one of the chief exponents of the comparative method of studying Languages, pursued on scientific and systematic lines.

In 1882, Dr. Oppert went to Europe on furlough. The Government could not possibly think of a more suitable scholar to act for him than Mr. Sastriar. Accordingly in 1882, he took charge of the Professorship of Sanskrit in the Presidency college and the Curatorship of the Oriental Library. In this capacity he continued for more than a year. On the 31st December 1883, he was relieved by Dr. Oppert.

The golden opinions that he won during this short period must have done honor both to himself and the Government. His superiors were struck with his thoroughness in working, quickness in despatch and devotion to duty. In those days, the Government did not veil its good opinion of its servants by any artifices. They were frank in expressing their opinion and Mr. Sastriar must have been gratified by the candid and generous way in which his services were acknowledged. Dr. Duncan was pleased to note the most praiseworthy activity (of Mr. Sastriar) during the vacation in giving effect to the orders of Government. In a letter of the Director of Public Instruction to Government, No. 7808, dated 20th November 1883, we come across the following testimonial: "I consider that the acting curator has worked most zealously during the time he acted for Dr. Oppert and deserves well of the Government." The Government reciprocated this feeling and the Governor of Madras personally had a high opinion of the way in which Mr. Sastriar was turning out work.

In 1884, Mr. Sastriar made an attempt at fousing the Government with respect to the revival of the Professorship of Vernacular Literature. Accordingly he forwarded an application to Mr. Grigg requesting that the post might may be revived and conferred upon him. But on financial grounds, the Government could not at that time re-establish the Chair of Dravidian Languages in the Presidency college. In 1885, Mr. Sastriar was made the 2nd Senior Professor, but the change of designation did not change his duties. In July 1886, he was appointed 1st Senior Assistant Professor. When Dr. Oppert retired in 1893,

Mr. Hultsch was appointed to succeed him. But in the face of opposition from such important local bodies as the Mahajana Sabha, the Government could not persist in an appointment which went so much against educated Native Public opinion. Before the appointment of Dr. Hultsch was confirmed, the Secretary of State for India, Lord Kimberly, appointed Mr. Sastriar to the Professorship of Sanskrit. It was in this capacity that Mr. Sastriar remained till his premature death.

Mr. Sastriar's connection with the University of Madras was a long and honourable one. His first connection with that body commenced in 1876 when he was appointed Sanskrit Examiner. He was again offered the examinership and from 1879 to 1883 he continued to be on the Sanskrit Examinership Board. From 1885 to 1889 he was on the Tamil Board. From '90 he was a Sanskrit Examiner till the end. In 1891, Mr. Sastriar was appointed the Chairman of the Sanskrit Board and in this post he continued for the last 10 years. The trust that the University reposed in him must have been a heavy one and the long and uninterrupted period during which he was the chief of the Sanskrit Examiners testifies to the fact that he gave the fullest satisfaction to the authorities. In 1888 and 1893 he was examiner in comparative Philology in connection with the B.A. Degree Examination.

For a long time he was also an examiner in Marrathi having Dewan Bahadur R. Raghunatha Row for his colleague. In 1881, he was elected a fellow of the Madras University. Before bringing this account of his connection with the University to a close, I should like to give prominence to the good work that Mr. Sastriar did during the long time he sat on the Sanskrit and Dravidian Boards of Studies. He was of course the Chairman of the Sanskrit Board, and it goes without saying that his place on the latter was next only to that of Dewan Bahadur Krishnamachariar who is his senior. It was while he sat on the Board that prominence was given to the study of Vedas, Grammar, Logic and Rhetoric in the B.A. and M.A. Curriculam and such works as *Manava Dharma Sastra*, '*Kavyalankara*, '*Kavyaprakasa*, '*Apasthamba sutra* and '*Batli kavya*' were prescribed as text books for the University Examinations.

His connection with the Government was useful to them in more ways than one. From 1882, Mr. Sastriar was on the Board

of Examiners and was a special member of the Sub-committees for Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, and Malayalam.

He assisted in conducting most of the higher Government examinations. It was a thankless office and it is highly creditable that the spur of duty unaidedly influenced Mr. Sastriar more than extraneous motives do baser men.

It remains now to mention some of his important works and make a few remarks upon each, embodying the opinions of such competent and capable Oriental critics as Professor Moirer Williams, Professor Foncaux of Paris, Dr. Hoernle, Mr. Grierson, Dr. Burnell and Dr. Caldwell. Of living authorities on Sanskrit who were pleased to give glowing opinions of Mr. Sastriar's works, the names of Professor Aufrecht of Bonn and Professor Jackson of Columbia University, only need be mentioned to testify to the appreciation that Mr. Sastriar met with from all quarters and corners of the globe.

Treating of his works in chronological order, the first that needs mention is the 1st vol. of his '*Notes on Aryan and Dravidian Philology*' which was published in 1884. I need not say that it was a momentous publication, being the first work of the kind, I venture to think, ever brought out in South India.

This Presidency at least had never before known any venture in this particular field of Philology and it is something that the public, with the papers for their mouthpiece, were disposed to hail this work with some amount of cordiality and encouragements. It was the intention of the late scholar to bring out a number of volumes in connection with the Philology of the Aryan and Dravidian Languages and the volume presented to the public in 1884 was only the first of a series which was to be issued in course of time. If Mr. Sastriar had been able to complete his design, the critical world would have been richer by more volumes of the same book. As it was, however, Mr. Sastriar had to incorporate the notes he had collected for publishing under the title of the above work in later works. The work treats of various languages, prominence being given to Sanskrit, the oldest of the Aryan Languages. The merits of the Book are by this time pretty well known, and it would almost be impertinent in me to pass any remarks of my own on a book whose merits have been recognised and whose reputation has been well established. "His originality in suggesting new and, in many cases, unexpected explanations of points which even bear on the classical

languages of Europe and which have hitherto baffled all attempts at interpretation" has been the subject of compliment from many scholars competent to judge. One and all concurred in saying that it was a new start in the study of comparative Philology and that it supplied new lines on which inquiring scholars could proceed. It was a solid work which throws much light on a subject which had not till that time obtained much consideration at the hands of South Indian scholars, and we have to be grateful to the late Professor for his scholarly production which was the precursor of a number of works treating of allied subjects and which held out brilliant and hopeful prospects for the future.

The notes that Mr. Sastriar was collecting from time to time were published at different times in book form, under the titles of Tamil Philology, Telugu Philology, and the Theory of Ardhanuswara in Telugu. The first of these has met with the warmest welcome from and the heartiest appreciation of Tamil pandits of great abilities and learning.

Learned vernacular scholars readily recognised the labour spent upon the work, labour which was however most amply compensated for by the results achieved. It was the first attempt at introducing the comparative method into the study of Dravidian words and it was no doubt a successful attempt. Yet it must not be supposed that the welcome that Mr. Sastriar's work met with was of the most universal kind. Even those who were most willing to give credit where it was deservedly due could not but disagree with some of the points that Mr. Sastriar explained in a way different from accepted methods. The second work "Telugu Philology" elicited as much admiration as the "Tamil Philology." It solved many knotty points which had long been the subject of wrangling amongst great pundits. The book was spoken of very eulogistically. "It is," as an admirer said, "deserving of the highest respect of every true lover of Dravidian Literature." Pundit V. Venkataroya Sastriar of the Christian College wrote to the author at the time as follows: "your Grammar serves to the student of Telugu a purpose almost identical with what Morris's Accidence does to the student of English. I am happy now as it has been made one of the compulsory subjects of the Telugu Branch of the B.A." The same gentleman, a great Sanskrit scholar, has written a book called "Usha Natakam" in Telugu and he has dedicated it to the memory of the late Professor M. Seshagiri Sastriar, out of great esteem and ve-

neration which the author has for the late Professor. It is but fair to say that Mr. Sastriar's efforts in the direction of opening new paths in the study of a language were obstructed by the more orthodox scholars who were content to grope about in darkness rather than seek light from one who was willing to disseminate it.

It is a remarkable fact that even the most important Indian or Vernacular Literatures do not possess any reliable history or for the matter of that any history at all. Curiously enough, even Classic Sanskrit Literature itself has no history written by a Native of this land. Mr. Sastriar determined to write a history of the Tamil Literature. With a view to this, he published several articles in the 'Hindu' under the title of 'Important Observations in Tamil Literature.' These he collected together and published in a book called 'the Essay on Tamil Literature.' The book excited a great deal of criticism and met with some opposition even at the hands of such sincere lovers of the language as the late Mr. Sundaram Pillai. But it must be admitted that those who are not extremely oblivious of the labour spent on the work and its many excellencies, can see easily that the book has been written to serve a purpose and that it has thrown light upon many points of chronology.

Apart from his published works, Mr. Sastriar was engaged upon various responsible undertakings. It almost seems that he would not allow one moment of his life to be spent without utilising it in some project or other for spreading knowledge. At the time of his death he had on hand no less than six dictionaries, which were more or less nearing completion. He intended that they should be the most exhaustive ever published. He intended that they should be each a sort of Encyclopedia in miniature, not mere Lexicons. He had some assistants working under him to help him, in copying and in compiling. The grand monuments of his active intellect were stopped in their structure by the cruel hand of death, but for which the world would now be the richer by works which would do honour to any land and any nation and which would establish the reputation of any man for all time.

Numerous small projects engaged his leisure hours. He translated some books for use in schools at the request of the Government. He wrote remarks on works submitted to his criticism by the Government. He revised manuscripts and

passed his opinion on them at the invitation of the Government. He delivered an important Lecture on some Mythological names of the Aryan Languages, which was published in various forms. He contributed an article to the Dictionary of Anglo-Indian Terms, prepared by Dr. Burnell and Col. Yule. The contribution was a highly valued one and Dr. Caldwell said that the "paper is a good illustration of the truth of what I have frequently said that Indian Philology and Ethnology will make little or no progress till they are taken up *Con amore* by native scholars." But, I fear, that if I go on at this rate mentioning all his works, I shall tire your readers. Suffice it to say that his field of labour was a very extensive one and that wherever he could, he made public the knowledge that he had made his own after going through difficulties and opposition.

Persons who are naturally disposed to sneer at everything that is not particularly dazzling or brilliant have been apt to turn the cold shoulder to Mr. Sastriar's efforts. Even gentlemen of some education were once wont to look upon the progress that he was making with an unsympathetic eye. Philology twenty years ago was not the science that it is now and there is some excuse for those who sincerely believed that it was a mere fact or hobby of mighty little use in throwing light upon doubtful points of the language. But I am afraid that those who persist in regarding philology now in the same light as twenty years ago are animated by the spirit of perversity and wilful ignorance. None can be unaware of the great utility of the science now-a-days without being open to the charge of ignorance and childishness. Others are under the impression that what Mr. Sastriar has achieved scarcely comes up to the expectation one has a right to have from a life of unabating study and activity.

No doubt this contention is true to a certain degree. Mr. Sastriar was a great lover of music and when more serious pursuits did not engage him, he gave himself up to the pleasures of song and lived a life of rapture with his favourite diversion. He himself was an accomplished player on the veena and had some degree of acquaintance with the violin. It is due to him to say that if Mr. Sastriar had devoted himself to pure Sanskrit or to the Vernaculars or Philology or to Music, he would have perceptibly achieved more and pleased the fault-finding critics considerably more than he has done. Mr. Sastriar made a mistake when he got himself entangled in such a labyrinth of activities, and I have

reasons to believe that he rather regretted it before his death. But even as it is, it cannot be said that his life has been spent to little purpose. The light that he has thrown upon points that had troubled the critics of Southern India, the new methods that he started in proving the relation between the different languages of the world, and the liberal views that he advocated in the study of languages must commend his studies, his researches and his writings to the earnest attention of all sincere scholars. None can detract from the reputation that he has earned by his patient study which had for its offspring some works which have established the science of Philology in South India.

Before I bring this article to a close, it remains for me to say a few words of his work in the college. It must be admitted that he was not the teacher to do his duty in a slipshod hasty manner. In his desire to discharge his duties conscientiously, his tendency was to go through the prescribed text books at a slow pace. "Slow but sure" was his motto. His notes dictated to the class were of an elaborate nature. None could feel his lectures wearisome in the least. He did his duties to the satisfaction of his superiors and his students.

In conclusion, few have lived as he has done, a life of pleasure and toil, study and diversion. His life was a boon to the community, an inexhaustible fountain of benefits conferred upon his fellow creatures. Of an extremely generous nature, charitable to a fault, none that came to him in hope of getting pecuniary help went home empty handed. His house was well known as the resort of all sorts of musicians who would not choose to display their powers in public without pleasing our Sastriar's tastes in the first instance and receiving from him some recognition of their merits. A gentleman in the best sense of the word, it was no difficulty for him to make friends wherever he went and with whomsoever he moved. Though there were many who were opposed to his methods of study, none could help being won over by his gentle and unoffending nature. He was not an ambitious and obtrusive man. His merits have not met with the recognition that they deserved. No titles have been given him by any learned Societies which have thought fit to honor comparatively insignificant men. But Mr. Sastriar wished for no such titles, he did not work for them. But he has unconsciously earned the best title one should most like to possess, the title of an open, frank, and generous gentleman, courteous in the circle he moved in and

kind and considerate to his inferiors. His place in the college certainly cannot be filled as it has been for the last seven years. The Government have in his death lost a servant who was most ready to help them to the best of his powers in all their emergencies. At the Senate, as one of the old fellows, his genial face and intelligent head which has seen the University through many difficulties and whose powers were constantly in requisition for the last fifteen years, will be missed by old and young. In musical circles, his loss is an irreparable one. The Science, which in life was his second passion, has lost a great devotee. To the community in general and his friends in particular, his death is nothing short of a calamity which prematurely brought to an end a career which has been very useful to one and all and which, if it had continued longer, would have done more benefit to the people at large and would have achieved greater success in the different departments of science that he chose to work in.

T.V.S.

THE SVETASWATARA UPANISHAD.

(Concluded from page 149.)

WE may therefore state that the Svetaswatara Upanishad is a genuine Upanishad of the Black Yajur Veda, and is one of the oldest of its kind. It is not a Sectarian Upanishad. It more properly belongs to the Yoga Pada of teaching, though the other Padas are also briefly touched and alluded to. It expounds both a theoretic philosophy and a practical religion, all-comprehensive and all-embracing; a system which was at once Sankhya and Yoga, dualistic and monastic, and appealing to all classes of society.

It lays down the distinction of the three padarthas or categories in clear terms. And these were, God, the many souls and matter or Pasa.

"Two birds, inseparable friends, cling to the same tree. One of them eats the sweet fruits, the other looks on without eating" (iv. 6) which is explained in less figurative language in the next mantra.

"On the same tree man (Anîsa) sits grieving, immersed, bewildered, by his own impotence. But when he sees the other, Isa, contented, and knows his glory, then his grief passes away."

That this is the highest teaching of the Rig Veda is pointed out in the next verse.

"He who does not know that indestructible being (Akshara) of the Rig Veda, that highest Ether (Parama Vyoman) wherein all the Gods reside, of what use is the Rig Veda to him? Those only who know it rest contented."

And need it be pointed out that the 6th verse is itself found in the Rig Veda (I. 164-20) and it is repeated in the Atharva Veda, and the passage is so popular an one that Katta Up. (iii. 1.) and Mundaka Up. (iii. 11.) also quote it.

These verses bring out the distinction of God and soul, Isa and Anîsa as the spectator and enjoyer respectively. The soul enjoys and performs Karma while encased in the body, tree; but though God is immanent in the soul and in the body, yet the works and their fruit do not cling to him and taint him. After

the due eating of the fruits, the soul knows the greatness of God, and of his own insignificance, his sufferings will cease....

The previous mantra (iv. 5) is also a famous and much debated passage, and it is badly translated by Prof. Max Müller. The translation by G. A. S. Mead and Chattopadhyaya is literal and correct. "Aye, that one unborn (Aja-soul) sleeps in the arms of one unborn (nature-Pradhana), enjoying her (of nature, red, white, and black, who brings forth multitudinous progeny like herself. But when her charms have been enjoyed, he (soul) quits her (prakriti) side, the unborn other, (Anyata) (Lord)."

There is absolutely no mistaking this plain statement of the three Padarthas as eternal, as well as their relation; and all three are called *Unborn, Aja*. But the word *Anyata* to be noted here is the word '*other*' which is almost a technical term or catch-word to mean God, the Supreme. And it occurs again in (V. 1.).

"In the unperishable, and infinite highest Brahman, where in the two Vidya, (Vignana-Atma) and Avidya are hidden, the one, Avidya, perishes, the other, Vidya, is immortal; but He who controls both Vidya and Avidya, is *another* (Anyatha)." And in the following verses this *another* is clearly pointed to be the only One God, without a second, the ruler of all, the generator of all and the supporter (ripening) of all. This forms the subject of discussion by Badarayana in I. ii. 21. And the famous passage in Brihadaranyaka is referred to. "He who dwells in Atma (Vignana) and *different from Atma*, whom Atma does not know whose body *Atma* is, and who pulls (rules) Atma within, He is thy Atma, the puller within, the immortal (iii. 7. 22.).

In vi. 6, also, God is called the *Anyata*—the other. It occurs again in Gita, xv. 17. The previous verse postulates two entities of matter and soul and the next verse proceeds to postulate "*another*." "But there is another, namely, the Supreme Being, called Paramatma, who being the everlasting Ishwara and pervading the three worlds sustains them." That the very force of the word is solely to emphasise God's transcendence over the world of matter and of souls, as against people who only postulated two Padarthas, or would identify God, the supreme Ishwara—with matter or soul, is fully brought out in the next verse.

"As I transcend the perishable (Pradhana) and as I am higher than even the Imperishable (soul), I am celebrated in the world and sung in the Vedas as *Purushottama*."

*If we read, "he quits her side, for the other" makes the sense complete.

The commonest fallacy that is committed when the eternity of matter and souls is postulated is in fancying that this in any way affects God's transcendence and immanence. Though he pervades all and envelopes all, creates and sustains and takes them back again into himself, though He is the God in the fire, the god in the water, the god who has entered the whole world, in plants and trees and in every thing else, (ii. 17) yet He stands behind all time and all persons, (vii. 16), and is beyond all *tattvas*. (Verse 15.)

"He is the one God, (Eko Deva), hidden in all beings, all-pervading, the antaratma of all things, watching over all works, dwelling in all beings, the witness, the perceiver, the Only one, Nirguna (Being) (vi. 11). And in Verse 16, he is called the first cause himself who caused the all-knower, the master of *nature and man*. And by the supreme statement "Ekohi Rudra Nadvitiyaya thaste, (There is One only Rudra, they do not allow a second,) the complete subordination of all other things to Him is clearly postulated. There is nothing else in His presence, as no *Asat* can subsist in the Presence of the *Sat*, as no darkness can subsist in the presence of light. And Light, he is called (iii. 12) the Light, by which all other lights, the sun, the moon, and the stars and the lightnings are lighted, (vi. 14) and He is the great Purusha, of sunlike lustre, beyond darkness." (iii. 8).

There is only one other passage which we have to quote while we are dealing with the three eternal postulates of this Upanishad. There are the Verses 8 and 9 in the Adhyaya itself. In these also, the distinctions between the Supreme God, and the bound soul, as *I'sa* and *Anisa*, *Gna* and *Agna*, and the third *Pradhana*, unborn though perishable and ever changing are *fully* drawn.

In dealing with the personality of God, who is called in the Upanishads, as *Deva*, *Hara*, *Vasi*, *Siva*, *Purusha*, *Brahman*, the *Paramata*, *Isa*, and *Ishwara*, &c., we have to remark that the Upanishad makes no distinction between a Higher and a Lower Brahman; rather, there are no statements made about the Lower God or Gods, except in one verse in V. 3, where the Supreme Lord and Mahatma, is said to have created the *Lords*, and *Brahma* or *Hiranyagarbha* is referred to as such a lord. But every statement made to God, by any of the name, we have mentioned above, clearly refers to the one, without a second, the Highest Brahman, who is also Nirguna. And in various passages, this Highest Being

is said to create, sustain and destroy the worlds. What some of these people would not believe, is how a Being addressed as Hara and Siva, Isa and Ishwara could be the Nirguna Absolute Brahman, as they frequently associate this name with the Rudra or Siva of the Hindu Trinity. But it will be news to these people that even the Rudra of the Trinity is Nirguna and not Saguna. Absolutely no passage could be found in any of the Upanishads or even in the Puranas and the Itihasas, in which even the trinity Siva or Rudra is called Saguna. Saguna means having-bodies (qualities) formed out of Prakriti, and when Prakriti is itself resolved into its original condition and reproduced by this trinity Rudra, this prakriti could not act as his vestment.

But more than this, the Rudra and Siva of our Upanishad is clearly set forth in other Upanishads as the fourth, *chaturtam*, and *Turiyam*, transcending the trinity; and the secondless.

Satyam, Pranam, Anantam, Brahma,
Ananda Rupam, Amritam Yad Vibhuti,
Shantam, Shivam-Advaitam.

(Tait. Up.)

Shivam, shantam, Advaitam

Chaturtam, manyante (Ramatapiny)

"Dhyâyeetheesanam, pradhâyithavyam,

Sarvamidam Brahma Vishnu Rudrendrasthe,

Sarva Samprasuyante, Sarvâni Chendriyanicha ;

Sahabhutais, nakaranam, karanam, Dhâtâ, Dhyâta

Karanantu, Dhyeyas, Sarvaiswarya Sampansas

Sarveswaras, Sambhurakasa Madhye...

Siva ekô dhyeya : Swantara, Sarvam

Anyat parithyaja Samâpta Atharvasikha."

Adore the most adorable Isana, Brahma, Vishnu, Rudra, Indra and others have an origin. All the senses originate with the elements. The first cause and cause of causes has no origin. The Possessor of all prosperity, the Lord of all, *Sambhu*, He should be contemplated in the middle of the Akasa..... Siva, the one alone, should be contemplated; the Doer of Good; All else should be given up." (Atharva Sikha Up.) "The mystical and immutable one, which being composed of three letters A. U. M., signify successively, the three Vedas, the three states of life (Jagra, Swapna, and Sushupti), the three worlds (heaven, hell and earth) the three gods (Brahma, Vishnu and Rudra) and by its nasal sound (Ardhamatra) is indicative of thy fourth office as

supreme lord of all (Parameshwara)* ever expressess and sets forth thy collective forms." (Mahimna Stotra). And the same mistake is committed by outsiders in supposing that the God of the Saivas is only one of the trinity.* Any book taken at random in Tamil and Sanscrit will at once disillusion him, and he will find that the only God held up for the highest worship is the highest Nirguna Parama Siva, and not one of the trinity. Greater confusion is caused in the use of the words Nirguna and Saguna, by translating them into impersonal and personal respectively. Europeans themselves are not agreed about the use of these words. According to Webster the word 'personal' implies limitation, but other eminent persons like Emerson, Lotz, &c., say there is no such implication. Till therefore the acceptations of these words are themselves settled, we must not make confusion worse confounded, by reading Nirguna and Saguna, as Impersonal and Personal.

So far as the nature of the God-head described in our Upanishad there can be no doubt.

"When there was no darkness, nor day nor night, nor Sat, nor Asat, then Siva alone existed. (Siva eva Kevala). That is the absolute, that the adorable (condition) of the Lord. From that too had come forth the wisdom old—(gnanasakti). (iv. 18).

He is the eternal and infinite, Unborn Being, 'Partless, actionless, tranquil, without taint, without fault, the Highest Bridge to Immortality' (vi. 19). He is the cause-less first cause, the all-knower the all-Pervader, the creator, sustainer and liberator of the world, the end and aim of all Religion and of all philosophy. He is "the Ishwara of Ishwaras, Maheshwara, the God supreme of Gods, the King of kings, the Supreme of the supreme, the Isa of the Universe." (vi. 7.)

There is one other matter to be considered in the nature of the Divine Personality. God is spoken of both in the masculine and in the neuter and almost in the same verse, a peculiarity which is noticeable in modern Saivism. And God is addressed in all forms as 'He' 'She' and 'It.' Siva, Sivah and 'Siwam.'† And the reason is not as stated by Prof: MaxMüller, in his note

* A Christian missionary writing to the Christian College Magazine wonders how *Vemana* the famous Telugu poet could speak of Siva as other than the Hindu triad, Brahma, Vishnu and Rudra. Cf. Bartrahari's Satakas for the popular conception about Siva.

† Siwam in Sanscrit, they say, is not neuter of Siva. But somehow this neuter form is quite prevalent in Tamil.

under Ver. 16. Chapter iii that the gender changes frequently, according as the author thinks either of the Brahman or its impersonation as "Isa, Lord." To the Indian whether he addresses his God as Siva or Sivam he is addressing the same supreme Personality who is neither male nor female nor neuter, and there is no jar to him in the sense, as there will be to the Christian who could only think of and address God in the masculine gender. And the Upanishad does not recognize any difference between the use of 'It' and 'He,' and it does not recognize that by using 'It' instead of 'He,' a Higher Being is reached.

Coming now to the nature of the soul, as set forth in this Upanishad, the first thing to be noticed is that the Jiva is very often spoken of as *atma* simply and distinguished from God. The other appellations it gets are, Purusha, Anisa, Agna, the Hamsa, Vidya, and these are to distinguish him from the other, the Paramatma, the Parama Purusha, Isa and Gna.

This soul is bound, because he is not God. (i. 8), because he is ignorant, of himself, and of the self within him, (the *antar-atma*). This soul is not self-dependent (i. 2). This soul is confined in the *Pura* (city-body) of nine gates, *i.e.*, is limited and 'flutters about,' is changeable, and he enjoys the fruits, pleasures and pains, (even pains are a pleasure to him, the ignorant soul) and fondly clings to the body, and performs karma (iii. 18. iv. 5 and 6.)

"But he who is endowed with qualities, and performs Karma that are to bear fruit and enjoys the reward of whatever he has done, migrates through his own works, the lord of life, assuming all forms, led by the three gunas and the three paths." (vi 7).

And yet this soul is of the image of God, is infinite and brilliant like the sun, endowed with *Ichha* and *Gnana*, and is sexless.

The Supreme One who witnesses all his doings, dwelling within him without Himself being tainted by the contact, helps to secure the ripening of his mala, and waits till the soul attains to that condition of perfect balancing in good and evil, (v. 5) by the performing of *Sariya*, *Kriya* and *Yoga* (good works, Penance and meditation) with love and knowledge, and the Syllable *Pranava*, he is blessed by the Lord (i. 6,) and God's grace descends on him (vi. 21 and iii. 20) and he knows and sees with *Manas* (the supreme grace of God—the spiritual eye) (v. 14). 'The *Purusham Mahantam Aditya Varnam, tamasah parastat* and his fetters (*Pasa*) fall

off, and sufferings cease, and he enters the Bliss of the Supreme Brahman, and Eternal Peace.

"That *Ishwara Prasadam* (iii. 20) or *Anugraham* or *grāce* is necessary is a common belief of the people, and this doctrine is not peculiar to this Upanishad alone. The *Katha* Upanishad puts the same doctrine in much stronger language. That *Self* (God) cannot be gained by the Veda, nor by understanding, nor by much learning. He whom *Self* (God) chooses, by him the *Self* (God) can be gained." (I. 2. 23.); but even the supreme Almighty God cannot help him, if he had not turned away from wickedness, and is not tranquil subdued and at rest, dedicating (*Arpanam*) all his words, deeds and thoughts to God (i. 2. 24.)

That the doctrine of *Bhakti* is found well set forth in the oldest Upanishads and the Vedas will be apparent by reading the texts collated by Dr. Muir in his learned "metrical translations" from Sanskrit under the heading of '*Shraddha and Bhakti*.' By the way this *Shraddha* and *Bhakti* is not to be understood as a manifestation of feeling only in one stage of man's spiritual evolution and unnecessary at another stage, but this love is essential to the aspirant whether he is a *Dasa-margi*, *Satputramargi*, *Yogamargi* or *Gnanamargi*. And therefrom paths grow one out of the other and are not independent, and each one is not possible to reach without going through the lower rungs of the ladder, we have already pointed out above.

The Upanishads, all of them discuss the particular *Upasana* or *Upasanas* which are required for the salvation of the bound soul, and then *Upasanas* are called also *Vidyas*.

Of these various *Vidyas*, what is called the *Dahara Upasana* or *Vidya* is the most favoured of all the *Upasanas* in the *Svetaswata* and *Chandogya*, *Brihadaranyaka*, *Katha*, *Mundaka* and *Kaivalya*, *Atharva Sikha* and in the *Gita*.

The references to this Highest *Yoga* practice are most numerous in the Upanishad* and the sameness of the various references form the subject of discussion in the *Vedanta Sutras* (iii. 3. 23.)

The famous passages are what occur in the *Chandogya Upanishad*, commencing with the sentences "There is the city of Brahman" (viii. 1. 1.) "All this is Brahman." (iii. 14. 1 to 4). This worship or *Yoga*, consists in the aspirant contemplating, in

* This City is exactly reproduced in modern symbolism by the Great Temple of *Chidambaram*.

his heart, the Supreme one, as the Person of Light and as Akas, as Sutchidananda Parameshwara, with the particular formula that "God is in all beings and all beings are in God." And various synonyms are used to mean this heart of man, such as Dahara, (Sakthi) Guha (cave) Pundarika (lotus), Brahmapura (city), Hrid (heart).

And the meaning of the words Akasa, and Vyoma has also to be carefully noted. They are synonymous and do not mean the Bhuta Akasa, nor the Mayasakti or Avidya but as interpreted by the Puranas themselves, they mean Chit, or Gnana, or Light, or Grace, which is the Parasakti of the Supreme Ishwara. This Akasa is Chit and not Achit, is further proved by the phrases, *Chitaaksa* and *Chidambara* and this Chit-Sakti is the Devatma-Sakti of our Upanishad, which is inherent and concealed in him (i. 3) and the supreme Sakti, which revealed as manifold, *inherent* (Sva) and manifesting as Kriya and Gnana (vi. 8). It is this which is called *Uma*, and Light and *Bhargas** and *Savitri* and Gayatri. And when we understand therefore, this Akasa, as light and knowledge, the Supreme Sakti of God, its description as the highest light, the revealer of all forms, the Highest object of adoration is clear. The description of God also as Akasa (Sakti) and as dwelling in Akasa (Sakti) will not be conflicting, as no distinction is made between Sun and his light, much less between God and his power.†

It is this Gnana-Sakti who gives to the Chetana and Achetana Prapancha its form and shape and life and love and light, but the substance or Upadana‡ out of which this Prapancha is made is the Maya or Pradhana, which also dwelling in Him is drawn out and drawn in by the Supreme Power (Sakti) with just the ease and dexterity of a spider which spins out or in or of the magician who draws forth out of an empty basket fruits and flowers and sweets. The Maya (meaning also power) is also a sakti of His, (Mayasakti) but differing from the other Sakti, Ichcha, Gnana and Kriya, just as darkness differs from light. As darkness is necessary for rest and recuperation, so this power of God

* Cf. Mait.

† In the Yajur Veda, this God and Ambika are called *saha*, which may mean equal or brother and sister.

‡ It is Badarayana's views that there is no other Upadana except God and these worlds arise out of God Himself. When a tree springs out of the bare ground, we naturally suppose there was some seed imbedded in it without our knowledge. This is the Upanishad view. Badarayana would say no seed is necessary and that the earth alone is sufficient.

also works for our rest and recuperation and salvation. And God is called the lord Maya (Mayin) and "beyond" all forms of the tree, as transcending all the "Tatvas, Kala" &c., and a transcending 'Pradhana.' Why we are required to contemplate God as Akasa or light or Chit is, that by this light alone we can know Him, and as such light; and it is as light, Chit, God is immanent in the world, and omnipresent. And this brings out again the reason why this Chit is called Akas, the most subtle and invisible and omnipresent element we have in nature.

God is present in all nature and pervades it, as oil in seeds, butter in ghee and fire in wood (i. 15). And this all pervasiveness is thus explained in a text of the Atharva Siras Up. "Why is it called Sarva Vyapi? It is called so because like ghee diffusing and soaking itself through and through the Ruda (Milk or seed), it pervades every created thing through and through as warp and woof."

And as by this pervasiveness, nothing could be imagined as existing out of Him, the whole is called also Brahman, the whole, with the parts and limbs and bodies (iv. 10) as the Chetana and Achetana Prapancha, his antakarana as Chit Sakti, and Himself the soul of this vast whole. And as we all form but part of Him, we are also enjoined to be kind to one another, for whatever we do to each other will be also done to His body. We quote the following from Srimanta Sivacharya's commentary in which this point is discussed.

"All this is Brahman, as beginning, ending, and breathing in Him; and therefore let a man meditate on Him."

This passage may be explained as follows: The origin, existence and end of all this depends on Brahman. All this, both the sentient and insentient existence, is verily Brahman, and therefore let a man meditate on Brahman, tranquil in mind. Just as water-bubbles which have their origin, existence and end in the ocean, are found to be only forms of that ocean, so too, that which depends for its origin, etc., on Brahman associated with Sakti must be made up of Brahman and nothing else. Nothing distinct from him is ever perceived. Accordingly in the Atharva Siras it has been declared by Isana as follows:—

"Alone I was at first, (alone) I am and shall be;

There is none else distinct from Me."

And then was declared by Him in the words "I am Brahman," that the whole universe is His own form. And in the words

"He entered the more hidden from (or than) the hidden one" etc. His entering into the universe is given as a reason for the whole universe being his own form. Thus this universe having no origin, existence or end outside Brahman, it is not a quite distinct thing from Brahman. Accordingly the learned say:—

"His Sâktis or energies (form) the whole world, and the Mahesa or the great lord is the energetic (Saktimân). Never can energy exist distinct from the energetic. Unity of these two is eternal, like that of fire and heat in as much as unseparateness always exists between energy and the energetic. Wherefore supreme energy belongs to the supreme Atmam, since the two are related to each other as substance and attribute. The energy of heat is not conceived to be distinct from fire" and so on.

Vaya-Samhitâ too says: (Parva. 25. ch. 18 and 19).

"From Sakti up to earth, (the whole world) is born of the principle S'iva. By him alone, it is pervaded, as the jar, etc., by clay. His variegated Supreme S'akti, whose form is knowledge and bliss, appears as one and many, like the light of the sun."

The following passages of the S'ruti speak of Para-brahman as possessed of infinite powers of creating, ruling and maintaining the world, all inherent in Him.

"His Supreme Sakti is spoken of as manifold, inherent, endued with the activity of knowledge and life." (Svetas. 6. 8).

"One verily is Rudra,—they were not for a second—who rules these worlds with the powers of the ruling." (3-2).

In short, on the authority of the S'ruti, Smṛiti, Itihāsa, Purāṇa, and the sayings of the learned, the Supreme S'akti whose manifold manifestation this whole universe of chit and achit is, whose being is composed of Supreme Existence, Intelligence and Bliss, and unlimited by space and time—is inherent in the nature of S'iva, the Supreme Brahman, and constitutes His own essential form and quality. Apart from S'akti, He cannot be the Omniscient, the Omnipotent, the causa of all the all controlling, the all-adorable, the all-gracious, the means of attaining all aspirations, and the omnipresent; and, moreover, such grand designations as "Mahesvara" the Supreme Lord, "Mahadeva" the supreme deity, and Rudra the expeller of pain, cannot apply to Him. Thus it is Brahman whose body is the whole sentient and insentient universe, and who is denoted by all words. Just as the word 'blue' denotes not the blue colour only, but also the totus which is of blue colour, so does the word 'universe' also

denote Brahman. Therefore, such passages as "All is Rudra verily" teach that Brahman is denoted by all words. Accordingly the passage "All this, verily, is Brahman" refers to Brahman whose body the whole of the sentient and insentient universe is. The universe being thus a form of Brahman and being therefore not an object of hatred, etc., let every one be peaceful at heart and worship Brahman. This doctrine is clearly expounded even in the purāṇic texts such as the following:—
"The body of the God of Gods is this universe, moving and unmoviṅg. This, the Jivas (Pasus) do not know, owing to the mighty bondage. They say sentiency is Vidyā, and insentiency Avidyā. The whole universe of Vidyā and Avidyā is no doubt the body of the Lord, the fall of all: for whole universe is subject to Him.

The word "sat" is used by the wise to denote the real and the good, and 'asat' is used by vedic teachers to denote the contrary. The whole universe of the sat and the asat is the body of Him who is on high. Just as, by the watering of the roots of a tree, its branches are nourished, so by the worship of S'iva, the universe which is His body is nourished. A'tman is the eighth body of S'iva, the Paramesvara, pervading all other bodies.

Wherefore the whole universe is ensouled by S'iva. If any embodied being whatsoever be subjected to constraint, it will be quite repugnant to the eight-bodied lord; as to this there is no doubt. Doing good to all, kindness to all, affording shelter to all,—this they hold, is the worshipping of S'iva." And so on.

Brahman being all-formed, it is but right to say "all is Brahman" and let every one be peaceful and worship Brahman." Therefore it is Brahman who in the opening passage is stated to be the object of worship, that is also spoken of as manomaya, as partaking of the nature of manas, and so on. Neither should it be supposed that the partaking of the nature of manas is a characteristic mark of a samsārin; for Brahman may limit Himself by assuming a shape which can form an object of worship.

"That which," therefore, "eternally rests within the Atma," (I-12), "wells in the cave (of the heart) of all beings," (iii 11), "is the greater than the great, smaller than the small, hidden in the heart of the nature (iii 20), "hidden in all beings; like the subtle film," (iv 16), and subtler than subtle" (iv 14), the wise should seize in the body (āt) by means of the pranava, within himself, and by the drill of meditation and penance, (I-14), they should, "with the mind towards the west," "love the old Brahman, by the grace of Savitṛ." (Light or

Chit—Sakti) (ii. 7 & 8), 'grasping by the manas' (Sakti v. 14), and perceive 'by the heart, by the soul, by the mind,' (iv. 17), in the Highest Turyatita plane, where S'iva dwells alone, the Eternal and Adorable Light, this most Ancient of Days, the S'iva the Blissful and Benign Being, the great Purusha of sunlike brilliancy dwelling in the Highest Vyoma, then their fetters (pasa) fall off, they will cross over to the other shore, after passing through the torrents that cause fear, (ii. 8), their darkness (Ahankara Anaya) will vanish, and all material bodies (maya) will fall off, and they will enter into the supreme bliss and Peace.

The various psychological and spiritual steps, by which the sanctification of the Soul is accomplished, is stated beautifully in i. 10. "From meditating on Him, from joining Him, from becoming one with him, there is further cessation of all Maya (bodies-births) in the end." In a most beautiful address on the famous text of St. Paul,

"We, all, with unveiled face, reflecting as a mirror, the Glory of the Lord, are transformed into the same image, from Glory to Glory even as from the Lord the Spirit."

Professor Henry Drummond, who is said to have revolutionized christian thought in the last few decades, calls these, *laws of reflection, and of assimilation*. He instances the iron which gets magnetized and becomes a magnet, and a mirror, getting rid of its dust, reflects the glorious light and becomes merged with it and lost. And he remarks "All men are mirrors—that is, the first law on which this formula is based. One of the aptest descriptions of a human being is that he is a mirror." And our upanished fortunately contains the selfsame description and illustration.

"As a metal disk (mirror), tarnished by dust shines bright again after it has been cleaned, so is the one incarnate person satisfied and free from grief, after he has seen the real (pure) Nature of himself." "And when by the real nature of his self, he sees as by a lamp, the real nature of the Brahman, then having known the unborn eternal God, who transcends all the tatvas, he is freed from all fetters (pasa), (ii. 14 & 15). The first text would simply read, in Drummond's language, "See, reflect and become God."

It only remains for us now to point out that verse two of the first adhyaya is mistranslated by Roer, Max Müller, Mead and others. They contain terms which are not known to the systems they are familiar with and they are alone preserved in the Siddhanta system. The terms are 'Kala,' 'Svabho,' 'Niyati'

'Ichcha,' 'Bhuta,' 'Yoni,' 'Purusha,' and they are also referred as 'Yonisvabho' &c., in V. 4. and in Vi. 7. 'Svabha' and 'Kala.'

We stated that the different schools differed in the enumeration of the tatvas or categories but most of them stopped with Prakriti or Pradhana and Purusha, the highest in their list, the 24th and 25th principle (*Vide*, Senthinathier's Table of Tatvas, published, Madras 1899), but the Siddhanta school postulated above this, other tatvas or principles, making up the whole number into 86. These higher tatvas were, Ragam (Ichcha), Vidya, Niyate, *Kalam*, kata, (constituting what is called the soul's, the purusha's Pancha Kanchakam), Maya, Suddha Vidya, Maheshwara, Sadasiva, Bindhu (or Sakti) and Nadam (Siva). And the terms used in our text is kata, Svabho or Kata, Niyati, Ichcha or Ragam, Bhuta or Vidya and Yoni or Sukshma Maya, and Purusha or soul. That our interpretation is genuine we could show by quoting the authority of the author of a Purana, who at any rate is anterior to all the commentators whose explanations we now possess. The following occurs in Kailasa Samhita, and it refers to the Svetasvatara text.

"Purushasyatn bhoktrivam pratipamasya bhojanecha prayatnatah. Antarangatayatatva panchakam girakirtitam. Nirgateh kala rajascha Vidyacha Tadanandaram kala Chapanchakamidam Mayotpannam Munisvara, Mayantu Prakrutim' Vidyan Maya Sruthi etritā. Tajjanegetani Tatvani struti Yugtāni nasamsayah, Katasva bhavoni yatiriti Cha srutirabravit etat panchakam evasya panchakanchuka Muchyate. Ajanan pancha tatvani vidvanapi Vimudhadhih. Niyatyadhastat prabrute ruparisthah pumanayam Vidyatatvamidam proktem.

J. M. NALLASWAMI PILLAI.

TWO SCHOOLS OF SOUTHERN INDIAN MUSIC.

(TIYAGAYYAR AND MUTHUSAWMY DIKSHITAR).

It has been remarked that "in music, as in other arts, the power of invention even when displayed in its most original form, has a never-failing tendency to run in certain recognised channels, the study of which enables the technical historian to separate its manifestations into more or less extensive groups, called schools, the limits of which are as clearly defined as those of the well-known schools of Painting or of Sculpture." Thus are schools of music formed which have distinctive features. A school has been defined to be "the spirit of a code of art-canon which has grown up or, so to say, compiled itself from the salient characteristics of the most prominent votaries of an art." A careful study of the early Hindu Music discloses the existence of various schools of composition which have established themselves on well-defined lines. Narada, one of the earliest writers on music, refers to several kinds of compositions, of which the *Archika* employs one note, the *Gatika*, two; the *Samika*, three; the *Swaranantara*, four; the *Oudava*, five; the *Shadava*, six; and the *Sampurna*, seven. These afford the earliest glimpses into the latent possibilities of the scale-formations which were developed later on to such a high perfection. It is clear that no possible scales can be formed of one or two notes, which are probably intended for recitative purposes. No more than three notes are employed in several of the reels, jigs and nursery-rhymes. "Several of European melodies harp solely on the notes C, E, G. like all the military sounds and signals given by Bugles and Trumpets, which are confined to their open notes." It is probable that some kinds of religious hymns and chants were only composed of three notes. Early Vedic hymns were confined to not more than four or five notes. All modern musical compositions freely employ five, six and seven notes.

The Southern Indian Music of the present day presents characteristics which are entirely different from its sister of the North. Here more attention was early paid to the musical theory and an astonishing progress was the result, which showed itself in the later compositions. Artistic compositions of perfect form

replaced crude and imperfect musical attempts. It does not seem desirable here to describe the various forms of composition that have been popular. This must find a place in a history of the Southern Indian Music with which we are not directly concerned here. Purandharadoss may be said to be one of the earliest pioneers who systematized music in the modern form. Among composers of this period who may be said to have left an abiding work, may be mentioned Syama Sastri, Pallavi Gopalayya, Sesha Iyengar, Kuppusawmiah, who, by their beautiful compositions have improved the musical style and form, without deviating from established principles. But no names are justly held in greater estimation than the revered ones of Tiyagayyar and Muthusawmy Dikshitar, whose music has so thoroughly permeated the Hindu household that it would take centuries, if not æons, to replace them. They stand on a higher pedestal and shine with unique grandeur as the stars of the first magnitude on the musical firmament of Southern India. Their various compositions are characterised by features which are sufficiently distinct. They are founders of two different schools which have ever since served as models for succeeding generations. We are not here immediately concerned with the biographical sketches of these two eminent musicians whose influence has been more abiding than that of any previous or subsequent composers who may be reckoned to have left any permanent impression of their musical activity. I shall here attempt a mere outline of a criticism of their music which, I believe, has not hitherto been attempted, and which seems to be essential for its thorough mastery and artistic appreciation. An attempt to really understand a subject involves the exercise of a free activity untrammelled by prejudice and unfettered by malice. My endeavour here will be a disinterested and dispassionate study of the music of these two composers. Musical criticism has made little progress, so far as Hindu music is concerned. But a recognition of the principles of criticism will tend to bring out in a clear relief all latent beauties as well as possible defects, for criticism is nothing else than "a disinterested endeavour to learn and propagate the best that is known and thought in the world." An intelligent estimate of any work of art by a competent critic is an invariable prelude to its success and the work gains popularity by establishing its claims to a permanent place in the literature of the

subject. Of course, not all men have time or inclination or capacity for all topics. Some things must necessarily be left aside in the press and hurry of life; but if we are interested in a subject, we are bound to take some measure of the responsibility which that interest entails. It is a poor occupation to look upon the conflicts of thought with an aimless *dilettante* wonder, and bear no hand, even in our own field, to maintain the cause with which we profess ourselves in sympathy.

Before entering into the subject of this critique, it may be useful to point out the early tendencies of musical development. For a long time, music held a position only subordinate to the words to which it was set. The invariable accompaniment of words to music has therefore been recognised to elucidate its meaning. Words accompanying music have always exercised a more potent influence than music itself, which they defined and endowed with meaning and purpose. To many music is nothing more than a medium of expression of sentiments rendered more impressive than the more prosaic way of expressing it in the ordinary language. That this is the true function and mission of music has been the opinion held for a long time. But great musicians with a truly critical instinct have adopted the more accurate and scientific view that music by itself cannot express feelings which can be in any way characterised as definite and specific. The real influence of music in this direction has always been misleading and deceptive. The language in which a given piece of music is clothed sets limits to and circumscribes its functions, which effect is inappropriately transferred to music. As this has been discussed in sufficient detail elsewhere, the subject need not be pursued further.

As religious devotion first found vent in musical expression, music has early come to be the hand-maid of religion, and musical efforts were at first directed to forms of chanting directly appealing to a Higher Being. It is worthy of remark that music was subordinated to the purpose of religion, in other words that words used for devotional purposes exercised greater influence than the music to which they were set. It is not improbable that, in the beginning, as it is even now with religious enthusiasts, music did not contribute to separate enjoyment—an enjoyment of the pleasures of music *per se*. It simply helped the zealot, the fanatic and the visionary in pursuing his ideals with a greater amount of concentration, which it has the capacity to aid. It will be thus

seen that the influence of music in the beginning was indirect, and was exercised through the medium of language. Even now to many music unaccompanied by words conveys no meaning. The relevancy of these remarks will become manifest when we consider that the early compositions in every country are characterised by very little of genuine music but that prominence is given to words composing it, as better illustrating the sentiments then uppermost in the mind of the devotee. The result was that music was not varied and descriptions of sentiments were carried to a nauseating degree. Composers paid little attention to the beauty of variations in music. Popular ballads, folk-songs, &c., are absolutely poor in music, whereas the themes are more comprehensively and exhaustively dealt with, which was all that was required for catering to the public taste. Under such circumstances it would be difficult to expect any improvement in music.

Here an interesting reference may be made to the practice obtaining among European musicians, of setting music to poems and lyrics of distinguished poets. It is stated that "until the poet supplies lyrics of adequate power and beauty of form, the skill of the composer alone cannot develop the full capacities of the song. When, however, poets and composers of the first rank have worked together in mutual sympathy and admiration, as did the German poets and composers of Goethe's age, the song has quickly mounted to the loftiest heights of art." But this practice stands condemned in this country and perhaps generally in the East. Here the musician is always a poet, and there seem to be very few instances where poetical passages of others have been set to music by eminent musicians. Hindu musicians were generally poets and men of erudition and this would account for setting their own compositions to their own music: in fact here music and poetry have always gone hand in hand. It is said that the rivalry between Tiyyagayyar and Dikshitar (the famous musicians and composers of Southern India, forming the subject of this paper) was at first owing to the former having ridiculed the idea of the latter's brother composing the words to his music. This is considered here as an unpardonable weakness which, in the West, would be regarded as a great honour and a distinct attainment.

Differences of opinion have prevailed with regard to the true estimate of the two schools of music as represented by Tiyyagayyar and Dikshitar. Contemporary opinion varied with regard to

the relative achievement of either. Emerson has truly observed that "the centripetence augments the centrifugence. We balance one man with his opposite, and the health of the state depends on the see-saw." It was likewise the case as regards these great men. Votaries have ranged themselves on one side or the other with a misplaced zeal which more often damages the cause they have set up to defend and to establish its purity and truth. "The influence of a talent" it is said, "will unfortunately impose its defects and aberrations by the very force of its higher qualities, and the defects are more easily imitated than the higher qualities." It is therefore of paramount necessity that each individual votary of any art should exercise the most rigorous self-discipline. The partizan spirit once allowed to *domineer* over our better feelings will completely blind us to all love for truth and predispose us to error and defect, which no reasoning can rectify. The purity of a school will be maintained in proportion as the salient characteristics are unsullied by "peculiarities or tricks." A great difficulty in the way of study is to hear oneself as one really is and not as one intends to be. It is this prudential restraint that will secure pre-eminence and supremacy over all others.

It has been observed that "although a man can only take rank as an artist if he express his own character and that of his people, he is only great artist in so far as he expresses them in the best possible way. The first spontaneous conception of melody springs from the emotional temperament of the composer, and so marks him at once as a member of his particular nation; its treatment is derived from the intellectual laws of proportion and balance, and so belongs to the general evolutions of the art." Tiya-gayyar and Dikshitar were the two greatest artists in the forgoing sense. The greatness of Southern Indian Music and its scientific basis and popularity are all due to these musical giants whose knowledge of melodic perception, and artistic temperament have enabled them to preserve its purity and excellence. Uninfluenced by the popular clamour for sweet but unscientific music, they still strove after, and succeeded in combining, scientific accuracy with melodic sweetness, which at once ensured an uncommon popularity, unachieved by bygone musicians and unattainable by future composers. They always aimed at perfection of form which is "the one condition of vitality in music, whatever may be said of other arts." Both were highly original in their conception, though

their treatment ended in complete divergence which resulted in the establishment of two different styles. In themselves the pioneers of new forms of melodic expression, they had the greatest regard for other forms, which, though not of superior kinds, still contributed to the wealth of musical illustration. The themes of their composition were devotional and dedicated to descriptions of mythological and puranic ideals, and their language was never levitical or frivolous. Both had the highest regard for musical purity which was never sacrificed for popular applause or monetary favour. Royal bounties never tempted them to descend from their ideals, and royal displeasure could never induce them to swerve from the path of rectitude. They cultivated the science for its own sake, irrespective of praise or blame to which they turned a deaf ear. Both were veterans in musical science and masters in musical art. In fact it will be difficult to find, in the whole range of musical history, persons who "have laboured with a more earnest anxiety at accuracy of outline and artistic symmetry of detail."

A musical critic remarks, "Among the many types of character which are developed by the pursuit of an artistic profession, two stand out salient and extreme: the artist militant and the artist contemplative. The former looks upon life as a crusade; he proclaims his doctrines to the sound of the trumpet and proves them at the point of the sword: he treats every critic as a traitor, and every adversary as a Paynim and a miscreant: he invades all lands, he challenges all strongholds: he shakes the round earth with the noise of conflict and the shock of contending creeds. The latter is of a far different temper. To him the service of a cause is occupation enough: he is content to produce the best that he knows, and cares little or nothing that others should accept his strong point: if the work be good, he will let it take its chance of appreciation; if men choose to fight about its merits, he will watch the struggle from his study-window as a matter in which he has no personal concern. Nothing is farther from his thought than the establishment of a school or the leadership of a party." These remarks very aptly illustrate the traits of these two men. Tiya-gayyar is the artist militant whose thorough self-confidence and extreme self-sufficiency and aggressive criticism overawed all his contemporaries. An aversion to outside criticism of any kind and an intolerance of comment and competition were the predominant characteristics

of his life. His genius was not inconsistent with a *hauteur* which will not brook to see an equal. Many an anecdote is mentioned illustrating this phase of his character. A contemporary of his by name Shatkala Govindasawmy, whose inconceivable rapidity of execution and extraordinary ability compelled the admiration of even Tipagayyar who is said to have spontaneously burst forth, soon after listening to his music, into the well-known song of his (*Endaro Mahanubhavulu, &c.*), which is to the effect that musical eminence is not confined to a few but that many of the greatest musical erudition exist, who deserve the highest praise. But examples such as these were very few, and fewer still were real musicians who could cope with him either in matter of actual singing or extempore compositions. In his case "it was a consciousness of abilities superior to those around him. It was the self-esteem of a man who, according to Aristotle, 'thinks himself worthy of great things, being in truth worthy.'" It was ambition in the highest sense of the word, ambition to turn to best account the extraordinary talents with which he was endowed by nature; and his militant attitude can be explained on the supposition that he felt he had a distinct mission to fulfil and perform. Dikshitar on the other hand was a passive on-looker who was afraid of taking any part in life's struggle and unequal to the difficult task of coping with the many serious strifes which fall to one's lot in his ambition to reach the height of fame. His deep absorption in his study, his studied unconcern for material benefits which cannot accrue to him without a heavy sacrifice, and his prosaic existence, all point to a peaceful nature—a nature which shrank at the very idea of competition and which regarded the world with philosophical indifference. Leading a placid and unruffled life, he poured into the mysteries of his favorite theme and evolved from his fertile imagination conceptions and ideas which are however marked by a passivity and exclusiveness characterising his compositions. An active temperament produces active results which are absent in an indifferent nature. This will explain the rather dull monotonous and heavy character of his music. Want of spirit seems to be its keynote.

"Before entering into a detailed examination of their music," a general estimate of the distinguishing characteristics of each may be found useful in giving an idea of their differences as compared with their agreements, which have been already noted above. If

a comparison outside the precincts of musical history can be instituted, it appears to me that Tiyaḡayyar's music differs from that of his contemporary as much as Shakespeare's poetry differs from that of Pope. Shakespeare had nature for his model, whereas Pope's poetry has neither the manner nor the spirit of nature. The smooth flow of the former one misses in the artificial poetry of the latter. It may be as truly said of Tiyaḡayyar that his music is the spontaneous outcome of a natural and healthy emotion, while that of Dikshitar is laboured and appears to be the result of much effort, as though each step was calculatedly studied and arrived at after a number of trials. It is somewhere remarked that "artistic progress, like that of political commonwealth, has always tended towards the abolition of purely conventional laws, and to the maintenance and development of those that are founded upon broad principles of human nature." This very well characterises the music of Tiyaḡayyar, which is least founded on conventional laws, except those that form the basis of the science itself. His hatred for stereotyped forms was unbounded, and convention of any kind was a shackle which he broke through, thoroughly unmindful of the conservative bias of his predecessors and contemporaries. His music, like nature, has "its hundred and unnumbered voices." On the other hand Dikshitar's music seems to have been composed by rule and measure, and what was said of Chopin's music truly applies to him, namely, that "before his pieces were deemed ready for presentation, they were tried by every test, and confronted with every alternative which a scrupulous ingenuity could propose." Tiyaḡayyar was the daring pioneer in Art who has distanced his contemporaries and has attained a height which they can never hope to reach. Dikshitar was the watchful climber who plants every footstep with circumspection and employs all his prudence and foresight and command of resource. The audacity with which Tiyaḡayyar has extended the range of musical expression can never characterise the diffident and measured music of Dikshitar who fears to tread where others have not trodden before him and whose musical powers were circumscribed in their application. A limited set of musical forms was all that was necessary for artificial combinations. But the sweet warblings of spontaneous music need a hundred contrivances which are always ready to hand in the service of musicians of great originality. Dikshitar enlarged the possibilities of the musical art in only cer-

tain definite directions. But our admiration for Tiyaḡayyar is as a pioneer who has illumined the mysterious depths of the science and illustrated it in a thousand varieties, which the limited capacity of his predecessors and contemporaries have hardly given pre-vision of. We admire him as an artist who has simplified musical forms and shewn to the world what Hindu music is capable of in the hands of a master. We admire him as one marking a stage in the general course and progress of artistic History and as one, who, while conscious of his relation to the world, is always "preoccupied with the fairy land of his own creation." We follow him as a magician whose magic wand shapes inert and prosaic musical material into a thousand melodies of perfect form and unsullied beauty. We bow to him as the master who has restored order and harmony amidst the noisy tumult of by-gone ages. Dikshitar was a person of undoubted gifts well-read in musical literature, brimful of resource and skilful in treatment. But his compositions have not evoked that bursting applause which has been the deserved meed of his illustrious contemporary: his work may be said to be hidden "under the shadow of its own laurels": his creative activity can be measured by a few splendid pieces characterised by a rare dignity of style, which will surely endure all ravages of time. We revere him as a singer who has contributed his share to, but not as one who has revolutionized, the system. But delicate arabesques and the undulating and varied melodies are the spontaneous outcome of one to whom the highest rank has, by universal consent, been assigned, and whose appreciation has been crystallized in the enlightened gratitude of the many hearts that swell in his praise.

One cannot but be struck with the passionate fondness for music displayed in the compositions of Tiyaḡayyar who lost no opportunity to extol the superior beauty and bewitching charm of music. Perhaps no other composers of any repute have dwelt to such an extent on its æsthetic importance. It is said that the true effect of music is never felt by the musician himself, because in his critical analysis of the various musical forms and style, he loses perception of the æsthetic side of it and thus becomes callous to its superior influences. But it seems to have exercised such an overpowering influence on Tiyaḡayyar who was himself a most fertile composer, that every variation introduced by him in his songs seems as though it was first felt by him and then incorporated. He regarded those that had no ea-

r music and is not moved with concord of sweet sounds as human meretes (?) just as the Bard of Avon regarded them as "fit for seasons, stratagems and spoils." He believed that it was music that led to final beatitude and that persons uninfluenced by it could ever hope to reach it, though he put his strong faith in the fact that music must be innate and never acquired. In the oriental language of fatalistic renunciation, he avowed with great force that a true knowledge of music must be predestinated. Those that cannot swim in the immense ocean of the sweetest music which is the crystallised essence of all arts and sciences are but lanky scarecrows and dead weights. Music played and sung in just tune and exact time was the only thing which could propitiate the gods. He everywhere panegyrised those that entered into the true significance of music as heroes who claim eternal gratitude. It is this constant harping on the beauties of music, which is the key-note of his compositions and which explains the varieties of musical structure indulged in by him, as he was swayed by different kinds of emotions. As eulogist of music, he stands unrivalled. Dikshitar seems to have very rarely emphasized the æsthetic value of music. His themes were never interwoven with digressions on its emotional characteristics. His intellect was elaborately engaged on a spinning of musical forms, all the while perhaps unconscious of their subtle influences, till popular applause gave them permanence and status. This aspect has been explained here at some length to illustrate the influence of music on these composers, which will also explain the true characteristics of their music.

An important deviation from the methods of composing of musicians who lived long before Tiyaḡayyar is noticeable in his music. I have in the beginning referred to the tendency of the early composers to continue the same music through a labyrinth of words without attempting to vary it. With them music played a subsidiary part and the themes were developed to a nauseating degree. So long as music is believed to have the sole mission of expressing definite emotions which will however be found on deeper consideration to be the undoubted province of words, it will be certainly subordinated to the words to which it is set. This tendency is noticeable in Dikshitar's compositions. There is a profusion of words with the same music carried to a tiresome extent. In the themes of his compositions, one cannot help noticing a string of synonymous words with very little of true poetry and

with very little variation of music. Tiyaḡayyar, on the other hand, had the instinctive perception of the effect of variation in music, while the accompaniment of words was justly valued to give the music a concrete shape. The beauty of music without words—the picturesque combination of notes and their sustaining cadences—can be fully appreciated only by men of superior musical culture and scientific attainments who find in words a mnemonical aid in remembering the music. Tiyaḡayyar's songs are replete with music, while the words employed are as brief as they can be. No critical student can fail to observe that the shorter the pieces, the more is the music varied. His longest pieces, where there is little of musical variation, were specially composed for devotional purposes where the words are so constituted as to form a sort of hymnody. Wherever he intended to illustrate a song in its more or less entirety, he necessarily cut short the length of words. The true function of music, he seems to have considered, was the presentation of the highest attainable degree of pure beauty in sound. Such a wealth of musical variation is found only in his music and is a novel departure, as has already been observed, from the traditions of his predecessors. It is this that has secured for him the highest place in the rank and file of the army of musicians that preceded him.

The most distinguishing feature of his music is the introduction of musical variations, known here as *sangatis*. The art of variation—building was brought to a state of perfection by him. His contemporary, with a genius for masterly strokes, had not attempted it. The variation is said to afford one of the most favorable opportunities for the exercise of genius. The variations of Tiyaḡayyar who was by nature a man of deep feeling and refined intellectuality, are extremely impressive and interesting. None but a man of his genius could have revolutionized our music by the ingenious and masterly variations, which play such an important part in the history of European music. These enabled him to bring out the latent possibilities of melody very prominently. Each variation has its individual characteristic. The way in which the various styles succeed one another is very artistic and felicitous. At the initial stage, each of these is simple being composed of a few notes. The next is a little more elaborate than the preceding and so on till we reach the end whose perfect scientific elaborations, rhythmic liveliness and melodic fulness are enough

to transport one to the seventh heaven of perfect bliss. His variations are remarkable for their intrinsic qualities and are rare examples of melodic treatment. The variations comprise generally a single Avarta or 4 equal bars in common time, and the skill of the composer is displayed in compressing the whole of his variations, however long-winded, or far-fetched, exactly within the limits of this space. Their superior effect consists in the way in which the quickness of the notes is varied, getting faster and faster till they reach a brilliant conclusion. The peculiarity of his variations was to build one variation upon another, and making the repetition a more elaborate version of the first form of each half of the variation. Where the variations are strongly divided from one another, and form a string of separate little pieces, the contrasts and balances are admirably devised. In some cases, again the sets are especially noticeable for their continuity, and for the way in which one variation seems to glide into another. No student of music can ignore their importance as a valuable help in discerning the ramifications of Raga development. In some cases a few variations of his are enough to point out the whole tenor of a Raga, while elaborate variations are supplied for the comprehensive understanding of the more difficult melody-types. In the matter of variation-building he can be compared only to Beethoven, one of the greatest classical composers of the modern times. As Beethoven is said to form an era in the history of variation making, so Tiyaḡayyar is an epoch-maker in the history of Hindu music. To both, the art was extremely congenial. His principles are in the main those of Beethoven, while he "applies such devices as condensation of groups of chords, anticipations, inversions, analogues, sophistication, by means of chromatic passing notes with an elaborate but fluent ingenuity which sometimes makes the tracing of the theme in a variation quite a difficult intellectual exercise." This subject has been handled in detail to show their place and importance in musical composition in general. Ruskin's remark about the beauty of 'Home, Sweet Home' applies truly to the graceful melodic variations of Tiyaḡayyar. "But I did care about bearing about a million of long notes in perfect cadence and succession of sweetness. I never recognised before so many notes in a given brevity of moment all sweet and helpful. I have often heard glorious harmonies and inventive and noble succession of harmonies, but I never in my life heard a variation like that."

THE INFLUENCE OF LITERATURE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHARACTER.

A marvellous awakening of the intellectual energies of the Indians which have lain dormant through centuries of political subjection to conquerors who had neither sympathy with, nor discernment enough to understand and develop the mental potentialities of, their subject-people; a reformation in social ideals, consequent on a new earnestness to imitate the ideals of other nations who have contributed a conspicuous part to the development of the material civilisation of the world, which gives promise of vast, though not absolutely wholesome, changes in our social fabric in the near future; and above all the slow reconciliation to the idea of change of the custom-bound and tradition-governed mind of the East which, before, was assured of the ruin of the world as a consequence of any overturning of its conservative tendencies, have been the result of the impact of the fresh, practical, and virile literature of the West upon India. The advent of European literature into India has served the same purpose for it that the invention of printing and the Reformation of Luther and, later, the French Revolution, did for Europe, when the long priest-ridden sleep of the middle ages was dispelled and the European genius rose to a consciousness of its giant strength and made the civilisation of the most barbarous corners of the world possible. If, in this paper, I draw my illustrations of the influence of Literature upon the development of character from the changes that have been so powerfully effected upon our national mind by the literature of Europe, I should not be taken to forget the immense possibilities for beneficent influence that lie hidden like a treasure in the glorious Literature of this land of Rishis—a Literature that prides itself upon a philosophy, the highest and the most elevating in the world, and a poetry expressing ideals of beauty inferior to none that have ever been conceived by any poet of any age. I believe that, in the wonderful and complicated arrangement of the Universe, India has a function to perform. I believe that India will, before the end of the century at whose birth we all help, repay a hundred-fold the important service which Europe has done us in presenting to our view a side of

civilisation and development, which before was closed to us. That function will be to communicate to our English rulers and through them to the whole of Europe the same spiritual lesson that the ancient Greeks gave to their Roman conquerors. India will lend a counterpoise to the low materialism of modern civilisation that depresses and degenerates the spirit, and give Europe a Philosophy which is religion and which, alone of all the Religions of the world, is adapted to unravel the mysteries of existence.

That Literature exerts a potent influence upon the character of a nation and moulds it for good or ill is as indisputable as that character itself is the deposit in the mind, according to well-known laws of heredity, of the tendencies and motives of action of generations of ancestors that have gone before. In determining the agencies in the formation and development of character, due prominence must also be given to the conditions of climate and country in which the individual or the nation lives. Students of history need not be reminded that the fortunes of nations have to a very great extent depended upon the character of their country. That the people of Asia scattered over a large area and separated from one another by waterless and incommunicable deserts in some cases and bleak and inaccessible mountains in others have to blame their own disadvantageous local habitation for their conservatism and aversion to change; or that the peoples of India composed, as they are, of different races that have no other affinity among them than that they are the sons of the same God and inhabiting a country which has very few good harbours should sadly want in the unity of interests which is the indispensable condition of national existence or should have elaborated a system of rules against travel by sea; or that the nations of Europe living in a climate free from the enervating torpor of a tropical clime and having access to the sea through a number of very fine harbours should take to commerce and have strength to subdue other and weaker nations, are facts which any student of history may easily understand. Inherited tendencies and environment being understood to be the agencies in the formation of character, the influence of Literature on character may be described as a tendency to modify, in many ways, the character so formed. Before I proceed to point out the ways in which Literature acts upon character, it will be well to understand what Literature

ture is and what are its divisions. Literature is, as we all know, the totality of thought to which expression has been given by a nation. That thought may be purely intellectual in character and augmentative of our scientific knowledge or emotional in its nature and educative of our "deep sympathies with mysterious ideals of beauty." The first division of Literature may be styled, in accordance with De Quincey's rough classification, the Literature of knowledge and includes within its scope all the sciences from Philosophy to Sociology; and the second may be denominated the Literature of Power and includes whatever appeals to "the genial in man, to the human spirit and not to the understanding alone."

The influence on the development of character which the first of these divisions is capable of exercising is mainly indirect. Not so the second. The Literature of Power affects the development of character in a direct and a potent manner. The influence is exercised in two ways which always go together. The supreme function of the Literature of Power is to bring the imaginative faculty into exercise and to help onwards the progress of the race by presenting to it ideals of beauty and excellence. To exhibit the importance of the exercise of the imagination as the most important factor in the progress of mankind, it is enough to point out that the unimaginative races of the world are its unprogressive races. The faculty of being able to picture in your mind a fresh combination of facts is the spring from which Philosophy is able to formulate those hypotheses which, by rousing the intellectual energies of mankind to verify them, render scientific progress possible. What is genius but an audacious dash into the unknown of a refined imagination? How impotent will religion be in its endeavours to improve the moral status of the race, if the human mind did not possess a faculty capable of being impressed by the terrors of a Hell or the bliss eternal of a Heaven?

Ideals work on the imagination. The importance of ideals in the progress of a nation is immeasurable. It is only when the advent of European Literature into India had presented to us the ideal of a united and a prosperous national existence that the Indian has been roused to a sense of his political non-entity. What is it that distinguishes the savage in African wilds who identifies the goal of his life with the daily gratification of his simple physical cravings from his civilised compeer of modern

Europe except the continuous presentation of progressive ideals which, unknown to the former, attract the latter to higher and higher stages of existence?

It will, therefore, be easily perceived that the function which the Literature of Power performs by the exercise of the imaginative faculty and the presentation of ideals, is essential to the progress of the individual as well as the nation. It will also be perceived that a course of Liberal Education is absolutely necessary for the improvement of the race; that, in spite of the charges that have been recently brought forward against liberal education as productive of disloyalty and other vices by politicians who are needlessly frightened by our newly-awakened consciousness of national existence, a liberal and a classical education satisfies a necessity which can never find its gratification in any amount of technical instruction.

The influence of Literature is manifested not so much in the storage in the mind of a number of useful maxims of conduct, as in the slow but steady modification of our disposition which it effects. A habitual reflection upon high ideals of conduct followed by tendencies of action in accordance with them, results in the formation of good-will. The moral excellence of man is determined, not by the nature of the actions he performs, but by the quality of the disposition that prompts them. The classification of the progressive stages in the moral existence of man which the Hindu system of morals denominated the Satwa, Rajas, and the Thamas is only in consonance with this simple maxim. In fact the realisation of self is the highest object of man's existence and the attainment of this object is facilitated by the study of a wholesome Literature.

The Literature of a nation is the life of the nation, and the growth of Literature depends on the growth of national life. Literature and national life act and re-act upon each other. While national life supplies the basis of the Literature of a particular era, the Literature so built up acts upon the next generation and becomes an important element in the formation of its character.

Poetry is the form of Literature that exercises the greatest influence on man. The excellence of Poetry is determined "by the truth and seriousness of its study of life." It is a criticism of life, a criticism to which mankind will turn to interpret life for them, to console them and to sustain them. It is, in the

words of Wordsworth, "the impassioned expression which is in the countenance of all science." The astronomer, scanning the Heavens for purposes of scientific study, becomes an unconscious poet when he feels himself elevated by the immensity of the worlds therein displayed. If, then, the Literature of power appeals to whatever is genial in us and is the work of men who as Carlyle says, "have worked in the depths of our existence feeding through long times the life-roots of all excellent human things whatsoever in a way that utilities will not succeed in calculating," it becomes clear that it exerts on the development of our higher qualities an influence more potent than that of other forms.

I have already described the supreme importance of ideal in the life of an individual as well as a nation. Depend upon that only a nation that has produced a Shakespeare or a Dante has ever made its mark among the nations of the world. Says the sage Carlyle: "Truly it is a great thing for a nation that it get an articulate voice; that it produce a man who will speak forth melodiously what the heart of it means."

National solidarity depends to a very large extent on possessing common literary men. That the possession of a common language, with common literary men who present common ideals of excellence is a powerful factor in welding races together into one family with common objects and aims is as true as that the absence of a common language is an equally powerful agency in the opposite direction. Even the allegiance to a common Crown and common political aims have not succeeded in uniting the various races that make up the population of the Austro-Hungarian Empire; while the possession of a common language with common literary men promises to draw a veil over a regrettable past of mutual suspicion and draw closely together the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon family, the Englishmen and the Americans. What is it that can keep the Englishmen pasturing their sheep on Australian wilds, or mining for gold in black Klondike, or trafficking for ivory on the swampy Niger; what is it, asks Carlyle, "that can keep all these together into virtually one nation, so that they do not fall out and fight, but live at peace in brotherlike intercourse helping one another? Acts of Parliament or administrative Prime Ministers? No! is it not the unifying thought, 'This Shakespeare is ours; we produced him; we speak and think by

him; we are of one blood and kind with him.' "The Czar of all Russias," continues Carlyle, "is strong with so many bayonets, Cossacks and cannon. But he has had no voice of genius to be heard of all men and times. His Cossacks and cannon will all have rusted into non-entity, while Dante's voice is still audible. The nation that has a Dante is bound together as no dumb Russia can be."

The Literature of Power thus helps man by supplying him with ideals of conduct, and nations by promoting their solidarity. What can be more inspiring than the following from Carlyle, one of the teachers of the closing century? "It is not by what is called their effect on the world, by what we can judge of their effect there, that a man and his work are measured. Effect? Influence? Utility? Let a man *do* his work. The fruit of it is the care of another than he. It will grow its own fruit. Let us honor the great Empire of Silence. It is of all things the most useful for each of us to do in these loud times." Here have we an ideal which has a special application to these days of bluster, work. That is the real thing in the universe. Do something. Care not for its effect. Speak not of it. Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doth. "To Goethe that world's greatest product since Shakespeare, the life of action of conscious service to others, leading to harmonious relation with our fellow-men" was the highest ideal of existence.

That Literature is a potent influence, where it can be felt on our character is due to such classic strains as the following;—

"Nor love thy life, nor hate; but what thou liv'st
Live well; how long or short permit to heaven."

It is because Literature presents the most noble maxims of conduct in the most impressive manner; it is because its votaries study the depths of our existence and provide us with strong props for our support in the harsh turmoil of life that it is of infinite usefulness to man as a guide of his life and a monitor of his soul. The poet alone can give the commonest moral aphorism that fine, touching expression which appeals to the rudest heart. Does not the following verse touch more the human heart and touch it with greater effect than all the subtle discussions about the standards of conduct?

"To thine own self be true,
And it follows, as the night the day,
Thou can'st not then be false to any man."

The poet is our true friend—cautioning us against improper ambition, that dropsy of the soul, and at the same time telling us that true ambition there alone resides where justice vindicates and wisdom guides; where our purpose is good and where glory is our motive, not our end. Let all the ends thou aim'st at be thy country's, thy God's, and truth's. While content is wealth, the riches of the mind, and brings happiness to those who can find that treasure, he also tells us that true valour lies in the mind, the never-yielding purpose which owns not the blind award of giddy fortune; and that content which arises from idleness or cowardice to brave the reverses of an adverse fate is base servitude. We often fail in our efforts. What so common in the world as failure? If you fail, do not despair. Best men are moulded out of faults and for the most become much more the better for being a little bad. What cannot be preserved when fortune takes patience her injury a mockery makes. There is no disgrace in failure. Honour and shame from no condition arise. Act well thy part; there all thy honor lies. In performing his allotted work in this world, man is brought into opposition with the prejudices and passions of others. Herein comes the necessity for self-control, and we are taught that he that would govern others should be the master of himself; and self reverence, self-knowledge, and self-control, these three alone lead life to sovereign power. Let not the belief in a blind fatalism dull the promise of a bright life, because man is his own star and the soul that can render an honest and a perfect man commands all light, all influence, all fate. Nothing to him falls early or late. Our acts our angels are, or good or ill, our fatal shadows that walk by us still. The poet strengthens us against the slings of fortune and reminds us that stone-walls do not a prison make nor iron-bars a cage, because my mind to me a kingdom is. As regards the fruit of our labours,

Let us then be up and doing
With a heart for any fate
Still achieving, still pursuing
Learn to labour and to wait.

Such are some of the lessons which Literature has imparted and is every-day imparting to men. To testify to the extraordinary influence that can be exercised on the human mind by a literary production, I need only point out the changes that have been wrought upon the mind of Europe by that wonderful book,

the Christian Bible. The perfect manhood of its hero; "the exalted mind made and set wholly on the accomplishment of greatest things"; the simplicity and truth of his maxims; the spotless purity of his conduct; the complete self-abnegation that quails not to sacrifice himself to save one cry of despair from the lowest of men, these impress us with their majesty; and the influence of this book is only equalled by that of the Bagavad-Gita in India.

The influence of Literature on the higher qualities is also displayed in the slow but steady revolution which western thought is effecting in India. A voice was heard for the Hindu widow only after Indians had been taught western Literature. The nauseous Paria has lost his nauseousness to those who have come under its influence. A nation that has long been content to lose its individuality in the servitude induced by successive foreign dominations is now beginning to feel the stirring of a new pulse. What the highest Philosophy that ever was propounded has failed to effect has been easily accomplished in the course of a few years by western Literature. The equality of man with man which all the principles of toleration inculcated by our philosophy failed to convince us of is now patent to every one who has come under the levelling influence of western Literature.

I now pass on to consider the part that the Literature of knowledge plays in the development of character. The Progress of Science has exercised a contrary influence on the development of the higher qualities. Where a steady application to science is not tempered by a study of the Literature of Power, it is apt to engender a cool and calculating disposition that appreciates all things by their utility, so much so that science often finds it impossible to believe the existence, for example, of a benevolence that loses self in the service of suffering humanity or a generosity that has not its origin in selfishness. On the other hand, the noble devotion to knowledge for its own sake which moves all votaries of science has been the fertile source of a heroism and an enthusiasm that have not their parallel in any other department of life. The lives of those numerous scientists who have not valued their lives above the advancement of science are an inspiring heritage to posterity.

While the devotion to science has been the source of the noble enthusiasm that has not hesitated to risk its life upon the

fatal marshes of Campania in order to find out the cause of malaria, it has also been guilty of a criminal callousness in the infliction of suffering upon poor, dumb animals which, in my opinion, cannot be justified by all the good it can effect for man.

The influence of the Literature of knowledge is best manifested in the love of truth and of knowledge for its own sake which it induces. The white light of pure knowledge does not tolerate the smoke of untruth. The very impossibility of untruth in scientific researches communicates a continuous love of truth in all the transactions of life.

The advance of scientific thought has firmly established the supremacy of reason. The French revolution was merely its mighty expression. The mist of prejudice and superstition that had stunted the growth of the intellect has been dispelled by the bright light of advancing science. Reason has been restored to her rights. The liberty to think for himself has been given to man. No longer is it possible for any one to impose upon him and trade upon his credulousness. The shackles that had hitherto cramped the human spirit having fallen off, its progress in the future is assured.

The progress of scientific thought, while it has conferred incalculable benefit on mankind by its assertion of the Supremacy of Reason and the liberty of thought, has also done infinite mischief by engendering an intellectual license which has mercilessly and imprudently trampled upon the simple faith that, in the majority of cases, is the only practical solution of the mysteries of life. By robbing nature of her mystery, it has destroyed that reverence of man for nature which forms so large a part of his inner life. Knowledge has grown so far and so strong that in its strength it despises some of the most cherished feelings of mankind so much so that it requires a Tennyson to teach

"Let knowledge rise from more to more
But more of reverence in us dwell."

A superficial and imperfect scientific knowledge is apt to ridicule everything that does not conform to its straitlaced idea of reasonableness. It often forgets that there are more things in the world than are dreamt of in Philosophy. But it is also true that a deep and profound knowledge of science and its limits and possibilities produces a reverend appreciation of the

marvellous intricacies of life and nature and generates a state of mind ready to respect and understand any reasonable explanation of the unsolved mysteries of the world.

While science has harnessed in the service of mankind "the hidden powers of nature and has multiplied the ways of increasing the wealth and improving the comfort of man," it has also called into existence artificial wants which prompt selfish deeds and produce discontent when those wants are not gratified. A sordid materialism, doubting all but self, has followed in the wake of advanced scientific thought, resulting from the apotheosis of Reason uncoupled with elevating Faith.

The advance of scientific discoveries has exercised a vast indirect influence on the development of human character. The solidarity of the whole human family has been brought to our minds in a forcible way by the rapid and easy intercommunication which the discoveries of science have rendered possible. The close contact of the races of the world with one another and the opportunities for appreciating the excellences found in the literature or the religion of various nations which the advance of science has brought about have given a shock to the vanity of races who have hitherto considered themselves to be the select of God. Though it is as yet early to expect the principle of Universal Brotherhood to govern men in their relations to one another, still there are not wanting signs that the prejudices of nations founded on the distinctions of race and colour are wearing off. Excellence and perfection not being the exclusive birth-right of any particular race on earth, an opportunity has been given to the perfecting of each race by the mutual exchange of ideas which the close intercourse of nations, consequent on the advance of science, has facilitated. Above all, the discoveries of science, having penetrated to the inmost depths of nature, have only magnified that greatest mystery of the universe, namely, its original, and have, while sharpening the religious instinct, prepared the human mind for a religion or philosophy that will succeed in giving a rational explanation of its origin.

The spread of western knowledge in India, while it has affected the Indian youth in a number of beneficent directions, has also been the unfortunate cause of breaking down certain of their characteristics which their very home life has been designed to foster. The infusion of a desire for material advancement which has been the result of western training threatens to engulf and

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destroy in its overwhelming rush the simple spiritualism of this land of seers and saints. It has resulted in the destruction of all reverence for tradition and respect for ancient thought, and in their zealous admiration for western ideals all our young men are offensively ready to cry down present institutions. But I should ask them to remember that social institutions are the result of a variety of historical circumstances and that they are not the creation of capricious individuals; and any body that would lay unholy hands on them should be prepared to substitute a social scheme, when this growth of ages shall have been broken down. I should advise them to cherish the spiritualism which has come down to them from their ancestors as a precious possession which other nations are blindly groping their way to obtain.

While I sympathise sincerely with their desire for reform, I should caution them that reform should always be in the line of least resistance; that, however disagreeable to them may be the conservatism of their non-English educated fellow-Indians, it is absolutely necessary, if their reforming spirit should produce permanent results, to carry them with them. I should recommend them to moderate their hasty advocacy of European manners, costume, and thought by the reflection that the world will lose all its charm and picturesqueness by a monotonous uniformity; that the design of creation was not drawn on that plan; that, though Truth is one and indivisible, there are many ways of attaining it. Though I should be reluctant to see the liberty of thought of our young men curtailed by any respect for tradition or reverence for elders, I should yet remind them that, even according to English ideals, a gentleman never wounds other's feelings—nay, he respects even their prejudices; that self-assertiveness should never become morbid and that liberty of thought should not degenerate into an intellectual vanity that refuses to discover sense in other's opinions.

The traditional courtesy and gentleness of the Indians have been mistaken by foreigners for an abject servility arising from want of self-assertion; and our young men readily agreeing with them are in danger of rushing to the opposite extremes of rudeness and offensiveness.

The liberty of thought and the freedom of the individual which have been presented to us in a new and an impressive light by western literature have unfortunately produced racial

antagonism. The harmony that had before prevailed among the various castes and races of India has been disturbed. While I do not at all advocate the subjection of one caste or race to another, I should at the same time impress upon our young men that this antagonism should be confined to a healthy rivalry in our progress; that it should not be allowed to produce mutual feelings of dislike and ill-will. They should remember that to produce mutual mistrust and ill-will is just the course that any one who does not wish to see us progressive would adopt for our national disintegration. They should also remember that there is no real opposition of interest among us. Every patriot will see the absurdity of regarding any particular class of the people of his country as foreigners to it; and, perceiving the identity of interests that subsists among all its various races, will endeavour to promote good-will and co-operation among them.

The absence of anything like a moral training in the educational course of our young men is apt to lead to a decline in "religious earnestness and the dignity of character." I should ask them to beware of being misled by the cant and conventions which have been the bane of modern civilisation. They would, in this connection, do well to lay to their minds the words of Emerson that the civilisation of the 19th century would, in future, be considered the most barbarous.

The relations between the graduates old and new are not as close and cordial as could be desired. On the one hand, our elders consider us to be vain, noisy and offensively self-assertive. On the other hand, we consider them to be unsympathetic and obstructively conservative. As one that has the honour of yearly preparing a number of students for their graduation, I assure you my elders, that nowhere else are found a nobler enthusiasm or more generous impulses than move our young graduates; that their hands are best suited to bear onward the spiritual torch of this country; that the scorn which you suppose they shew to the opinions of others and which, according to you, leads to want of respect for their elders arises from their pardonable vanity in their new acquisition of mastery over a foreign language and from their sole attention to one particular form of thought which they have been taught to regard as the most perfect. I may also assure you that this vanity is only temporary and will wear off at the disillusioning which their first experience of the

world and its incongruities is sure to effect in them. I crave you to bear with them for their little foibles and extend to them a wider sympathy and a closer fellowship than are possible at a casual meeting on the college-grounds on the College Day.

To you, my young fellow-graduates, I would say that our elders are our natural guides and that, if they appear to be unsympathetic with our aims and objects, it is because they have found by their experience that the world is not so easy of reformation as you, in your innocence, think. I would also impress upon you that respect for elders, reverence for tradition, and tolerance of the opinions of others are virtues which, if once lost, are very difficult of fresh infusion into your moral nature; that the respect which our elders claim is justly due to them. I would ask you to remember the words of Carlyle that silence is deep as eternity but that speech is shallow as time; that more things are wrought in this world by silent reflection than by useless bluster. Supplement "the instruction which, in the majority of cases, has been imparted to you with the object of enabling you to earn a livelihood by the education which makes you men of honour and gives you the inward grace of the gentleman which cannot manifest itself outwardly save in good manners, modesty of bearing, and fearlessness." In conclusion I pray you bear in mind that our "India is pre-eminently the land of vision, revelation and ecstasy; that it is the land where religion has been built into life." The duty of every patriot of India is plain. It is this, that, while you absorb the virtues and utilise in the service of your country the means, so richly found in western Literature, which are pre-eminently adapted for bringing about the regeneration of your country, you be also true to the high traditional spirituality that, in God's own time, is surely destined to exalt the nations of the earth.

M. R. VENCATARAMIER.

OUR PUBLIC MEN AND THE COMING ELECTIONS.

EXCEPT for the annual political Congress and the Legislative Council elections once in two years, public life in this country would be exceedingly dull. So much of the constant and uniform activity of public life as is found to exist is kept up entirely by the newspapers. Independent of the latter there is little in the country which may be called public life. Our so-called public men do absolutely nothing from year's end to year's end to educate public opinion or to create popular interest in public affairs. Each man is content to pursue his occupation and to lead a quiet life. A certain number of people, indeed, attend the meetings of the political Congress and Conferences, but even they are inactive for the rest of the year. In the early days of the Congress more men were found to take an active interest in public affairs. Public meetings used to be held in different parts of the country, and public matters were discussed at these meetings. Men who did not know anything of public affairs were thus brought face to face with the problems of the day. People were educated as regards their duties and interests. The desire for combined and constitutional action animated the breasts of most educated men; and there was more of harmonious co-operation among all classes of people. After sixteen years of Congress agitation and after the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils on an elective basis, we are now worse than when we began. Instead of activity we find apathy and indifference among the mass of our public men. Fewer people now exert themselves even on behalf of the Congress; fewer still watch the course of public affairs, of education, legislation and administration. Lawyers used to be at one time the leading spirits in public movements; but now-a-days even lawyers are falling back. This is true not only as regards political movements, but even as regards movements patronised by officials. The progress of the Victoria Memorial movement in Madras is a sad commentary on the public spirit and patriotism of our educated countrymen. The movement was inaugurated in the name and memory of our late most beloved Sovereign. It was started under the auspices of His Excellency the Governor. It was blessed by the

foremost officials and leading men of the country. It is worked by a committee which has for its Chairman the head of the judiciary in the Presidency, and has for its Secretaries the Editor of the leading Anglo-Indian journal and the head of an important department of the administration. Yet the subscription list so far shows a lamentable lack of appreciation on the part of the public. Indeed, the All India scheme has interfered with the success of provincial movements to a certain extent. But if there was more of public spirit and more appreciation of the object and advantages of the proposed memorial, the support extended to it by the public would not have been so lamentably poor. As we have said this is only an illustration of the apathy and indifference into which our people have fallen.

Movements are easily started in this country; but in course of time every body but the Secretaries fall away from them. The desire for self-advertisement sometimes operates as a motive for men to come forward on public platforms, to be members of committees or deputations. But once the end is gained and success in their profession or calling fairly established a good many men consider themselves sufficiently important and therefore above the need of seeking public favour by rendering public service. Numerous instances can be quoted of men who while struggling into prominence actively participated in public movements, so that they might be distinguished from the crowd, but who, when they found that they had nothing more to gain from such service, quietly withdrew. Many of those who have succeeded in their professions have gradually drifted away finding that public service would not advance their interests in the same way as would the favour or friendship of high officials. Far be it from us to suggest that high officials in these days have any quarrel with our public men. On the other hand many of them welcome independent criticism. It is a mistake to suppose that educated Englishmen are more favourably disposed towards those who make it a point to flatter them. Those Indians who act independently and fearlessly and at the same time with due courtesy command their highest respect. Unfortunately some of our people believe that one way of gaining official favour is to give up their rights as citizens; and calculating losses and gains they think it better policy in their own interests to have the good will of the officials than of the public. Indeed, it cannot be denied that to a certain extent they are justified in this belief. Our coun-

trymen, it must be admitted, do not show the same appreciation of genuine merit and public services as do the European officials. They worship those who have been honoured and rewarded by Government; and independently of official recognition few men among us have gained a high status in life. A seat in the Legislative Council, a place in the Honour's list, a high appointment in the Government service, these are the means of distinction open to educated Indians of talent and capacity; and these are not obtained by public favour alone. We as a class are more fault-finding than appreciative, and towards our own men we are less generous than to others. Jealousies of sorts interfere with the due appreciation of genuine merit in our men; and those whom we would not honour of our own accord we are ready to honour the moment they are recognised by Government. It is said that nothing succeeds like success; and if a man has been successful in receiving the recognition of the Government, he is also successful in eliciting the homage of his countrymen. This state of things has not a little to do with the indifference and apathy that characterise the attitude of our people towards public movements.

The creation of a few elective seats in the Legislative Council is, at present, the only circumstance that makes it necessary for our people to seek public favour; and it is some satisfaction that this bond of attachment still keeps a few people outwardly loyal to the public cause. Here at any rate public favour is essential, though the fact is not recognised at all times of the year. When the time for election comes, candidates emerge from their accustomed apathy and are anxious to show their record of public work. But if the necessity for showing such a record had been felt throughout, more substantial work would have been accomplished and the claims for public favour would have been fortified. As a matter of fact, however, even these candidates have failed to set an example in public service to their countrymen. The best they have to say for themselves in many cases is that they attended a certain conference and that they made a speech on a certain subject. Of that steady sustained work by which alone anything useful can be accomplished they have no proof to afford. They cannot claim that they have got up one public meeting, have drafted one single memorial or initiated one single public movement. They have done absolutely nothing for the education of the people in public affairs or

to promote a healthy public spirit even in their own circles. They have no claim to be leaders. They are not even workers. The men whom the public honour by electing them to the Legislative Council or as President of the National Congress must be men who have by their work and character established a position as leaders and responsible exponents of public opinion. In fact they must be the foremost men of the country who have a claim to be heard with respect by the government no less than by their own countrymen. Such a position is not attained except by hard and disinterested work, by high character and the adherence to high principles and by the possession of high abilities. The electorates should take care that they do not honour anyone who has not thoroughly satisfied these conditions in his career. By electing a man to the Legislative Council they mark him out as one of their foremost men. This distinction should not go to one who has not deserved it. Substantial public work may be the means of obtaining it, but not the sudden elevation to the Legislative assembly. The latter should be an object of ambition and not the means of realising it. There are men who are acknowledged as leaders; there are others who want to be leaders. A distinction must be made between the two. It is not the business of the electors to make leaders by the easy method of returning men to the Council; their principle ought to be to recognise those who are acknowledged to be leaders, who have rendered public service, have gained distinction in public life. As a matter of fact, men of the latter description among us are extremely few; they can be counted on one's fingers. Why is this so? Not that there is no talent in the country; nor that there is no opportunity for its exercise in public interests. That there are so few men working for the public good is itself a reason why aspirants to distinction should find it easy to secure a leading position in public life. The field is perfectly open and even a straggler will not find his labours lost. With a fair measure of intelligence and some amount of industry any man must be able to acquire a respectable knowledge of public affairs, and to utilise that knowledge for the good of his country. The Press and the platform are open to him as a means of educating the people; but at present these are shamefully neglected especially by those who would be legislators.

We should like to see at least half a dozen men coming

forward to contest elections who can truly say that they have made a study of a single public question in all its aspects or that they have delivered one comprehensive lecture on any current political topic. We have in these days any number of newspapers and periodicals dealing with all sorts of public topics. How many of the would-be legislators have utilised this medium of instruction and have impressed the public even with a single performance? So far as we know there has been very little evidence of substantial knowledge or solid work. The truth is, real public spirit is very much wanting in the country; and the election to the Legislative Council is regarded so easy a thing that nobody deems any previous preparation or equipment necessary for it. A manifesto and a few signatures of friends are all that an aspiring candidate deems necessary to commend his candidature to the public and the electors. There is no special qualification insisted upon for a member of the Legislative Council; hence any man "with brass in him," as a District newspaper puts it, can make himself known to the world as a would-be member of the Legislative Council, and can earn a name at least as a "failed" member. It would, indeed, be a sufficient satisfaction to some people that their names have been published along with those of possible members of the legislature. In the earlier days of British rule when there were no public examinations for high appointments in the public service, it was open to any man to apply for any post that fell vacant. Thus the son of a postal peon who occasionally used to act for his father, never allowed a vacancy to be filled up before the authorities had opportunities of considering his claims for the office. Whether it be a Sub-Judge, or a Deputy Collector, a Munsiff, a Collector's Sheristadar or a Tahsildar that retired or died, Abdur Rahiman (that was the name of the postal peon's son) was always an applicant for the vacancy. The Postmaster who knew of Abdur Rahiman's ambition and others around him laughed then as people now-a-days laugh over the assurance of some candidates. But Abdur Rahiman was happy in thinking that he was qualified for any office and that he had done his duty for getting it. It should not be understood that we deprecate the aspirations of any man who seeks the distinction of a legislator. On the other hand we think that there is much to be said for the increasing competition which a number of new candidates alone can encourage. It is not good that a few men should feel that the field is left entirely to them-

selves. They must know that if they are negligent in their duty others are waiting to oust them. On this ground we would encourage competition as much as possible. But even for competition to produce beneficial results, the competitors must be men of mark, and of established character and capacity. To be such they must prepare themselves beforehand: they must also give unmistakable evidence of their preparation. Nobody need be so modest as to hide his light under a bushel; and we know that several of the candidates for the Legislative Council are not. It is their interest to show what they are. It is the interest of the public to know something about them.

It will be said, on the analogy of public life in England, that as men work their way up through Parliament, so we here have to gain distinction and prominence by our labours in the Legislative Council. Such an analogy, however, is inadmissible in the present state of our political rights. In England they have over six hundred members of Parliament distributed over a comparatively small area; and among them it is only the occupants of the front benches in the House of Commons that fill a leading position in the country. Here on the other hand there are barely half a dozen elective seats in the Legislative Council to be distributed among the foremost public men, and their relation to the public is more that of the leading English politicians than that of mere ordinary members of the House of Commons. They ought not to be men who have to work their way up, but those who have already attained a position in the country. It is regrettable that we have not got a sufficiently large number of such men so that there may be a keen competition among them; but if we go on electing almost any man who asks for our votes without regard for his past public service, his position in the country, and the measure of respect he commands from his countrymen, we are not likely to ever create such a class of public men. Hence the limited political privilege we have secured must be so utilised as not only to ensure the representation of genuine public opinion in the Legislature, but to reward public service and honour distinguished merit. If we strictly adhere to this rule, we shall have created an inducement for our public men to labour hard and show substantial public work before they can ask us to return them to the Legislative Council as our representatives. They will learn to deserve our favour before they

ask for it; and they will have become leading men before they are legislators.

It is our duty to strictly scrutinise the claims of rival candidates before we decide to give away our votes; and let those whom we choose to honour be worthy of our confidence and our esteem. We quite recognise that with the extensive electorates created by the Government by dividing all the districts in the Presidency into two main groups, it is not easy for men of one district, however distinguished they may be locally, to be equally known to the people of other districts, or for all districts to gain equal advantages under the present elective system. There has consequently not been that equal distribution of seats throughout the Presidency which we are entitled to expect. Certain districts have continually enjoyed the privilege all along; a few others have struggled in vain to obtain it, while the rest have not made any attempt at all. It must be said, therefore, that the Presidency as a whole has not secured equal representation under the present system. The fault for this, to a certain extent, rests with the people themselves; for in the absence of a sufficiently large number of well-known men who have established a reputation for ability and force of character, the few who have made themselves known must have the exclusive advantage. It is not the fault of these few that others have not attained prominence and distinction. The field is wide and equally open to all. But men of talent would not take advantage of their opportunities. They would not come forward, would not exert themselves for the public good. There is no doubt that a common political sentiment animates the whole country at present; and there is no occasion for a man being rejected for his political views. The only condition of success consists in ability and character and devotion to the public cause. Measures of immense importance to the country are ever before the public; and organizations for dealing with them also exist. We want men to take up those questions, to work up those organizations. But where are they to be found? Have those who now seek election done anything in this direction? We do not assert that they have not. But it is the duty of electors to satisfy themselves that the men whom they are asked to honour have done their part to the best of their ability and resources. If we make up our mind to give away our votes for the mere asking without conditions and without previously

demanding a reliable record of the public work the aspiring candidates have done, we shall be indefinitely proposing the day when meritorious public service will be recognised as a condition precedent for election to the Legislative Council. The electors have no control over the candidates except when the latter ask for their votes; and the insistence of public duty at such a time is imperative on those who possess the votes. Nor should they forget that those who have already represented them in the Legislative Council have a claim upon them. The fact they have served them for some time should not be a bar to their being elected again. If they have done good and satisfactory work they must be returned again. No doubt the plea is frequently put forth for the infusion of new blood; but we are of opinion that no new blood need be introduced unless it be shown to be superior to the old one. Let the new candidates show that they are better men or that they would do better work. Let them point out the directions in which they would work, the matters to which they would specially apply themselves. We have yet seen no programme of work set forth by any new candidates, no promise that they will extend their activity beyond the walls of the Council Chamber.

We think that something more than speaking and voting on the Bills brought before the Council and asking questions is necessary, if the full object of representation is to be realised. We are of opinion that the indifference shown by the Government to the voice and votes of Non-Official Members is greatly due to the fact that the latter do nothing in the way of rousing public opinion in the country. The legislative session is of very short duration; and meetings of the Council take place at distant intervals so that there is ample time for the elected Non-Official Members to make an appeal to the country, to rouse public opinion and to strengthen their position as regards any measure by getting an unmistakable pronouncement from their constituents and the general public. At present the government is strong in the belief that the members act in the Council just as they like and that they have not the support of a vigorous public opinion at their back. To falsify this belief the members themselves do nothing. They do not go out to their constituents to explain to them the measures that are before the Council and to get a formal expression of opinion from them. We can well conceive the effect of a campaign by

the elected members throughout the country when measures of great public importance are pending before the Council. If they but move out from district to district and from town to town, addressing public meetings and instructing public opinion, they are sure to command greater weight in the Council. The masses in any country can be moved only by their leaders. Even in Western countries, it is the voice of the leading politicians and statesmen that rouse public opinion and stimulate public activity. In England we always find the leaders of both parties constantly appealing to the country in words of animated eloquence. When the Parliament does not sit, they are found on public platforms, haranguing crowded audiences as regards important measures of policy and legislation. But for the impetus thus given to public opinion, public activity in the country would be altogether non-existent. Regarding Home rule for Ireland, regarding the war in South Africa, regarding the Education Bill, and numerous other matters we always find some leading politician or other electrifying the country through public platforms. The activity thus created is kept up by the newspapers and periodicals, and not a week passes without a Chamberlain or a Morley or a Campbell-Bannerman delivering himself on the exciting topics of the day. Without such activity the political education of the people cannot be stimulated or maintained at any high standard. That being the case in England we cannot too earnestly insist upon our political leaders, such as they are, devoting more of their attention and energy to the education of the people. We are undoubtedly backward with regard to our political rights; we can afford to be less backward with regard to our political knowledge. Our leading public men, more particularly our representatives in the Legislative Council, should make it a point to visit the Districts and address meetings on the burning topics of the day and thus arouse popular interest in them. There have been important measures of legislation before the Council in regard to which, if our representatives had taken the course here suggested, there would have been enlisted on their side a volume of public opinion which no government could have easily ignored. The District Municipalities Bill, the Local Boards Bill and the Irrigation Cess Bill were exactly measures in behalf of which an appeal to the country would have resulted in an articulate protest from all classes of people. All of them involved serious issues affecting public welfare; and

the people were not ignorant of their nature. But there was wanting the impetus to move them to an open expression of their dissatisfaction. Even those who now desire to get into the Council do not appear to have moved a finger in that behalf; and even in Madras a public meeting called to protest against the Irrigation Cess Bill told a sad tale of apathy, indifference and neglect of public duty on the part of those who are expected to lead and work public movements.

There are, indeed, very few who really study public questions, who take a real interest in them. Professional men who make a large income would complain of want of time. Well educated and well-informed men among the leisured classes are few. Government officials are forbidden by the rules to participate in political movements. There are, of course, the retired officials, such as pensioned Sub-Judges, Deputy Collectors, District Munsiffs and so forth who have mature experience, and habitual knowledge of one or the other departments of administration. But they are entirely out of our public movements, not because they are unwilling to join them, but because our younger politicians would not accord to them the considerate treatment, would not assign to them the prominence, to which they, by their age, experience and practical wisdom, are entitled. When a retired official or some other distinguished man is proposed to be given a position of prominence in our public movements, some of our people would talk of his having rendered no public service, as if all the service that he has rendered during a prolonged official career is not service rendered to the public. Unless we learn to respect our older men, to utilise their knowledge and experience in behalf of public movements, and to put them forth as our leaders, we cannot expect to attain that strength and solidarity without which no popular organizations can achieve anything great. Why are there no retired Government officials coming forward as candidates for the Legislative Council? The reason is not far to seek. They prefer quite and peace to the excitements of an election in which, as things are done at present, they have absolutely no chances of success. Is it not desirable to encourage this class of men, and enlist their services in the public cause? There is now heard a loud cry against lawyers. We by no means sympathise with that cry. At the same time we must admit there is advantage in bringing into the Council and into our public move-

ments generally men other than lawyers, men of varied experience, knowledge, and sympathies.

In conclusion, we desire to say a word for the outgoing members. Although some of them may have not fulfilled the ideal we have sketched above, they have fought valiantly in the Council to the best of their ability and resource of debate. We fully appreciate their unflinching loyalty to the public cause, their steady devotion to public duty, and their marvellous patience under the most trying circumstances. Of the four gentlemen representing the Moffusil constituencies three seek re-election. The Hon'ble C. Vijiaraghava Chari has withdrawn from the field. This is regrettable for many reasons. We hope, however, that the District Boards which he represented will not forget his brilliant services, but that they will declare their desire again to be represented by him; and we have every confidence that he will not disregard the wishes of his old constituents and of the general public.

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BUILDERS OF THE EMPIRE.

ANY hands have helped to build the Empire, and may claim a share in the glorious name of founder. First came the Sovereigns of England, beginning with Henry VII., who despatched Cabot on his voyages, Queen Elizabeth, Oliver Cromwell, even James II., a bad king but a good sailor and a friend of colonising. After them come statesmen such as Chatham, Pitt, and John Russell; sailors who have kept the seas open; soldiers who have conquered territories, such as Wolfe and Amherst in Canada, Baird at the Cape, Clive and Coote in India; less well known but equally important are the great administrators—Warren Hastings, Wellesley and Dalhousie in India, Sir George Grey in the Colonies. Illustrious as is the roll that might be drawn up it is not to statesmen or Government agencies that in the main we owe our Empire, but to the private initiative of individual traders, manufacturers, adventurers, to the humble emigrant, whether farmer or miner, who has been the pioneer, and who has borne the brunt of the work of laying the foundations, without the glory, and often without any reward for his labours. They may fairly claim the honour of being founders of the Empire.

The movement of expansion began during the time of the Tudors, in that period of mental activity that marked the end of the Middle Ages, the discovery of printing and of the New World. In this movement Spain was foremost though the man who led was the Italian Columbus. Hence, it was that Spain

secured a start over other nations that enabled her to establish herself in America and found a Spanish Empire. Henry VII. attempted to follow in Spain's footsteps for he encouraged the journeys of Sebastian Cabot, another Italian, from Bristol, but Cabot's discoveries for the time bore no fruit, as England was soon engrossed in the internal struggles that accompanied the Reformation. It was not till the establishment of Protestantism in the reign of Elizabeth that England, with all her old energy added to the impulse of deepened religious faith, threw herself decisively into the movement.

A RACE OF GIANTS.

The Elizabethans were a race of giants. At no period of history have the leading men been so typical of the many-sided qualities that are usually attributed to the English character. Courageous, adventurous, cultured, with strong religious fervour, intensely patriotic, they carried the small England of Elizabeth to withstand the power of Spain which threatened to overwhelm her. It must be admitted that these same men, resourceful and daring, were yet utterly unscrupulous in their methods, that they disdained the trammels of international law, that they were overbearing and of a peculiarly braggart manner, which showed itself in men of the type of Sir Richard Grenville, the hero of the "Revenge." The Spaniard with his Inquisition was perhaps a chivalrous, certainly a hard and cruel enemy: the English buccaneer was undoubtedly his match; neither Hawkins nor Drake were men to spare their foe; they fought for their country and their religion, but not only for them, they fought also for their own private pockets. It cannot be denied that both Hawkins and Drake were grasping and avaricious; at one time half pirates, at another they fought as admirals of the Queen, and Drake bore an honourable and memorable part in the defeat of the Armada. It is some excuse that the Queen herself was not above sharing in the results of these plundering expeditions even when she was not at war with Spain. Even at that time the sea adventurers were regarded with suspicion by cautious statesmen such as Burghley: it is still more easy to condemn them with the later code of morality of to-day, yet whilst they fought for their own hand they also fought Spain, they made possible English settlement in America which Spain tried to strangle, they saved the independence of

England by preparing the way for the defeat of the Armada and saved the Reformed religion from the Inquisition by preventing the conquest of the struggling Dutch provinces. Their methods may have been questionable and unruly, but the world owes them a debt of gratitude for saving it from the despotism of Philip II.

The buccaneers of Elizabeth's time were not the direct fathers of English colonisation, and in some ways they hindered it, but they made it possible. Closely connected with them and coming from the same western counties were men like Frobisher, Gilbert and Raleigh who turned their minds to questions of colonisation. The chief danger was that they were apt to desert the more laborious and less paying work of settlement for the more profitable and exciting work of fighting and freebooting. It must be confessed that the Spaniards had some grounds for their dislike of English settlers. Sir Martin Frobisher, one of the first of the settler-explorers, like all his contemporaries, looked on America as simply the way to reach the East and the "riches of Cathay." For this purpose he made his voyage to find the North-West passage, long the field of English adventure, down to the days of Franklin and Macclintoch. In the course of his voyage Frobisher discovered Labrador and certain stones which he thought contained gold; these he brought back, and after founding a company to undertake the work, sailed once more with an expedition containing liberated criminals to work the gold. The gold proved to be a delusion, Frobisher an unwise and autocratic leader, and the criminals most unsatisfactory settlers. Thus early did Englishmen make the mistake of thinking that they could found new countries with the off-scourings of the old country.

GILBERT AND RALEIGH.

More promising though unsuccessful was the attempt of Gilbert. He was a country gentleman and a scholar who had written a pamphlet to advocate colonisation. He obtained a charter and spent the best part of his private fortune in equipping an expedition to sail for North America. The experiment proved a failure; Newfoundland, which he annexed in the Queen's name, in spite of its fisheries was too bleak and too inhospitable an island. The expedition returned in fearful gales; Gilbert sailed in the smallest ship, a mere boat, saying he was as

near heaven by sea as land; his ship disappeared in the storm, and he with all his crew were lost.

Sir Walter Raleigh, Gilbert's brother-in-law, who had shared in the expedition, now took up the work. He had all the qualifications for success; a soldier, a courtier, a favourite of the Queen, a statesman, and a man of letters, he is the best example of the versatile man of his time. Raleigh obtained a charter from the Government, and like Gilbert spent his private fortune in equipping an expedition, which sailed for America, and landed in Virginia, so called in honour of the virgin queen. The colony did not prosper, however. Lane, the actual governor, was too intent on making expeditions of discovery, his colonists were too ready to go off and take part in attacks on the Spanish main. Lane acknowledged that only the discovery of a gold mine or of a passage to the South Seas would make the colony a success: the riches of Peru and Mexico had made men impatient of slower methods of prosperity. So after Raleigh had spent £40,000—an enormous sum for those days—his colony failed, and Virginia was temporarily deserted. The end of Raleigh, who may be called more truly than anyone else the founder of Greater Britain, is one of the blots on the reign of James I. Yet the tragedy arose from Raleigh thinking that he was still living in the reign of Elizabeth, who had always secretly but surely protected the adventurers against the demands of Spain. Raleigh had been imprisoned on a charge of treason, but he was allowed to equip an expedition for the Orinoco on promising James a share in the gold that he undertook to bring back. As the king was the friend of Spain a condition was made that he should not attack the Spaniards. Unluckily Raleigh not only attacked the Spaniards but came back without any gold. He had no excuse and nothing to shew in palliation of his attack, so he was sacrificed to the resentment of Spain. Raleigh in this instance had acted as had Hawkins and Drake, waging private war against Spain with whom his Government was at peace; it showed the buccaneering side of his character, but besides that he had given proof of his claim to be considered a coloniser in making the first systematic attempt at a settlement, which had been a failure, it is true, but which was to be the fruitful seed of more successful endeavours.

The execution of Raleigh showed that the days of the adventurers and private war were over, for James was averse to

adventure and was the friend of peace. Perhaps he was right, for the very qualities of the adventurers that had allowed the Elizabethans to lay the foundations had prevented them succeeding. Where they failed the more prosaic and business-like men of the 17th century were to succeed. The foundation of the North American colonies was the result of social and religious troubles in the mother country. England had been passing through an economic crisis of the greatest severity, for the framework of society was being largely changed. Preachers like Latimer had denounced the new land-lords who laid out their land in grass and dispossessed labour, in vain. The statute book had been filled with acts against "sturdy vagrants;" Henry VIII.'s Government, it is calculated, had executed 70,000 in 30 years, and had branded many more, equally in vain. The religious wars on the continent and the expeditions of Elizabeth's reign had diverted the more adventurous, but now that peace was established the crisis was felt more keenly than ever. To relieve this pressure men turned to colonisation. Many pamphlets were written on the question, and Bacon in his essays laid down the right principle of action that not the scum should be sent out but capable men and women, a principle too often ignored then and afterwards. The merchants of London and the more far-seeing statesmen took the matter up. Companies were formed to plant colonies, and so Virginia was once more colonised by the efforts of the London Company as a relief for the economic troubles of England. There were many vicissitudes in the history of the colony but it was fairly launched on its way. Tobacco gave it prosperity, and the settlers as they prospered very early freed themselves from the restrictions by which James I. had vainly sought to tie them. There was not only social and economic discontent in England but also religious and political controversy. The Reformation in England had followed two different lines, a moderate and an extreme, of which the second had tended towards Puritanism. At first the Puritans were reluctant to cut themselves off from the church, rather they wished to make the church Puritan. As long as Elizabeth lived she managed to keep the two elements in control, though it was an uneasy combination. James I. had perhaps not the wish, certainly not the power to continue the comprehensive policy of his predecessor. The Puritans definitely split off from the National Church, and both theologi-

cally and politically found themselves the opponents of all that James regarded as most essential in church and state.

AN EPOCH IN THE WORLD'S HISTORY.

The secession of the Puritans did not take place all at once. The more extreme who split off first under one Robinson, known as Separatists, found themselves persecuted by legislation and looked askance at by the great majority of their neighbours. Unable to worship according to their own ideas, they emigrated to Holland, where they established a congregation living in a community that eventually reached the number of a thousand. Holland did not satisfy them, for they wished to remain English in spite of the way in which they had been cast out, accordingly they negotiated with the London Company to be allowed to emigrate to America, and to settle on the Company's land. An attempt to plant New England had already failed owing to the gold and hardships which were too severe for the ordinary settler, so the Company readily agreed whilst James was indifferent. A small company of not more than one hundred sailed in the Mayflower for the bleak and inhospitable north. The beginnings were very small: fifty out of the original hundred died, but gradually others came, and the colony established a hold, though it was only a precarious one. The colony grew so slowly that it would probably have never reached a size sufficient to maintain itself but for the turn of events in England where the country had become more Puritan, and where Charles, under the guidance of Laud, was bent on suppressing the Puritans as well as quarrelling with Parliament. The Puritan leaders, hardly hoping for success, saw it would be wise to have a place of refuge across the Atlantic; they accordingly made preparations for sending over sympathisers to build up a Puritan state in New England. This systematic colonisation, under the direction of Winthrop and Endicott, created the New England States; it continued until the change of fortune that took place under the Long Parliament, when the Puritans and Parliamentarians got the upper hand, but by that time the New England States were stocked with a Puritan population. This is not the place to follow the fortunes of New England: all that can be said is that the emigration that began with the Mayflower took to America a class of men who have been the ancestors of a mighty stock, and that the sailing of the May-

flower, so small a thing in itself, was yet one of the epochs in the world's history.

Except for the religious exodus of the Puritans the bulk of the emigration in the 17th century was commercial. Lord Baltimore founded Maryland as a proprietor or landlord on a huge scale, though as a Roman Catholic the emigrants were probably largely of that faith. Penn, another of the great proprietors, was a very different man. A Quaker and a friend of James II., he believed that James was really a friend of toleration. In any case he was ready to try the experiment himself. Having obtained a charter giving him proprietary rights he founded the colony of Pennsylvania, in which there was to be complete civil and religious liberty. He drew up a liberal constitution for his colony, with the help of Algernon Sydney, which was certainly open-minded for a man suspected and even tried for being a Jacobite. Penn divided his time between looking after his colony and preaching to Quakers; he even tried to convert Peter the Great when he was living at Deptford, and, what is even more curious, he made a great impression on Peter, though it does not seem to have greatly altered his conduct. As a financial investment the colony was not remunerative, and the proprietary rights of the Penn family were eventually sold.

The latest of the systematic colonisers was General Ogelthorpe, a philanthropist, who was so impressed with the horrors of the Fleet Prison that he obtained a charter to colonise Georgia, which he called after George II., who took an interest in the matter. Ogelthorpe took with him a settlement of paupers and debtors, not very promising material, though he secured some rather better settlers, and forbade rum and slavery in the colony. As long as he remained in the colony all went well, in spite of war with Spain, for he was a capable man with a combination of characteristics by no means rare. A soldier and a philanthropist he was a born ruler of men, but he was at the same time too sanguine and very hasty in temper and conduct: he was also a man of strong religious feelings, which led him to invite the Wesleys, and after them Whitefield, to act as chaplains in Georgia. But the Wesleys were also stiff men, and the arrangements did not last: Ogelthorpe's effort was well meant and perhaps useful, but it was not very promising for the future of the colony.

It was the misfortune of England after building up this

great inheritance to lose it mainly by her own fault. The same fault lost us Washington, who in his early days had proved himself the most distinguished colonial and the most loyal subject that England ever possessed. It is unfortunate that Washington, who began as a maker of the British Empire, should have been turned instead into the founder of the United States, for in losing Washington we lost perhaps the most faultless hero in English history. Without personal ambition or vanity he was always steadfast and courageous; without his services the States would scarcely have succeeded; when they had succeeded he left them a noble example which is without parallel and which has been as serviceable to them as his work when he was alive. Washington cannot be called a builder of the Empire but he was the heir and the greatest of all those men who worked to found an English Nation in America. But for the impolicy of English politicians at home he might have remained an English citizen as well as an Englishman. If it is ever the fortune of the Empire to again possess a Washington we shall not alienate him so lightly.

BUILDERS OF INDIA.

Every schoolboy, as Macaulay would say, knows the names and history of Clive and Warren Hastings, largely owing to his own brilliant essays, in which he has recounted their lives with great vividness and colour, though as a politician and political heir to Burke, he has allowed that orator's partisan denunciations of Hastings to somewhat warp his conclusions. But if Clive and Warren Hastings are famous it is to be feared that other builders of the Indian Empire are unknown, not only to "the schoolboy" but even to his seniors. This is the more regrettable as the English have always considered rightly that the conquest and more especially, the Government of India is the most creditable achievement that they have as a race accomplished. England's contribution to the work of the world has not been in the arts nor in the philosophy but in the art of politics. She has developed and given to the world for imitation a system of representative government, and she has also created and organised the greatest benevolent autocracy in existence. As to the beneficence of this rule there can be no question, though some writers, seeing the ills that are common to Asiatic countries, drought, famine and pestilence, with their accompanying poverty, have asserted that English rule has been a failure, and

that our Government has impoverished the country. The present condition is certainly not all that we could wish, but if these critics would read the description of India written by Bernier, a French doctor at the court of Aurungzebe, when the Mogul Empire was tottering to its fall, they would realise the progress that has been made. The government was impotent: war was chronic: the country was overrun and devastated by bands of Mah rattas and other plunderers: governors thought only of what they could squeeze from their subjects, whose misery, says Bernier, was simply inconceivable. The Empire of Victoria differs both in kind and in degree from that of Aurungzebe. A history in which there has been such development must be interesting, not only for its romantic incidents, which form the vast part of history, but also because of the enormous social progress of the people which should be the chief theme of the historian. The comparative ignorance of Englishmen in what is so interesting as well as so important, arises perhaps from the strangeness of Asiatic customs and manners as well as from the remoteness of India, and from the fact that Indian history is detached and does not fit in closely with the main stream of English history.

As happened in so many other parts of the world, the English were not the pioneers, but only came on the field after the Spaniards, the Portuguese, and the Dutch had established themselves in the East. Nor were they welcome, for the first comers were determined if possible to keep the trade to themselves, and hesitated at nothing, whether force or treachery, to stop the English merchants. The profits, however, were so enormous that the English were determined not to be excluded, nor is their persistence surprising when we find that in 1600 the profit on the voyage of a single ship to the Spice Islands was 234 per cent. If the merchants were to maintain themselves they had to do it for themselves, for the State in those days did not protect its merchants, hence the necessity for banding together and for trading under a Chartered Company, which could fight its own battles and defend itself against aggression. This was the origin of the famous East India Company, which was to become the sovereign of India and rule a vast territory until 1857 when the Crown took its place. Seeley, in his "Expansion of England," writes that we stumbled into the creation of the Indian Empire haphazard and

as if by accident. This is so paradoxical a statement of one view of the case as to amount to a misconception of the real facts, which are that the country deliberately followed a policy that they knew must result in Empire. From the very earliest days publicists and economic writers pointed out the strength that England might derive from the East and how England, a small country in herself, might become powerful in the riches derived from India which lay open to the enterprising European. The marvellous nature of the result, an empire governed by a company of traders, has a little blinded us by making us imagine that no one in the first small beginnings could have foreseen so vast a dominion.

At the outset the Company had a hard task to defend itself from its rivals. It armed ships and waged private war in the East with the companies of other Powers quite regardless of the fact that these countries in Europe were at peace, for in those days international law did not reach beyond a certain undefined distance, outside which every man fought for himself. This system certainly had its advantages, for it allowed questions of colonial supremacy to be settled without necessarily embroiling the mother countries. In these days of telegraphs the smallest colonial skirmish may precipitate a European war. There is no room here to follow the varying fortunes of the struggle. Spain and Portugal declined, the Dutch Company tended more and more to concentrate its energies in the East Indian Archipelago, besides England fought three bloody wars in European waters mainly caused by Eastern rivalries. The result of these was the disappearance of Holland as a serious rival—leaving England and France to contend for the mastery of India.

So far the English Company had contented itself with trading settlements, without claiming political ownership. This had now become impossible, for the Mogul Empire was breaking up: all protection for the factories was gone, when every petty potentate became a lawless law to himself, and disregarded the now feeble Emperor. The policy of the French hastened the change still more. Their governor, Dupleix, feeling perhaps that the French were a nation of soldiers rather than traders, had established political dominion round the French settlements and had organised the first trained Sepoy army. The English were not slow to follow suit, thus beginning a determined and for long a doubtful struggle.

French writers say that if the French Government had supported Dupleix India might have been French, but this leaves out of account the great factors that gave the victory to England. England held the command of the sea which was essential; the East India Company was prosperous, even lending money to the English Government, the French Company was bankrupt, and was only kept alive by subventions from the treasury; the French had omitted to build on a sound financial basis the only foundation possible for colonial success. The determining cause, however, was the difference of the home governments. The rule of Louis XIV. and Louis XV., externally brilliant, was utterly corrupt and rotten at the core; the far-reaching attempts at conquest of those monarchs only succeeded in making France bankrupt and preparing the way for the French Revolution. But apart from these determining factors, on the personal side alone Dupleix had met more than his match in Clive, who with small forces succeeded by daring and energy in winning astounding victories. Once the question of mastery between the English and the French was settled, it was apparent that India must belong to the conqueror. Clive with 3,000 men and 8 guns defeated a native army of 50,000 men with 50 guns at Plassey, thereby conquering the whole of Bengal. Long before this victory competent observers had foreseen that a small European army could easily subdue India with its hordes of irregular and undisciplined troops. Dupleix had seen this, but fate and his own government had been against him, and he had not accomplished the necessary preliminary of getting rid of the English.

The East India Company were fully satisfied with Bengal, they even tried the experiment of governing their province through a native puppet king, a plan which soon failed. Clive had to be sent back to India to put down the corruption that was rampant and shameless among the Company's servants. It was Warren Hastings, however, who became famous as the administrator and organiser of European rule in India: he is the father of the great Anglo-Indian service: he was ill-repaid by party faction at home which tried to blacken him but only succeeded in ruining him—not his reputation. Parliament at home was compelled to interfere, to regulate the Company, which with an army, a navy, a civil service, and a diplomacy of its own was literally a state within a state. The subsequent history of India is an expansion of what has gone before. The Company were

unwilling to extend their possessions, but were forced into it by the strong military states that rose outside their borders, and threatened the peace of British India. Lord Wellesley, with his younger brother, Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards the Duke of Wellington (whom Napoleon called the Sepoy General), and Lord Lake defeated the Mahrattas. After Wellesley came a period of peace, followed by fresh expansion under Lord Hastings. His rule was followed by a fresh interval of peace, until the last and most desperate struggle of all, the war with the Sikhs. One battle was a defeat, others were drawn, those which we won were only gained at enormous cost: but the Sikhs once conquered became our best and most loyal soldiers, and India reached approximately the boundaries of to-day, boundaries that will probably not be stretched much further.

India unlike the colonies has been won not by the settler and the emigrant but by the administrator and the soldier.

AUSTRALASIA.

Outside India the path of Empire building has been more peaceful. Cook, a captain in the navy, but immortal as an explorer rather than a fighter, was the effectual discoverer of Australia: both his achievements and his character make him a worthy founder of a new continent. After Cook rank the crews of the whalers who sailed the Southern Seas: they made no settlements, but their maritime enterprise gave England an interest that naturally led to colonisation. Far less worthy and altogether a pathetic class of men to have been the builders of a new nation were the convicts sent to the penal settlement at Botany Bay. Darwin urged that there was something to be said for the system: the descendants of the convicts had grown up in their new surroundings into respectable men. Certainly many of the men transported were convicted for slight offences, but the system cannot really be defended. The non-criminal settlers found it intolerable and the home government were compelled to abolish it, though not without a struggle. It is curious that we should have learnt so little wisdom in long years; the first colonial expedition that set out under Frobisher took criminals and failed utterly; Bacon warned his countrymen of the cost of trying to form plantations of the scum of the population, yet we persisted in the attempt and only gave it up, not from wisdom but because we were forced to do so by Australian opi-

nion. If colonisation is allowed to follow its natural course, the most energetic and the fittest find their way out; when a government steps in to send out failures it simply sacrifices the new country for no material benefit to the old. Australia was saved from this fate by the influx of immigrants who have swamped the old convict element, which is now only a stain which Australia resents but which does not materially affect her population.

Beyond the import of convicts there was at the beginning of this century no organised system of immigration to the colonies, as there had been in the days of the companies who colonised North America. The results were unsatisfactory. England after that great war with Napoleon was full of distress and misery, wages were low, food dear, and the condition of the labouring classes was made worse by the old Poor Law. In Australia there was a lack of labour, except that of convicts; the population was scattered, as land was granted free and settlers established themselves where they pleased; there was little capital and no co-operation. Wakefield, a man of great ability though of rather undisciplined character, who had taken up the colonial question, saw the evils of haphazard colonization, for which he proposed a remedy that was to consist in making colonisation more complete; the settlers were to be collected in groups, the free grant of land was to be forbidden, so that the immigrant might begin as a labourer, and in order that the purchase money might form an immigration fund to bring fresh settlers. By his efforts he succeeded in persuading a knot of distinguished men, such as Charles Buller, Molesworth and Grote to join him: to carry out their projects an association was formed in 1837 for the colonisation of New Zealand. The association met two obstacles: the home government was reluctant to extend its responsibilities, and the missionaries objected because the arrival of white men would interfere with their relations with the natives. These obstacles were disregarded, the expedition sailed without leave, forcing the hand of the Home Government who annexed New Zealand only just in time to save it from annexation by the French. Wakefield may justly be considered the founder of New Zealand and not only of New Zealand for by his writings he founded a Colonial School of thought on the right lines which has done immense service to both the Colonies and the Mother Country.

SOUTH AFRICA.

The builders of South Africa are primarily the Dutch who settled there as long ago as 1650, but Holland like England afterwards regarded the Cape simply as a naval station on the road to the East. The rule of the old Dutch Company was of the worst, so that the country readily submitted to English conquest. The conquerors had a difficult task to rule the Boer population and to deal with warlike Kaffirs. Constant native wars led to the appointment of soldiers as governors: one of them was a fine old Peninsula veteran Sir Harry Smith, another was Sir Benjamin D'Urban who gives his name to the capital of Natal. This may have been necessary but unfortunately soldiers make autocratic governors. Even then all might have been well had not missionary hostility to the Boers, combined with the new humanitarianism at home, caused us to emancipate the slaves but at the expense of the Dutch who rather than suffer trekked into the interior. Hence constant future quarrels and complications, but what we have to consider here is the Boer as the pioneer and builder of South Africa; the great "trek" was the beginning of expansion to the North. In a poor country, until late years, and surrounded with blacks the Boer has settled on the land and has raised cattle, making Africa a white man's country partially at all events. Even now the process is going on, as the Boer treks into Rhodesia and the North, settling in the land, whilst the Englishman mines, keeps a store, builds roads or turns his hand to any occupation other than that of agriculture. To the Dutch belongs the credit of opening out the country and making it habitable; they have spread civilization though of a somewhat rough and primitive kind. After them came a very different class of builders who have arrived quite recently and are for the most part English: they are miners who go to Natal for coal, Johannesburg for gold and Kimberley for diamonds. They are now flocking into Rhodesia in search of fresh mines. There may be many of the more unruly elements from Europe among them but, taken in the mass, they are hard working men who by their labour have increased enormously the wealth of South Africa: they have created the towns, they have made railway bridges, roads, they have made trade and prosperity. They are also making South Africa British instead of merely a part of the British Empire. Hard things have sometimes been said of them, as in the past

were said of the American and Australian colonists, but equally with them they may claim to be builders of the Empire: by their industry and by their enterprise seeking a living under a distant sky, they have made Greater Britain a living reality instead of a lifeless expression that exists only on paper.

MORPETH.

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THE GERMAN EMPEROR—WILLIAM II.

HERE is certainly no monarch in all the world who sleeps in so many different places in the course of the year as does the German Emperor, so it is rather difficult to say where he is most "at home." But perhaps the honours of his domesticity may be pretty equally divided between the Royal Schloss, or St. James's Palace, of Berlin, and the New Palace, Potsdam, which might be called the Hampton Court of Prussia. The latter, about half an hour by rail from Berlin, is the summer residence of the Imperial family, while from November to Easter the court generally resides in the capital. But the Kaiser's mode of life is pretty much the same, summer and winter. Thus six o'clock A.M. invariably sees him, after his cold bath, at his breakfast table with the Empress at his side, for this is really the only hour of the day when the Imperial couple can discuss their private affairs. English in his attachment to the matutinal tub, the Kaiser is equally fond of an English breakfast which can keep him going till lunch time, generally two o'clock; and after disposing of that hearty meal he repairs to his private study, which in Berlin is situate on the first storey of the Schloss looking out upon the Castle square with all its bustle.

IN HIS STUDY.

It looks like the study of a sailor more than a soldier, as indeed it is hard to say for which arm of the service the Emperor has most enthusiasm. If it was his grandfather who taught Germany how to march, he may justly claim the credit of teaching her how to swim. William I. created the German army, and it is equally the aim of William II. to create a German fleet. His study bears ample evidence of this ambition. Its walls are hung with colonial maps, with Dutch sea paintings, and with naval scenes from the time of the great Elector who was the first of his race to take to the sea, and, thus, so to speak, to associate a duck natant with the Hohenzollern eagle. William II. has often declared himself to be a passionate admirer of his ancestor the great Elector, and his study proves it; for, apart from a few

modern ornaments on his large writing table—busts, photographs, statuettes and the like—it is much more suggestive of the seventeenth than of the nineteenth century. It is here that the Emperor works for several hours every morning after breakfast, going through the piles of papers and letters awaiting him, reading, annotating, dictating, deciding, signing and getting through as much business in three hours as would occupy another man as many days. The Kaiser makes a point of never having any arrears of work, and his energy is almost phenomenal. Towards nine o'clock, he refreshes himself with a drive, or ride, or walk if the weather be favourable, or, if not, by an hour's canter round the riding school, or by a bout at the foils which he can handle with much dexterity, or perhaps even by some strenuous oar practice, not on the Spree, but in the royal gymnasium where he has had a sliding outrigger seat contrivance fitted up to give him all the exercise, if not perhaps all the pleasure, of regular rowing.

THE EMPEROR AS HOST.

Of course, if there is reviewing to be done—as so often happens in the Spring—his Majesty can dispense with this physical exercise, after which he returns to his apartments, and either in his study, or in the Star Saloon—with its models of ironclads and racked colours of the Berlin garrison—or in the gorgeous Hall of Audience with its pictorial reminiscences of Frederick the Great, receives an uninterrupted stream of official visitors who come to report and ask for instructions about all manner of things. It is well on to two o'clock before this stream of official receptions ceases, and by this time the Kaiser is ready for a hearty lunch, when he is again joined by his consort, and it is very rare for their Majesties not to have from eight to a dozen guests at this meal—guests of all kinds and degrees, from ambassadors to artists, and from generals to journalists—No; it is only at the latter that the Emperor draws the line. These luncheon parties, where the guests are of the most various kind, are devoid of all restraint, and recall the perfect freedom of talk which used to mark the social entertainments of Frederick the Great at his round table in Sans-Souci, or Palace of No-Bother. The Emperor is a most gracious host, and chats in the liveliest manner with all his guests, who are invariably thunder-struck by his grasp of their own subjects. At no court in Europe is

table-converse on these occasions of so natural and easy a kind as at Berlin.

The Emperor himself is a very hearty eater, preferring honest joints to made-up dishes, though he is very temperate with his liquor—claret-cup as brewed in England being his favourite beverage, or light German wines, Hock and Moselle, which he generally dilutes with mineral water. Dinner of course at six or seven is a more formal meal, though it rarely lasts more than an hour—everything being done in prompt military fashion. Every French word is banished from the menus, though the honours of the kitchen are divided between a French and a German chef, and French champagne is now also served. The chief courses are served on silver, the rest on Berlin china. The kitchen work is done by contract, 7s. 6d. being the amount allowed for every dinner guest, though on specially grand occasions the sum is raised to as much as 30s. The royal cellars contain a rich assortment of the finest wines in existence. From the fact that the Emperor has the use of only one arm,—the right,—the other having been paralysed from his birth, owing to some bungling on the part of the German doctor who helped him into the world—his Majesty, like our one armed hero of Trafalgar, uses a combined fork and knife which he takes with him wherever he goes. But though practically thus like Nelson a one armed man, the Emperor is one of the best shots in Germany, and in the first five and twenty years of his career as a sportsman bagged over 34,000 head of game.

THE PERSONAL POSSESSIONS OF THE KAISER.

He is also one of the safest riders, albeit his sword and bridle hand are one, though his chargers are trained to his use like circus-horses—and they accompany him wherever he goes—to Constantinople or to Cowes, seeing that it would never do for his Majesty to adventure himself upon the back of a strange steed. The royal stables, the finest of their kind in Europe, contain, like the stalls of Barbarosa, well on to 400 horses, or as many as would mount an English cavalry regiment. Queen Victoria's State horses were cream-coloured—descendants of the White Horse of Hanover, while those of the German Emperor are raven-black of the famous Trakéhner breed, but most of his chargers are of English blood, like Duke, Kurfürst, Beauty, and Dunois. When the Kaiser drives out, he

never tells the coachman where he is going, but at each successive street corner or turning indicates his further course to the Jäger who then communicates the route to the royal Jehu. All their Majesties' carriage horses are taught the prancing "Spanish step", which is of a very stately and impressive kind. There is a yearly sale of the horses cast from the Imperial stud—a sale which differs in this respect from all other auctions of the kind, that the faults of each rejected animal are frankly specified; and yet some of those discarded steeds fetch very high prices, just as would a discarded gown of the Empress or a cast uniform of the Kaiser's.

But the Kaiser is very economical in the matter of his various uniforms, of which he has several thousands; indeed the foreign ones alone fill up two huge rooms with a large sartorial and vestiary staff to take care of them and whip them off and on their Imperial owner according to the sumptuary needs of the moment. In all the immense variety of garments in the Imperial wardrobe, there is only one thing absent and it is a—dressing-gown. Soon after the war with France, a South German manufacturer sent to the old Emperor a magnificent gold-brocaded garb of this kind, but got it returned with the remark: "The Hohenzollerns never wear dressing-gowns." No, they have ever jumped out of bed into a uniform ready for active service, and their present chief does the same, with this difference that he first jumps into a bath—the first of his line, perhaps, who ever did such a thing. But then he has an English mother, an English training, and many of his tastes—his love of the sea, of rowing, yachting, lawn-tennis, cricket, and sport of all kinds—are purely English. The one form of English sport which the Kaiser has not yet essayed is cycling—though even this is not beyond the power of a one-armed man, or even of a man with no arms at all. It is characteristic of the economy which is practised in some things by the Kaiser that he has his uniforms done up afresh when they get faded, and it is a long time before they reach the Mühlendamm, or Houndsditch of Berlin. Multitudinous as his uniforms are his decorations, domestic and foreign, of which the aggregate value, with all their diamonds and precious stones, amounts to about £50,000. When the Kaiser sets out on his travels to foreign courts, his baggage includes several heavy iron safes containing £30,000 worth of crosses, stars, and other decorations.

THEIR MAJESTIES' FAVOURITE PALACE.

Save when his Majesty is performing his favourite rôle of Reine-Kaiser, or Tourist Emperor, he is happiest perhaps when dwelling at Potsdam in the New Palace—new in the sense that it was so in the time of Frederick the Great by whom it was built, and whose spirit still seems to hover about the bosky mazes of the palace grounds, with their shady bowers, and classic statues, and sheets of flower-reflecting water at the foot of the terraced slope crowned by Sans Souci. Opening on to the terrace of the New Palace is its great show apartment—the Muschel Saal or “Hall of Shells,” such as was sung by Ossian. In the hottest weather this banqueting hall is as cool as the submarine retreat of Neptune, which it so strikingly resembles; but, then is not the German Kaiser, as an Admiral of the British fleet, entitled to be housed quite as characteristically as the Monarch of the Sea? Looking out on the same garden-terrace with its beautiful sylvan landscape is the Emperor’s study, of which the most striking feature is its English air of simplicity and comfort. A large writing table in the centre is littered with official books of reference, military histories, &c., while another at the side of it is covered with maps relating to Germany’s over-sea expansion, or to the latest war, every incident in which His Majesty follows with the most eager attention. Among the ornaments about the most noticeable are the models of a Krupp gun and a modern battleship, while the walls bear striking evidence to His Majesty’s own talent as a water-colour artist in his “Fight Between Torpedo Boats and Ironclads,” and some naval souvenirs of his repeated trips to Norway, varied by little pieces from other brushes illustrative of the three campaigns which resulted in the unity of Germany.

Had fate not ordained William II. to be an Emperor, he would have made a very successful artist—his genius in the latter respect being inherited, like so many of his other qualities both of heart and head, from his English mother, who has perhaps a wider culture, and, at the same time, also a stronger character than any other woman in all Europe. When engaged at his easel the Emperor will sometimes smoke a cigar—but only a light Dutch one, price a penny, his favourite brand, yet otherwise he is not very much given to the practice save when dining with the mess of some of his guard regiments, or presiding at one of the free and easy “beer-evenings,” which he occasion-

ally gives in imitation of his ancestor Frederick William and his “Tobacco Parliament.” For here is an Emperor who can in a very charming way combine dignity with condescension—as to their surprise and delight was found by the Northumbrian miners deputed to attend the Labour Conference at Berlin in the second year of H. M.’s reign. The Emperor will light a penny Dutch cigar to lead off the smoking at a regimental dinner, but he will not join his officers at a game of cards—these devil’s books with dicing, betting, and all other kinds of gambling being strictly forbidden, on pain of immediate cashiering, at all the mess tables and military clubs.

Yet though the Emperor has sternly set his face against ruinous luxury and self-indulgence of all kinds among his own somewhat impecunious officers, the splendour of his own court is unsurpassed even by that of Vienna and St. Petersburg. Within the last few years the State apartments of the Schloss in Berlin have been refurnished in the most gorgeous manner; the whole vast edifice has been lighted with electric light—over a thousand lamps alone shedding their radiance over the famous White Saloon, which is the scene of all the greatest State and social functions, from the opening of the Reichstag to the closing of the winter season with its splendid entertainments. It is only among the rural beauties of the New Place at Potsdam that the imperial pair, surrounded by their children, can taste the sweetest sweets of family life: at the Schloss in Berlin they must sacrifice themselves on the altar of public ceremony and court etiquette. Presentations at court are only made once a year, at a so-called *Defilée-cour*, both sexes being presentable on the occasion—and not as in England at separate functions—Drawing Rooms for ladies and *Soirees* for gentlemen. A certain number of other Court functions are held on certain days between Xmas and Easter when the season ends, with the regularity of clockwork: the annual chapter of the Black Eagle, which is the garter of Prussia the Order Festival on the anniversary (18th January) of the day on which the first King of Prussia crowned himself (in 1700) when orders and decorations descend in showers on all ranks—the Emperor-King’s subjects, from generals to gangers, and from princes to policemen—all the *decorés* being invited to the royal table; several balls and concerts, and a subscription ball at the Opera when the crown mixes with the crowd for once at least and all the Press of Berlin tells touching stories of the Empero

condescension to his "court-incapable" subjects. All these festivities very nearly turn the heads of the sixty officials in the Lord Chamberlain's department, as well as of the little army of court lacqueys who are without exception old soldiers of blameless record.

The routine of the Court from one end of the year to another is ever the same, and as undeviating as the course of the sun; and it is only the Emperor himself who is sudden and irregular in his meteor-like movements all over Europe. His journeys by sea and land are performed with the help of the imperial yacht "Hohenzollern," the magnificent floating palace which cost £200,000, and of a most luxurious special train of nine carriages valued at £25,000, the said train drawn by two powerful engines being about 170 yards long. The utmost precautions are taken to ensure its safety all along the route by which it travels. Though most of the railway lines in Germany are State property, the Emperor always pays the usual charge for his engines and the number of his axles, and there are few of his journeys in Germany itself which cost less than £200 apart from presents and *pourboires*. On the other hand, a visit to a foreign court entails upon him an expenditure with *vails* and largesses, of never less than £2,000, so that out of the £800,000, with which he has to maintain his court and keep up appearances there is never much of a surplus at the end of the year. How different from the court of his ancestor Frederick the Great, and even from that of his grandfather William the Great, is that of William the Greater!

CHARLES LOWE.

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HOW CHINA IS GOVERNED.

THE government of the Celestial Empire, to quote from "China in Transformation," is on the model of an ancient theocracy, the Emperor ruling by divine right; without church or priesthood; with no dogmas to become obsolete, no ritual to be corrupted, no scriptures to be perverted or criticised; only one solitary man standing between Heaven and Earth. The Emperor stands as a mediator between Divine authority and his people, and is alone responsible to Heaven, in return for which burden he is invested with complete and absolute authority. Such is the ideal of Chinese monarchy, but it must be noted that, should the Emperor not govern in accordance with what seems to his people the Divine wish, he may be supplanted, and if his dynasty is decadent and effete another must be raised up. This provision allows licence for innumerable divergencies of opinion on the subject of Divine commands or wishes, and makes revolution not only possible but invests it with a sort of sanctity.

The idea of family life, which is so important in China, is the foundation of Government. The Emperor is the Great Father, bound to give protection and nourishment to his people, and they on their side to yield the complete submission of children. This thought runs through all state papers and edicts, and the sacred duty of filial obedience is insisted upon. Rebellion therefore is regarded as parricide, and parricide is considered as the most heinous of crimes. To illustrate the stress which is laid on this view we may quote an instance of such a crime in which a man and his wife caused the death of his mother. Not only were they punished by death, but the whole district in which they lived was placed under a *bau*, scholars were not allowed to compete in the examinations, magistrates were deprived of their offices; everything was done to impress all who should hear of it with the absolute sacredness of family life and the dire vengeance of the Government on all who, by outraging it, outrage also the family life of which the Emperor is the sole

Despite all this, China is the classic ground of rebellion, and the country is hardly ever free from disturbances in one part or another. This anomaly is only one of many which confront us in this land of paradoxes, but the difference between theory and practice is not perhaps confined to the Celestial Empire. As a matter of fact, the Chinese, under an autocrat, are perhaps the most loosely governed people in the world, and are accustomed to manage their local affairs without interference from the Central Government. While theoretically believing and acknowledging the ineffable supremacy of the Son of Heaven, the Chinaman is practically a law unto himself, and ready at the slightest provocation to declare his conviction that the Emperor is no longer acting in accordance with Divine wishes, and that therefore his allegiance is forfeited. The elaborate and high flown Chinese method of speech has about as much relation to the thought it embodies (or conceals) as the theory and ideal of Government in China has to its actual enforcement.

To turn the abstract to the concrete. The Chinese civil administration has at its head the Emperor, the apex of the Government pyramid; in effect, however, he no more governs absolutely than a constitutional Sovereign or the President of a Republic and though he is supposed to possess the power of initiative, he is practically only able to pass or veto the measures presented to him, or he can return them to the Boards for reconsideration. The method of procedure is by memorials addressed to the Throne, which must pass through the various Boards, and be finally considered by the Great Council.

The country is divided into a large number of districts, each about as large as an English county, known as *Hsien*; in each is stationed a magistrate who has in his own hands all the functions, civil and military (the civil is always supreme in China), relating to the district. This hard worked officer is the unit of the administrative system, and is always Chinese. His task is no light one, and if he fails to get on with his people he can expect little support from the Government, and may end his career by having his official boots pulled off (the grossest insult that can be paid him), and being thrown into the nearest ditch. After such a degradation future employment by Government is out of the question. Poorly paid, and with a host of hangers-on whom he is bound to maintain if he would preserve his popularity, he is obliged to have resource to systematic

peculation and bribe-taking. The Chinese language is full of proverbs about the corruption of magistrates and other officials, and the science of officialdom is well expressed by the saying, "Big fish eat little fish, little fish eat shrimps, shrimps eat mud," while the underlings, it is said, "Scent money as a fly scents blood."

A group of districts makes a department, governed by a prefect, who is the court of appeal from the magistrates; a group of departments forms a circuit, at the head of which is an intendant of circuit, or *Taotai*. Then comes the province, whose chief executive officer is called Governor. There are 18 of these provinces in China, and their size may be imagined when we remember that their area is more than 30 times that of Great Britain, and that each province on an average contains a population equal to about half that of the United Kingdom. Each province is autonomous, having within itself all the machinery of government. It administers its own revenue, provides for its own defence, holds its own examinations, and performs all its functions without interference from the Central Government. There is, however, one proviso of great importance. Its governors and chief officials are appointed from the capital, to which it has to remit tribute as its share of the revenue. While, theoretically, literary examination is the only avenue to official employment in China, the dominion at Peking of the Manchus, an alien race, has been the occasion of evasion of this qualification, and the appointment of men who have not passed the examination test at all. This is how the Manchus have retained their hold upon a vast empire whose people are far from friendly towards them.

The Governor of a province is the only official who has the right of memorialising the Throne in his own name, and this gives him the enormous advantage of being able to report secretly on his subordinates. His power, therefore, is immense, and his authority nearly absolute.

There remains still one officer between the Governor and the Throne, namely the Governor-General, termed Viceroy by the foreigners, who has sometimes one, and sometimes two, provinces under his jurisdiction.

Enormous as are the powers of these Governors and Governor-Generals, they have not, except in the case of piracy or of sedition, the absolute power of life or death. All death

warrants in ordinary cases have to be signed by the Emperor himself.

The official class in China is not recruited from any particular rank, the only qualification being scholarship sufficient to pass the competitive examinations. The subjects studied are the classics only, and though an enormous amount of learning by rote is required, no practical knowledge is inculcated, and no specialisation is allowed, the same examination qualifying a man to be the head of a fiscal, naval, judicial or any other department. It is justly said by the Chinese themselves that their country is "governed by maxims," and the official incapacity of a man whose equipment is merely a long string of the sayings of Confucius leads him to "save face" by circumlocution, by polite and meaningless ceremonial, by shifty evasions, by anything indeed which relieves him from the necessity of decision or action for the time being. The impossibility for one man,—especially one man with such a training,—combining so many functions in his own person is obvious: and in the face of any serious difficulty the Government generally breaks down, and the officials, unable longer to prevaricate, prove their incapacity and are promptly degraded. An example of this will be remembered in the case of Li Hung Chang in the Sino-Japanese war, when he was expected to conduct a campaign while still carrying on his duties as Governor-General, as "superintendent of northern trade," and various other functions. This without an organised staff, and merely with the assistance of such men, foreigners or natives, as he was able locally to pick up.

With the twofold object of maintaining their dependence on Peking and preventing corruption, the term of office of all the higher officials is limited to three years and a sort of "general post" is constantly kept up, which, while doubtless preventing the establishment of territorial interest likely to be inconvenient to the Central Government, also prevents the officials from getting any real insight into the affairs of their province or department, and effectually debars them from taking any real interest in the progress and development of that section of the country. Their one idea is to get through the three years with as little friction as possible. This law, however, like most in China, is frequently evaded.

Another regulation prevents a mandarin from holding office in his native province, the reason being that he might

establish territorial ascendancy or influence independent of Peking. (*En passant*, it may be remarked that the term "mandarin," applied by foreigners to officials, has no Chinese equivalent, and is derived, I believe, from the Portuguese).

At the head of the enormous administrative machine the Emperor is assisted by two councils,—the Cabinet or Imperial Chancery, and the General Council, in some respects resembling the Ministries of western nations. Both these bodies are chosen by the Emperor from the leading officials and from the Manchu functionaries of the court. Under the two Councils are six Boards—Civil Office, Revenue, Rites, War, Punishment, Works,—and a Naval Board was nominally added a few years ago. Outside these stands a very important body, the Censorate, whose members constitute a sort of Advisory and Critical Board. They are appointed to watch over the welfare of the people, and to censure whatever they see amiss in the conduct of officials, and even of the Emperor. Their memorials are often exceedingly outspoken, and contain audacious arraignments of the Sovereign and the Imperial family.

The Maritime Customs Department in China is under foreign supervision, this being the outcome of a temporary arrangement at the time of the Tai-ping rebellion, when the maritime customs were taken under foreign protection. The system worked so well that it was finally adopted, and the Chinese Government allows a certain sum for the upkeep of the Department, whose head is styled Inspector-General.

The body whose name is best known in the West, the Tsungli Yamen, is a creation of recent times, not more than forty years ago, and was constituted as a go-between for the Emperor and foreigners who came to the capital, and who hitherto had been treated merely as tribute bearers. Ostensibly created for the furtherance of relations with foreign Powers, the Tsungli Yamen has rather acted as an impenetrable barrier between those Powers and China.

One of the canons of Chinese officialdom is that every minister is personally responsible for the advice he gives, and this has engendered a not unnatural desire to avoid the expression of any decided opinion. An interview with the Tsungli Yamen is therefore a very considerable exercise in patience for the foreign Minister who desires an answer to some question. Refreshments of a nature not very grateful to Western palates

—melon seeds and sugar probably—are brought in with much deliberation and must be partaken of with ceremony. Even when this is over, and the question is asked, there is no attempt to answer, one of the most rigid points of etiquette being that no one shall speak first. When they do speak all speak at once, and their dexterity in passing the question from one to another, has been compared to that of Rugby forwards with the football. Very little satisfaction has ever been had from these conferences.

Such in brief outline are the salient features of the plan on which the Government of the 400,00,000 of Chinese is conducted. The decay of the Manchu dynasty, rotten at the core, has spread through every rank of their servants and dependents, and it is obvious that if China is ever to make a fresh start a complete reorganisation will be necessary.

ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN.

GOD AND JESUS IN THE LIGHT OF THE VEDANTA.

IN placing before the public a new exposition of the relation of God and Jesus towards each other and to man and the universe, we think it necessary to premise that we are here trying to understand the true import of the sayings and teachings of Jesus divested of all extraneous elements,—to penetrate, that is, into the religious consciousness of the great teacher himself, independently of the transformations it has undergone in the hands of the Churches of Christendom. It is no doubt true that, as Dr. Harnack says, “he lived and spoke within the circle of eschatological ideas which Judaism had developed more than two hundred years before.” But Jesus also in several respects transcended the Jewish materialistic and sensuous conceptions of religion, while not directly attacking them so as to lessen his own influence. Moreover, some form is necessary as the clothing of the spirit in order to attract and convert the popular reason, and naturally Jesus sought and found material for this external clothing of his gospel in some of the traditional conceptions of the Jewish national creed, for, after all, his mission was essentially to the “lost sheep” of Israel.

Now, what was the teaching of Jesus to the Hebrews as regards God's relation to himself and to the universe? Here, as in the matter of the law and the prophets, Jesus came “not to destroy, but to fulfil,” and therefore we must first understand Jewish conceptions so as to explain and comprehend how Jesus reformed and transformed them into something far higher, holier, and more spiritual. The prophets and psalmists had taught that God was one only and, though a jealous God, a God of righteousness who stood in an intimate relation to his chosen people, a father who guided his children to truth, happiness, and glory, and who, as the Messiah, was in due time to reign over them as their righteous and merciful king. Jesus never ran counter to this traditional conception of God as the Father, and it is at least partially brought out in his own famous prayer which begins, “Our father which art in heaven.” The traditional Jewish God was, owing to the theocratic conceptions always associated with Judaism, a God who was conceived as standing

in a purely external, though close, relation to men, guiding them, controlling them, rewarding them for good and punishing them for evil. He was a being possessed of a form like man's and even with passions and purposes like man's, and yet omnipotent above and beyond law and order and even capable of setting them aside, creating the universe out of nothing, having favourites and enemies among men and angels, and so on. True to his mission as a fulfiller of the law and not its destroyer, Jesus did not discard this conception of God as Father and Ruler in Heaven and Earth; and it is to some extent brought out in his prayer above referred to where God is conceived as giving men their daily bread, forgiving their sins and trespasses, and ruling over the earth as its sovereign providence. But while showing that he was not an opponent of the traditional and popular conception of God, he revealed to his countrymen also one far higher which placed God nearer and in a more intimate relation to man, and he also revealed to them the means to its realisation by man. So much of the crust of dogma has gathered round the central ideas of the teaching of Jesus concerning the present topic that it is very difficult indeed to get at the latter. But the Vedantic religion contains the light which enables us to penetrate to the inner core of spiritual truth as revealed by Jesus, and the times are favourable to the reception of it in Western countries, at least among those higher types of the human mind which are free from bias, intellectual and moral. The Vedantin's vocation is to continue to hammer, as he has always done, at the higher and nobler side of religion till he gains the universal acceptance of all the thinkers among our race. Dr. Harnack says in noble language:—"Every dogmatic formula is suspicious, because it is fitted to wound the spirit of religion; it should not at least be put before the living experience in order to evoke it; for such a procedure is really the admission of the half belief which thinks it necessary that the impression made by the person must be supplemented. The essence of the matter is a personal life which awakens life around it, as the fire of one torch kindles another." Jesus lived the life and revealed the experience which, enshrined in his teachings, carried the fire of spirituality straight into the hearts of his hearers, and so he fulfilled the Vedantic conception of the Guru or true spiritual preceptor. It is an irony of fate that his *life*, experience and teachings should be ignored, while his *death* and

all the improbabilities and impossibilities which man's mythical and superstitious imagination has built around it should be bolstered up, even so far down as the twentieth century after his martyrdom, and that the Churches which bear his name should continue to keep themselves aloof from the light of true knowledge and to swear by the time-honoured superstitions which have so long enslaved and brutalised the heart of man. The historical Jesus has been falsified by the records of Christianity which were the products of a superstitious age and a crude imagination. To the enlightened modern mind of Dr. Harnack those records rightly appear as "a coloured biographical medium," and the Vedantin, too, has always regarded them in the same light. But because they are the productions of a primitive and unenlightened period, it is not to be supposed that they have no value. They are valuable and will continue to be valuable because they enshrine the gospel of Jesus and his religious consciousness, and we claim that Indian thought alone can give the clue to their true comprehension.

If we classify and compare the utterances of Jesus concerning God, we find in them two different strata of thought, and they have to be comprehended and realised in their true bearings on each other. While, on the one hand, he speaks of God as the Father both of himself and others, as greater than himself, and as possessing attributes to which he can lay no claim, he tells us, on the other, that he and God are one, that to see the Son is to see the Father, that the Son of man is the Son of God,—thus making Man and God, Son and Father, synonymous-terms. That these two are entirely different classes of conceptions while at the same time they are quite reconcilable with each other and that Christian thinkers in Europe are gradually coming to perceive that there can be no peace or freedom on earth or elsewhere except in the practical realisation of the absolute truths and ideas of the latter class—these are the points which we wish to make out in this article in as few words as we can.

Under the lower or preliminary head of Doctrine, we have such sayings as these:—"My Father is greater than I"; "Why callest thou me good, there is none good but one, that is God"; "Whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of Man it shall be forgiven him; but whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, nor in the world to come." These are explicit sayings, and there is

no mistaking their import. Jesus acknowledged the existence of a being absolutely good and superior to the highest of all human possibilities in power, virtue and goodness, and capable of making the race realise the existence of those attributes in Him by means whose meaning and value can only be known to Him and to those who knew Him. In this connection Jesus claims no equality with Him either in this life or in any other; and all that he claims is the possession of a thorough knowledge of God, and of the power to impart to all the full measure of the knowledge of God that he himself has realised. "Neither knoweth any man the Father, save the son and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal Him." Only he who truly knows God is His Son, and to none else can it be given to make others sharers in the knowledge of God. When once such knowledge is deserved and attained, the difference between the teacher and the disciple disappears and both are equally knowers of God. Moreover to know God is to be like God, and Jesus truly says, "Be ye perfect, even as your Father which is in Heaven is perfect." That such a unique attainment of perfection is possible to man is assured by Jesus in a saying which, otherwise, becomes manifestly unmeaning. When Jesus says, "there be some standing here, which shall not taste of death till they see the son of man coming in his kingdom," what he means to assert is evidently that some of his hearers were assured, before dying, of the full and true knowledge of God being realised in their own souls, which, by their perfect and loving faith in their teacher, had undergone such transformation as had made of them fit abodes of the knowledge now imparted to them and therefore constituted them into a veritable Kingdom of God. If taken in the orthodox interpretation of the Churches, this saying makes no sense, for the world is still awaiting the second coming of Christ to rule over the earth, and all who stood before Jesus at the time he spoke to them have long ago tasted of death. Again, when Jesus says that not he, but God alone, is good and when he claims full knowledge of, but not equality with, God, it may indeed be held—as the orthodox interpreters hold—that the inferiority refers to his position on earth, but forms no part of that mysterious and transcendental situation in Heaven in which he is triune or consubstantial with God and the Holy Ghost. This view cannot be accepted, for Jesus puts forth the claim, "all authority is *given* to me in earth and heaven". If his autho-

riety in Heaven is *given* to him by God, then he cannot claim there that high tribune position in which he is indistinguishable from God. That Jesus made no such claim is shown by Mark, XIII, 32, in which Jesus is said to declare as follows:—"But of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father." We have also already quoted the statement of Jesus, "Why callest thou me good? There is none good but one, that is God." Moreover, Jesus is represented in the Gospels to have done his work on earth in complete and willing obedience to the will of his Father in Heaven, and it is this which explains the piteous wail of agony at the supreme crisis when he cried out, "Lord, Lord, why hast thou forsaken me"? The Lord's Prayer, too, brings out the same ideas regarding the difference between God and Jesus, and his position of contented resignation and subjection to God's will. In this connection, Dr. Harnack writes authoritatively in the following terms:—"Behind the only manifested life of Jesus later speculation has put a life in which he wrought not in subordination and obedience, but in like independence and dignity with God. That goes beyond the utterances of Jesus even in the Fourth Gospel."

We pass now to the higher stratum of philosophic doctrine of which, as already stated, we gather some glimpses in the Gospels. We have already referred to two of the sayings of Jesus, "I and my Father are one," "Whosoever hath seen the Son hath seen the Father." We have to consider what is the true import of these sayings, divesting ourselves of all doctrinal presuppositions and developments during the period of struggle for existence which the Christian Church had to pass through before it could bring the European world at its feet and make it its willing bondsman. There are not wanting clues within the Gospels, if the human mind and heart can get clear of the thralldom of Church dogma and Church authority and lend itself to whatever inspiration can be got from such sayings and teachings of Jesus as are admitted to have formed part of his authentic revelation to those whom he taught. And after all there is no real loss in adopting this procedure, for dogmas and doctrines are only the purely human conceptions and representations of the truths of revelation in accordance with the impressions received of the latter by the religious consciousness of different communities of men belonging to different ages, climes, or races. Dogmas

and doctrines may change, grow, decay, or disappear. But spiritual truth is eternal, revelation is a perpetual process of growth till the whole truth and nothing but the truth is realised by the soul. Revealed,—that is, realised—truth is of the essence of religious faith, while dogmas can never be such for the simple reason that they are not living spiritual experiences, but more or less questionable and varying impressions or ideas postulated by the religious mind or transmitted to it under the more or less material conditions which constitute human tradition and social unity.

If we are to correctly understand those sayings of Jesus in which we catch, obscurely and without systematic working out, glimpses and snatches of the higher philosophical doctrine we speak of, we must first clearly explain the conception of Isvara, as it appears in the Advaita Vedanta. There is an idea abroad that the Advaita religion postulates only an Impersonal, not a Personal, God. To use the words of a recent writer in the (London) *Spectator*, there is "a lack of positive content in the (Hindu) idea of God." This is not true even of the Advaita Vedanta, as we shall presently show. But the Advaita is not the only form of Theistic religion that is prevalent in India. Every other Indian system of religion postulates a Personal God, and the entire mass of the Indian people have as firm a hold as any other community of men of the idea of a loving and living ruler and father of the universe and the human race. The religion of Bhakti or love is the religion specially proclaimed by Sri Krishna for the human race in the Bhagavad-gita, and it has spread throughout the length and breadth of the land. So it betrays the grossest ignorance of the past history of religion and the social conditions at present existing in this country to say that the entire Hindu people believe in a creed which postulates nothing positive about God,—about his attributes and his relations to man and the universe. But to proceed. The Advaita religion postulates two Brahman, the Higher and the Lower, the Noumenal and the Phenomenal. The former is the absolute God, pure existence, changeless, without form and without name, but always having with him the power and the will to evolve into life, or withdraw life from, the phenomenal universe. Before he exercises this power, he has to take form, and then he becomes Isvara and as such he is the lord of the universe. This form of God or personal God is composed of pure *sattva* material.

According to Hindu philosophy, Prakriti, or primordial Nature, consists of three kinds of Gunas or material elements. These Gunas are the materials and forces out of which the evolution of the universe is brought about. Before creation, they remain in the universe in a state of equipoise, in a potential and homogeneous condition; but when creation commences, they combine and recombine so as to produce the heterogeneity constituting the manifestation of nature. Now, the manifestations of nature are either limited and particular (*vyashiti*), or universal and unlimited (*samashiti*). The former arise out of the differentiation of the latter. The Hindu psychologist has declared that there is a soul behind every individual manifestation of nature, enlightening, enjoying, and directing all its energies, physical, intellectual and moral. So also is there a universal ruler and governor enlightening, enjoying and directing all the manifestations of energy in the universe as a whole, and that is Isvara. In his *Yoga Sutras*, Patanjali Bhagavan defines Isvara as "the supreme person (or soul) untouched by (material) afflictions, activities, enjoyments and tendencies," and then proceeds to say of him that "in him is the highest limit of the seed of omniscience" and that "being unconditioned by time, he is the greatest of the great." He is thus the creator, sustainer and ruler of all the universe and all its manifestations, the Personal God who guides the manifestations and energies of all individual souls and the entire universe of matter.

The Advaita religion, therefore, lays down that the one God has to be considered, *first*, as Being-in-itself, noumenal, changeless, distinct from and out of all relation to the universe of matter, with his energy in a potential condition—as Reality, Intelligence, and Love; and, *secondly*, as Isvara, as in relation to the divine energy which, when thus no longer potential, becomes kinetic (through his will or *sankalpa*) and brings on the manifestation and evolution of the universe. The Vedantin speaks of Brahman as having both *Svarupalakshanam* and *Thatasthalakshanam*, (i.e.) as having both an essential aspect and an accidental aspect. In the former aspect, he is *Sat-chit-ananda*, pure reality, pure intelligence, pure love. In the latter, he brings about the creation, sustentation, and dissolution of the universe. Thus Isvara is Brahman viewed as related to the Divine Energy and as producing and sustaining the universe, while Brahman is Isvara in his essential aspect, as the changeless and noumenal reality. Between Brahman and Isvara there is thus a difference in the point of view, and none in es-

sence. They are one and the same being considered in two different aspects, the one expressing the essence of the divine existence, the other emphasising the relation of creator, preserver, and destroyer in which the one divine entity stands to the universe. *Iśvara* is the all-knowing, all powerful, highest lord of the universe, abides in his own glory, and is all pervading; but he may take up a special abode or assume a bodily shape composed of *Maya*, in order to gratify his devout worshippers, or for the purpose of proclaiming and maintaining virtue, justice and truth in the world. When he does this, he is not subject to weakness or affliction of any kind, but continues all-perfect, all-pure, all-powerful, the omniscient lord of all the universe. Sri Sankaracharya says:—"Belonging to the Self, as it were, of the omniscient lord (*Iśvara*), there are name and form, the figments of Nescience, the germs of the entire expanse of the phenomenal world, called in *sruti* and *smṛiti*, the illusion (*māya*), power (*śakti*) or nature (*prakṛiti*) of the omniscient lord (*Iśvara*)." This passage contains in a summary form the substance of the entire exposition given above. It will be noticed that it speaks of Brahman as "the Self, as it were, of the omniscient lord (*Iśvara*)." Thus, according to the Vedantin, there is no essential difference between Brahman and *Iśvara*, but only a difference in aspect; and *Avidyā*, *Maya*, *Sakti*, and *Prakṛiti* or primordial matter (matter in equipoise) are different names for the same thing.

After this exposition, we can easily understand the relation between the two classes or strata of the teaching regarding God which we find declared in the sayings of Jesus. In one class of sayings he declares that God is his father and that God alone is good, and for himself he claims only a thorough knowledge of God and the power to impart to others the knowledge that was his and also that he had come to fulfil his work on earth in obedience to the will of his father. In another class of sayings he claims all authority in heaven and earth and declares himself also as one and the same with God. The Vedantic explanation of the mystery is clear. God and Jesus correspond to Brahman and *Iśvara*, and in the latter capacity he is the world's ruler, saviour and teacher. It is in the sense of *Iśvara* that Jesus came to be called "lord" and also claimed "all authority in heaven and earth." Again, as *Iśvara* according to the exposition above given, is one with Brahman, because the former is the same as the latter viewed as relative to the universe, and the latter the same as the former viewed in its

essence and as absolute existence—so, also, according to the declaration of Jesus, he and God are one. Moreover we can thus easily understand the idea of incarnation as applied to Jesus. *Iśvara* incarnates himself from age to age for the "establishing of the law." When the Gospels speak of "the spirit of God descending" upon Jesus and of Jesus as having "come to fulfil the law," the idea conveyed is almost the same as the Indian idea of *avatara*, and we can well understand the true significance of the late Cardinal Newman's declaration that the doctrine of Incarnation came to the Christian Church from India, though it is to be regretted that it underwent a transformation by no means rational or desirable when it became restricted to Jesus only and has thereby produced all the aggressiveness, intolerance and hard-heartedness which have become inseparably associated with the Christianity of the Churches.

The idea of the pre-existence of Jesus and the fact of his death have always been matters of insuperable difficulty and endless dispute among the adherents and assailants of the Christian Church. Such difficulties and disputes can be avoided if the Christian will look at the sayings of Jesus in the new light thrown upon them by the Vedānta. John the Baptist said of Jesus:—"He that cometh after me is preferred before me; for he was before me" (John I, 15). How could Jesus have been before John and yet have come after him into the world? Jesus pre-existed as *Iśvara*—as the Word, for "all things were made by him" and "in him was life" (John I, 3 and 4)—before the incarnation; and he has post-existed, so to speak, as *Iśvara* after his death and burial. Even while Jesus lived on earth in his incarnate frame, it was quite possible for him—for he was the "lord" by whom "all things were made," and that is *Iśvara*—to exercise at will the power which he claimed to have been given to him throughout heaven and earth. And as regards his death, he only left behind that particular form and body in which he lived and moved on earth as Jesus, and he has remained for ever as *Iśvara*. The Vedantin knows well that material bodies are of two kinds,—*Sūkṣma* (subtle) and *sthūla* (gross). Sir Humphry Davy has held the following view:—"It does not appear improbable to me that some of the more refined machinery of thought may adhere, even in another state, to the sentient principle; for through the organs of gross sensation, the nerves and the brain are destroyed by death, yet something of

the more ethereal nature, which I have supposed may be less destructible." Moreover, there are souls freed altogether from the bondage of material association, and these are the *Muktas* of the Vedantins. Especially, in the case of Isvara, he is, as already stated in the aphorism quoted from the *Yoga Sūtras* of Patanjali—free from affliction (*Klesa*), activity (*Karma*), enjoyments (*vipaka*) and tendencies (*asaya*), and so above all material bondage. Sri Krishna says in the *Gita* :—"Many births of mine have passed, and of thine, O Arjuna; all these I know, thou knowest not. Though I am the beginningless and imperishable (i.e., absolute) being, though I am the lord of all creatures, yet taking control of my Nature-From (*Prakriti*), I am born by my own creative power (*Maya*) (IV, 5 and 6). Sri Krishna thus teaches us that he is the eternal ruler of the universe and that, though he assumes a body and lives on earth, he does so in a way quite unlike other beings; and after knowing his own rationally clear and convincing explanations on the point, we may lay aside our doubts and disputations. While human beings and other created objects assume successive forms through the unexhausted effects of their Karma and the consequent need and necessity of re-incarnation for their souls, Isvara assumes a form by the exercise, at his sweet will, of the creative energy which resides in him just as heat resides in fire, and he can also at will drop that form; and he also rules the universe and neither space nor time nor form can limit his power, activity or knowledge. Of Jesus it has been said, "He was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not" (John I, 10). Sri Krishna speaks (*Gita*, IV, 9) of his birth or incarnation and of his activities as *Divya*,—that is, *aparakrita*, as Sri Sankaracharya has explained the word,—not due to, or derived from, association with matter. There is, then, no need for postulating unfounded dogmas like those of immaculate conception, resurrection, or ascension in order to account for the incarnation of Isvara, the omnipotent and omniscient lord of the universe of existence.

K SUNDARARAMAN.

ISLAM UNDER THE SECOND CALIPHATE

I HAVE been actuated mainly by two reasons in my choice of the above period for presenting to the public a brief but accurate and uncoloured account of Islam during the early ages.

First, the history of the Second Caliphate is most interesting from every point of view, in that the whole period covering that remarkable epoch was one undisturbed and concurrent tide of both spiritual and material progress. Secondly, Huzruth Omer was by far the most powerful of the four great Caliphs and, apart from that rare indomitable courage and resource, and extraordinary force of character which he possessed, he was endowed in an eminent degree with unique power of administration and organization and with high principles of true statesmanship, such as were rarely to be found in those days, and which he so ably and successfully brought to bear on his great work during the ten years and odd that he ruled over the destinies of the whole Muhammadan world.

It will not, I think, be without interest to give here a short biographical sketch of so eminent a character before dealing with the events of his life after his connection with Islam.

Huzruth Omer belonged to the powerful tribe of Khuriah which was looked upon with much respect and reverence throughout the wide Arabian Peninsula. He was born in the holy city of Mecca, about 40 years before the Hegira or in the early part of the sixth century of the Christian era. During his boyhood, he was charged by his father with the duty of grazing the household camels, which was then a common occupation for little boys of all tribes. His father treated him with no leniency and would chastise the lad, and even subject him to corporal punishment if he at any time sought rest from his long and wearisome wanderings in the forests of Zujna. Once Omer happened to visit that forest during the period of his Caliphate and remarked with tears flowing down his eyes, "There was a time when I, in a coarse coat, used to graze camels here and receive a beating from my father if I sat down tired; now I stand here with none but God above me."

On attaining manhood, he was trained by his father in those arts and professions which were then considered suitable for scions of high families and also given a sound military education. He soon acquired considerable skill in wrestling and horsemanship, so much so that he was capable of performing some of those feats on horseback that we now witness in a European circus pavilion. He was also an orator with a pronounced taste for poetry. In fact, he was one of those seventeen men who upheld in that age the literary renown of the Khurishesh.

After his father's death, he took to trade which was the chief pursuit of the Arabs in those times. Necessitated to make journeys to distant lands, he was afforded opportunities of close communion with the celebrities of the age which in a measure contributed to the formation of those brilliant features of his character so conspicuous in after life.

Huzruth Omer was 27 years of age when the Arakian Prophet proclaimed his sacred Mission, and although some of Omer's tribesmen had embraced the new faith, not only did he himself keep aloof from it, but raised the standard of revolt, mercilessly persecuting those who had become converts. Islam, however, had such a charm and hold on the minds of its new professors that the dread of his relentless cruelty was of no avail, and exasperated by failure, he recklessly resolved to slay the prophet and thereby put a period to his propaganda. Bent on this evil intent, he quitted his house one day with a drawn sword in his hand and was met on the way by a friend who enquired about his destination. Omer replied that he was going to put Muhammad out of the way. The friend retorted that, before executing his design, he had better begin, to be consistent, with his own sister and brother-in-law who had accepted the new faith—a sarcasm which so stung him that he at once retraced his steps and proceeded in the direction of his sister's house, where on arrival he found her and her husband reciting some passages from the Holy Koran. They became horror-stricken at the sight of Omer and concealed the leaflets they had in their hands. Infuriated, Omer seized his brother-in-law and grievously assaulted him, not sparing even his sister who tried to interpose on her husband's behalf. The brave and resolute woman thereupon defiantly exclaimed—"Do what you will, Omer, but we shall never recant." This dauntless declaration, coupled with the blood stains on her person, so quelled the assailant that he asked in a beseeching tone for the

secreted leaflets in which, when produced, his eyes rested on the chapter opening with the following text:—

"Everything both in the heavens and on the earth sings to the glory of God who is all-powerful and all wise." He read the whole chapter with wrapt attention and excitement and when he arrived at the words, "Believe in God and in his prophet," he at once repeated the Muhamnadan confession of faith, *viz.*, "I testify that there is no God but Allah and that Muhammad is his prophet." Saying this he started off direct to where the prophet then was and sent word that he had come to see him. When the messenger declared that the visitor had a drawn sword in his hand, some of the prophet's companions were disconcerted. Ameer Humza, the great hero of the Khurishesh, and an uncle of the prophet, however, recovered his composure and said. "If he has come as a friend it is well, otherwise he shall fall by his own sword." Then Omer entered the precincts of the house. The prophet advanced and clutching the skirt of his coat said—"Well, Omer, on what errand art thou bent?" The prophetic voice terrified the intruder who, in faltering accents, replied—"I come to surrender to Islam" It is a striking episode. The conversion of Omer was the dawn of a new era in Islam. The number of those who had till then accepted the new faith did not exceed forty or fifty including the great Khureish hero, Ameer Humza, and they had been neither able to publicly practise the rites of their religion nor hold divine service in the Kaba, but they were so strengthened by this conversion, that they at once became a power in the land.

When the prophet left Mecca owing to the tyranny and maltreatment of the infidels, Omer also accompanied him to the sacred city of Medina, where a brotherhood was established by the prophet between the new comers and the resident Mussalmans of the place.

Huzruth Omer played a prominent part in every subsequent movement undertaken for the propagation of Islam. In the battle of Badr which resulted in a signal victory for Islam, Omer slew his own maternal uncle, thus proving to the world that in matters of religion blood relationship or family love counts for nothing. This battle was fought in the second year of the Hejira (624. A.D.) and was provoked by Abu Sufyan who returning from Asia Minor with considerable merchandise applied to the Meccans for succour against the Mussalmans who he said

contemplated an attack—a story exploded in unmistakable terms by the Koran. He also took a leading part in the Ohud engagement, which but for him would have ended in a disaster to the Moslems. He was also present at the capture of Khyber, where Huzruth Ali (4th Caliph) distinguished himself so greatly, and was given a piece of land by the prophet as his part of the booty which he, however, converted into a charitable endowment—the first of its kind in Islam. He was present at the capture of Meccā which was by far the most important achievement in the time of the Prophet and the turning point in the early history of Islam—and also accompanied the expedition against the Havazin tribe, which resulted in their complete subjugation and the capture of 6 000 prisoners. In 9 Hejrie or 631. A.D., a rumour became current that the Romans were making extensive preparations for the invasion of Arabia. The prophet being anxious to be ready for any eventualities, resolved to equip a sufficient force to meet the foe. As Islam was still weak in its exchequer, it was found difficult to obtain the sinews of war. The prophet proposed the raising of a general subscription which soon filled the coffers. Omer placed half of his fortune at the disposal of the prophet.

On the death of the prophet, the succession to the Caliphate assumed a serious aspect. Before the burial could take place, there were dissensions in the camp. The three great sections of his followers, *viz.*, (1) Banoo Hashim (the highest clan, of the Khurish tribe to which the prophet belonged), (2) Muhagireens (those who had accompanied the prophet in his flight from Mecca) and (3) Unsars (those who had received and assisted the prophet in Medina on his arrival from Mecca), were each anxious that the Caliphate should descend to them. Others suggested as a compromise that each section should have a Caliph of its own. A storm was thus brooding over the head of Islam and would have no doubt burst with intense fury and shaken it to its base, had it not been for the commendable foresight, sagacity and resourcefulness of Omer who, amidst the heated discussion and general confusion of the hour, extended his hand towards Abu Bakur and performed "Bai'ath" (act of homage and allegiance), confirming him as the rightful successor of the blessed prophet, in which he was followed by the whole concourse of people who bowed to his strong will. Thus the great calamity, which threatened the very existence of Islam, was averted in a moment and

Huzruth Abu Bakur was universally acknowledged and proclaimed as the first Caliph. It is impossible to adequately admire the tact and resourcefulness displayed by Huzruth Omer on this momentous occasion or to refrain from the belief that he acted under the influence of special heavenly inspiration. • Howbeit he has placed Islam under deep obligation to him.

During the two and a quarter years that Abu Bakur ruled, he had a very strong and reliable lieutenant in Omer whose hand was visible in every important undertaking set on foot by the Caliph. Benefited by the bitter experience acquired at the prophet's death, Abu Bakur, who was then on his death bed, wished to nominate a successor. Although he knew perfectly well that the claims of Omer, than whom no better candidate could be found, were supreme, yet he did not wish to act solely on his individual responsibility. He, therefore, consulted some of the leading "Sahabees" (companions of the prophet) who all pointed to Omer as the fittest instrument for carrying out so important and sacred a trust. The news, which spread like wild fire was, however, distasteful to a small particular section whose impressions of Omer had been very superficially formed and who looked upon him as a very hard and heartless master. One of them, "Talha," went to Abu Bakur and said—"You know how Omer treated us during your lifetime, and if he now become the Caliph, God only knows what he will do. Now that you are about to go before God, you should consider beforehand what answer you will make to Him." Abu Bakur replied that he would tell God that he had placed over His servants one who was the best of them all. Saying this, he sent for Usman (the third Caliph) and directed him to draw up a Caliphut Nama (Deed of succession). When this was done, he caused it to be proclaimed to the people and himself, from the balcony of his house, supplemented the proclamation by the remark that he had not chosen any of his own relations for his successor but had appointed Omer whose selection ought to give universal satisfaction. All having expressed their willingness to accept Omer as their Caliph, he called Omer into his presence and gave him elaborate instructions as to the future conduct of affairs, which served Omer in after life as a Code of Regulations.

The first thing which engaged the attention of Omer after his ascension was the proposed expedition to Arabian Irak, then a Persian Province, where Mussalmans had already estab-

lished a colony in Abu Bakur's time. For three days after his succession, crowds of people poured in from all parts of the country to pay homage to the new Caliph. Taking advantage of the golden opportunity, Omer placed his proposal before them. It met with universal approval; a band of a thousand men was soon selected from Medina and its suburbs and sent to Irakli, under the command of Abu Obiedah. The Persians, who from their experience of the events in Abu Bakur's time were apprehensive of a fresh and more organised invasion by Mussalmans, had made every preparation for such a contingency. As soon therefore as the news of the despatch of Abu Obiedah reached their ears, two Persian Armies were equipped and placed under the commands of Japan and Nursee who proceeded by two different routes. Japan was thoroughly beaten by Abu Obiedah at Namrockh, and Nursee at Sukatia. At this latter place Abu Obiedah halted for a time and sent small detachments in all directions to dislodge the enemy. Faruk and Farundad, the chiefs of the place, offered allegiance to him and as a token of their loyalty sent him one day rich and various preparations of food. Abu Obiedah wished to know if they were sent for his individual use or for the whole army, and on being informed that they were intended for him alone, he refused acceptance and remarked that Islam did not allow preferential treatment amongst its adherents.

Hearing of this defeat, Rustom Shah, the Chief of the Persians, organized and equipped a fresh army of 4,000 trained soldiers and sent it under the command of Murdan Shah who inflicted a severe defeat on the already shattered and thinned force of Abu Obiedah in 625. This necessitated the equipment and despatch of a fresh expedition by the Caliph. Contingents were readily furnished by all tribes. The Chief of the Uzd tribe himself appeared at the head of 700 troopers, Banoo Thameem sent 1,000 men, and the son of Hatim Thai and several other tribal Chiefs offered their services. The news having reached the Persians, they mustered a strong and trained army of 12,000 men under the command of Mehran who was well acquainted with the character of the Arabs. The two armies met on the banks of the Euphrates. It was usual for the Arabs to shout Allaho Akbar (God is great) three times when taking the field. The first call was intended to enable the army to get ready, the second, to place itself in proper position for attack, and the third,

to begin the onset. Musuna the Islamic Commander dispensing with this custom, lest it should alarm the foe and give him time to get ready, gave orders for the army to attack forthwith. A bloody battle ensued. The Persians fought with much tenacity but eventually had to give way before the indomitable gallantry of the Moslem Arabs, and their Commander Mehran was slain. Historians are practically unanimous that in no previous engagement were so many corpses left on the battle-field, and that travellers who happened to visit the scene years after the war found heaps of dry bones in all directions. By this victory the greater part of Arabian Irakli fell into the hands of the Mussulmans. The ascension of Yezdagur to the throne of Persia, however, infused new life into the empire. In the face of a common enemy the Persians set aside all internal disputes, thoroughly reorganised their army, fortified their forts and were in every way ready for an attack. The news having reached Omer, he lost no time in raising an army. The time was very favorable for this purpose, as it was the Huj (pilgrimage) season and the preachings of Omer had a marvellous effect on the minds of the people. Every tribe contributed a large contingent, and when Omer returned to Medina from the pilgrimage he found, quite a sea of heads as far as his eye could reach. He decided to take the command himself, leaving Huzruth Ali in charge of the Caliphate, and this decision added considerably to the enthusiasm and *esprit de corps* of the troops who were more than ever prepared to sacrifice their lives in his cause. The army advanced to Sarar, which is about three miles from Medina. Here an important council of war was held which unanimously resolved that the Caliph should not take the field in person. This necessitated another commander being selected, and with one voice the choice fell on S'ad bin Abi Wakhas. The Islamic army, under its new commander, marched to Sharaf via Salaba, and encamped there. S'ad had instructions from the Caliph to draw up a full account of the place where the troops encamped. Accordingly, he prepared a map of the camp showing the ground occupied by the troops and sent it to the Caliph together with an account of the Commissariat arrangements and the latter thereupon sent in a memo. of instructions for the Commander's guidance during the campaign, on receipt of which S'ad held a roll-call of his troops who numbered about 30,000 and, according to Tibree (an Arabic Historian) were drawn up and commanded as follows:—

ADVANCE GUARD UNDER ZUHKA BIN ABDULLA.

Right wing	do	Abdulla bin Motasim
Left wing	do	Shurfi
Rear guard	do	Asim
Reconnoiting parties	do	Sawad bin Malik
Irregulars	do	Salman bin Rabah
Infantry	do	Hammal
Camel Riders.	do	Abdullah bin Zesahmie
Khazi and Treasurer	do	Abdur Rahaman
Commissariat Officer	do	Salmani Parsi
Interpreter	do	Hilaul
Staff Officer	do	Ziad
Medical Officers	do	names not given,

At this time, another Firman was received from the Caliph directing S'ad to advance on Khadesea and encamp there. He was also instructed to so post the army as to have the level plains in its front and the mountain ridges in its rear, so that in case of victory, the troops might sweep down the country, and in the event of a reverse, take refuge behind the sheltering hills. These instructions were strictly carried out. The Reconnoiting parties having reported the enemy under Rustum, ruler of Armenia, at Sabbath, S'ad wrote to the Caliph for instructions and was informed that before taking the initiative a few picked men should be sent to the King as envoys to offer him Islam. S'ad accordingly selected 4 leading men and sent them to Yezdagur who received them with honor in an open Durbar and, after some preliminary conversation, asked them why they had come to his country. Noman bin Mukhrun, the Chief of the party, explained the object of the mission, and then giving a brief account of Islam said, "We place two things before the world, Jizya (religious tax) or the sword." Yezdagur reminded them of their previous inferior position among the nations of the world, and how they were subjected to punishment by the Persian Court, through its border Chiefs, when they showed sign of disobedience. Thereupon Moghaira, one of the envoys, who could not stand this insulting remark, retorted, "Yes, we were then a wretched people who killed each other in fight and buried our girls alive, but God sent us a prophet of high rank and birth who, though at first, opposed and discredited, convinced us that his words were of God who inspired him for his great mission. He has enjoined on us to offer Islam to the world. Those who accept it are entitled to

equal privileges with us; those who refuse it, may pay Jizya and come under the protection of Islam, but those who refuse both have to accept the sword." This irritated Yezdagur who said that, if it was permissible to kill ambassadors, every one of them would have been executed. He, however, ordered his servants to place a basket of mud on the head of the most respectable of the ambassadors and sent them away. The ambassadors took this as a good omen and congratulated their Commander on his assured success, as the enemy had given his *earth* to them. Rustum the Persian Commander advanced with 60,000 troops to Khadesea, and the Arabs moved to meet him, which resulted in two days' indecisive fighting, although on the second day the Mussulman lost 2000 and the Persians 10,000. Both sides fought with magnificent courage. Many episodes marked the fight, and one is worth recording. When a portion of the Arab line was wavering before a charge of Persian elephants, an old Arab woman, who had followed her two sons to the field, made the following spirit-stirring harangue:—

"Dear Sons—You were not the only sons of the country nor were you famine stricken. You have brought your mother here and left her on the Persian land. I swear by Allah that as you are the sons of one mother, so you are the children of one father. I have not been unfaithful to your father nor have I disgraced your maternal uncle. Forward, then, and fight to the death!"

On the third day, fighting was resumed with renewed fury and continued throughout the day and night, when the Persians were utterly defeated, and Rustum their Commander-in-Chief was slain. S'ad at once communicated the news of victory to the Caliph who made a very touching speech concluding with the following words:—

"Mussulmans, I am not a king, so that I may wish to make you servants, I am myself the servant and slave of God. No doubt the weight of the Caliphate is on my shoulders. If I can contribute to your ease and happiness I consider it a privilege; if it be my desire that you should wait at my door, it is my wretchedness. I wish to educate you not by words but by acts."

Friday being observed by Muhammadans as a Sabbath, is kept free of all secular employment and recreations and a special divine service is held in the mosques after midday. The first Friday prayers, after the victory, were in the absence of a mosque

in Irakh, offered in the Royal palace at Madayar where a temporary pulpit was put up for the occasion.

S'ad now gave orders for collecting the treasures and curiosities of all the Royal palaces in the Province, and within a short time a very large and interesting collection was made, including in addition to the personal arms and other mementoes of the ancient kings, a golden horse with a silver saddle and a silver camel with a golden pack-saddle strung with costly pearls, on which rode a figure made of gold, and studded from head to foot with precious stones. The most wonderful of the spoil taken was a carpet called "Bahar" (spring)—a name advisedly given, as the Persian grandees used to sit and drink wine on it during the spring season, emblems of which it bore, worked in gold and costly gems. The yellow ground was of gold, the grassy meadows in the centre were of emeralds, the trees were of silver and gold, the leaves were of rich brocade, the bouquets of flowers and fruits were of rubies and diamonds, and the rivulets on the four sides, of topaz. It speaks eloquently to the stern discipline and honesty of the army that in collecting such interesting and costly treasures it showed no inclination to misappropriate anything. The Commander as usual distributed four-fifths of the booty amongst the soldiery, and sent the remaining one-fifth, including all the curiosities and regalia, to the Caliph who distributed them amongst the Mussalmans at the seat of the Caliphate. According to modern opinion, the non-preservation of such interesting relics might appear an act of Vandalism, but in that holy period personal aggrandisement was subservient to national welfare.

The conquest of Madayan was followed by the fall of Jaloola after a siege of several months, during which the Persians made 80 sorties, from time to time, all of which were repulsed. At last, a pitched battle was fought and won by the Mussulmans. According to Thibree, the Arabian historian, 100,000 Persians fell in that engagement and the booty to the extent of about 3 crores, passed into the possession of the Arab Conquerors, to whom all the surrounding Chiefs took the oath of allegiance.

While Mussalman conquests were being extended in Persia, the Caliph sent another army to Syria, under that great hero Khalid, who had been granted by the blessed prophet the title of "The Sword of God." The first feat of arms was the capture in 635 of Damascus which caused considerable offence to

the Romans who subsequently collected in large numbers to attack the Mussalmans. The legions who had been sent by Emperor Hercules for the relief of Damascus in the first instance and who did not arrive in time, also joined them. Thus the enemy had an army of about 30 or 40 thousand strong, under the command of the Roman General Seklar. The Romans encamped at Beesan and the Mussalmans opposite to them, at Mokhil. Frightened by the wild enthusiasm in the Mussalman camp, the Christians sued for peace and asked Abu Obedah, the Mussalman Commander, to depute an envoy. Muaz bin Jabal was accordingly sent. After the usual exchange of courtesies, he was asked by the Christians why the Mussalmans had thought of coming to their country, although their Emperor was the greatest of all the living sovereigns, and had an army equal in number to the stars in heaven and the sands on the sea-shore. Muaz replied, "Our foremost request is that you should embrace Islam, pray towards our Khibla (Kaba), give up drinking and the use of pork. If you do this, you are our brethren; if not, you should pay the Jizya (religious tax). If you decline both, then it is war to the knife. We despise your numbers, for our God says that a few faithful shall overthrow many infidels. You are proud of being the subjects of an Emperor, who has power over your life and property, but our king (Caliph) does not arrogate such powers to himself. Should he commit adultery, he would undergo like any other commoner the special punishment laid down for that crime, and should he steal his hand would be cut off." The Christians thereupon said that they would surrender Balkin and Ardan which are situated close to Arabia, if the Mussalman retired from their country. Muaz declined to accept this arrangement, and the negotiations were broken off. On hostilities being resumed, victory was on the side of the Mussalmans, city after city in Urdan yielding to the Moslem arms. When drafting the terms of peace, the Muhammadan Commanders were always very liberal towards the vanquished, whose lives, property, land, houses, temples, and other places of worship were secured to them, with the exception of a portion of land required for the building of mosques.

This annexation of Urdan was followed by the conquest of Hums and Yermuk. The latter fell after a long and sanguinary siege, in which the enemy lost between 70 and 100 thousand men. The Emperor was in Anatolia when the news of these disasters

reached him. He at once made preparations to flee to Constantinople, and, when on the point of flight, turned round towards Syria bidding it a long farewell.

Concurrently with the advance on Hims and Yerinuk, the Mussalmans laid siege to Jerusalem, under Umer Ebnul Aus. The enemy being unable to fight, sued for peace and made it a condition that the Caliph should come to Jerusalem and draw up the terms of peace with his own hands which was granted and a peace was concluded to which reference will be made later on.

The tide of Mussalman conquest was somewhat retarded by the appearance of severe epidemic in 639 in Irakhi, Syria and Egypt, which committed dreadful havoc and cost the Mussalmans alone 25,000 lives. The steps adopted by the Caliph to arrest the epidemic and the famine which broke out in Arabia in the same year will be described in their place.

In 640, the Mussalmans conquered Khysaria which lies on the sea coast of Syria. It was at that time a very large city, and, according to the historian Balazuri, had 300 markets in it. Then followed the assault and fall of Jazeera and Khozistan which lies between Irakhi and Fars. A very interesting incident is told in connection with the capture of Khozistan. When the enemy was defeated, their king, Hurmuzan, agreed to surrender on the condition that he was sent to Medina and his fate personally settled by Omer. The Islamic Commander assented. Hurmuzan was sent to the seat of the Caliphate with befitting pageantry. He expected that as Omer's name was the terror of the world, his Court would be imposing, but to his surprise he found Omer reclining on the floor of the mosque. Hurmuzan approached and having obtained permission to speak, said "So long as God was with us, you were all our slaves but now that God is with you, we are your slaves." Saying this, he asked for water and when it was brought, he took the cup in his hand and supplicated that his life should be spared, until he drank its contents. On Omer agreeing, he threw down the cup and said that he would not drink the water, and according to the agreement he could not be killed. Before Omer had recovered from his surprise at the astuteness of the Persian leader, the latter at once repeated the Muhammadan declaration, saying that he had already accepted Islam but hit upon this contrivance to remove any impression that he did so for fear of the sword. Omer was infinitely pleased with him,

permitted him to reside in Medina itself, fixed a liberal allowance on him and generally consulted him in his subsequent Persian expeditions.

Having thus completely subdued Irakhi Arab, the Mussalmans now turned their attention to Irakhi Ajam, i.e., the Persian Irakhi.

After the fall of Jaloola Yezdagur, the Persian Emperor fled to Ruy, but the Chief of that place proving a traitor, he proceeded to Khorasan, via Ispahan and Kirman, and settled at Merve which he made his capital and where he built a temple for fireworship. Having subsequently heard that Khozistan had been conquered by the Mussalmans and Hurmuzan, who was the pillar of the Persian empire, had been taken prisoner, he equipped an army of 1,50,000 men, handed to it the great banner of the ancient Persian kings, and sent it to Nahavand, under Murdan Shah the son of Hurmuzan. This banner was known as "Dirafashi Kavyani", and was looked upon as the presage of victory. Omer sent a force of thirty thousand men under Noman from Koofa, with special instructions to the troops in Persia, that no Persians should be allowed to advance towards Nahavand from those directions so as to cut off all possibility of efficient help to the enemy. The enemy on their part had spread caltraps all over the country, which rendered the Mussalman advance extremely difficult. The Moslem Commander, therefore, decided to keep the greater part of the army about 6 or 7 miles from the city, and sent only a small body of troops to assume the offensive. The Persians assailed them with considerable impetuosity, and the Moslem troops fell back before the enemy, until they were out of the caltrap area, when the whole Mussalman army faced about, and charged their excited pursuers, making sore havoc among them, so much so, that the battle-field became slippery with blood. The enemy fled and was pursued by the victorious army up to Hamadan, but the joy of victory was marred by the death of the Moslem Commander who, as he fell wounded from his horse, shouted to the soldiers not to mind him, but to press on against the enemy, thus proving himself a true soldier of Islam. Omer was much moved by the news of his death. A large collection of precious stones formed part of the booty which was distributed as usual amongst the troops, after one fourth had been sent to Omer who returned it for distribu-

tion amongst the Army at home. The Persian loss was 30,000, and after this war they never again recovered their strength.

Up till now, Omér had not thought of overrunning the whole of Persia. The engagements hitherto fought were chiefly for the safety of his own country. It is true that Irakli had been annexed to the Mussalman Empire, but it was practically a part of Arabia, as the Arabs had already settled in every corner of it. The Persians, however, would not accept the inevitable. They instigated the people of the conquered provinces to rise in revolt against their conquerors, and assisted them with troops and money. Omer held a council to consider the situation, and it was unanimously resolved that so long as Yezdagur remained within Persian limits there was no hope of a cessation of these risings. Omer, therefore, in 643-644, collected and sent a large army from different directions for the conquest of Persia. The first city which succumbed was Ispahan. Then followed Hamadan Azar Buyajan, Mehristan, Armenia, Fars, Kirman, Seistan and Mekran. The division which was sent to *Khorasan* advanced on Merve which was then the capital of Yezdagur who no sooner did he hear of the approach of the Moslems than fled to Balkh and wrote letters to the Emperor of China and other potentates for aid. The Mussalman then advanced on Balkh and defeated Yezdagur who crossing the sea fled to Chinese territory, thus leaving the Mussalmans undisputed masters of the country from Nishapur to Takharistan.

While operations were being conducted in Persia, an expedition was concurrently sent to Egypt under Omer bin Aus, a namesake of the Caliph. He conquered Ferma, Bulbees and Umma Wanin and commenced preparations for the siege of Fostat which was an important place. Mokokus the ruler of Egypt, who was a feudatory of the Roman Emperor, had already advanced with a large army to Fostat which he fortified. The Mussalman army being too small to cope with him, the Commander applied to the Caliph for reinforcements. Omer sent 10,000 troops and Zubier was made the Commander of the combined forces. The Mussalmans then besieged the citadel. The siege having lasted for seven months without any decisive results, Zubier one day scaled the ramparts of the citadel, followed by a small party which on reaching the summit of the rampart shouted the "Thukbeer" (Muhammadan declaration of faith) with one voice and the whole army from below the position re-echoed the in-

spiring cry. Thinking that the Arabs had penetrated into the place, the Egyptians fled on all sides in great disorder. Zubier then getting down from the rampart opened the gates, and the Moslem army entered and occupied it. Thereupon Mokokus sued for peace which was granted. When Hercules heard of this, he was displeased with Mokokus and sent a large Roman army for the defence of Alexandria on which the victorious Muhammadan army was advancing. The two forces met at Alexandria and after several hard and indecisive engagements, the town was stormed and carried by the Muhammadans. The Moslem Commander at once despatched a messenger to convey the good tidings to the Caliph who was anxiously awaiting the results. The messenger reached Medina about midday and thinking that the Caliph would then be asleep, he proceeded direct to the Mosque. A slave-girl of the Caliph who saw the messenger conveyed the news to Omer who immediately came out of the house and, on learning the report of victory, called out the residents of Medina and performed an impressive thanksgiving service in the Mosque. He then asked the messenger why he did not go direct to him, and, on being informed of the reason, exclaimed, "Alas! have you such thoughts about me? If I were to sleep during the day, who would bear the weight of the Caliphate?" Subsequently, the Mussalmans subjugated all Egypt and the residents of every place willingly consented to pay the Jizya. As a considerable number of people, both Egyptians and Romans, had been taken prisoners in these engagements, the Commander applied to the Caliph for instructions regarding their disposal. Omer in reply wrote that all the prisoners might be informed that it was open to them either to accept Islam or to adhere to their own religion. If they embraced Islam they would be entitled to all the privileges open to Mussalmans, if they retained their own faith, they would have to pay the Jizya. Accordingly, a council was held at which the Caliph's letter was read to the prisoners, most of whom being already acquainted with the truths of Islam accepted the new faith. Soon after this Omer was treacherously killed by a Parsi slave under the following circumstances. This Parsi slave who was living in Medina and was named Feroze, complained one day to the Caliph that his master, Mogheera, had levied a heavy duty on him and requested the Caliph to get it reduced. Omer found on enquiry that it was only two dirhams, or about 7 annas per diem, and as the slave knew

the trades of a carpenter, blacksmith and painter, he did not consider the duty excessive. This decision offended the appellant and when the next morning Omer as usual went to the Mosque before sunrise and commenced prayer, Feroze, who had hidden himself in a corner of the Mosque, jumped up from behind and stabbed him in six places one of the wounds being below the navel. He also wounded several other people and, before he could be secured, committed suicide. The first thing which engaged Omer's attention after he was taken to his house was to secure a place in the vicinity of the prophet's grave for his burial. He accordingly sent a message through his son to Auyasha the prophet's widow to whom the site belonged. She said that although she had reserved the place for herself, yet she would give preference to Omer. The next important matter which engaged his attention was the Caliphate. Personally, he preferred Huzruth Ali to all others, but as, according to his own ideal, there was none in his opinion capable of wielding such enormous power, and as he also knew that there was some prejudice on the part of a section of the citizens against Ali, he left the succession open and desired that the people should make a selection from amongst the following six, viz., Ali, Usman, Zubier, Thulha, Sad, Abdur Rahman. He then said that his instructions to his successor were that he should recognize the claims of the following five classes:

- (1) Muhagireenc.-who accompanied the prophet to Medina
 - (2) Ansurs.-who assisted the prophet in Medina.
 - (3) Home Arabs
 - (4) Arabs abroad.
 - (5) Zimmes.-i.e., those non-Mussalmans, including Christians, Jews, Parsis, &c., who were paying the Jizya (religious tax)
- He laid special stress on the claims of the last named and said, "I enjoin on the next Caliph to respect the trust of God and of His prophet, to carry out to the fullest extent the terms of the agreement with them, to fight with their enemies and not to trouble them more than they can conveniently bear." He then told his son that he had a personal debt of 86,000 dirhams which should be repaid from his assets.

The third day the great Caliph died after a wise, just, popular, brilliant and glorious rule of 10 years, 6 months and 4 days and was buried on the first of Moharum 24 Hijrei 644 A.D.

The extent of Omer's conquests was 22,510,30 square miles

i.e., 1036 miles to the north, (from Mecca,) 1086 to the east, 483 to the south and up to Juddah to the west.

At this stage the question naturally arises, What led to the phenomenal success of the Moslems? European historians attribute it to the rottenness of the Persian and Roman Empires at the time—a theory hardly tenable, considering their large armies, their immense resources and their training in the art of war which should have made it impossible for a handful of undisciplined and resourceless Arabs to face them in the field with the remotest chance of success. The true reason, as is obvious from a close study of the events and conditions of the time, is, that by the teachings of the great prophet the Arabs had been leavened with all those high qualities that go to constitute a race of conquerors, which, coupled with their uprightness, probity, and conscientiousness, stood them in good stead and made the work of conquest easy. The people of conquered countries were so much struck by the honesty and rectitude of the Moslems that, in spite of the difference of creed, they did not wish the decay of their power. After the battle of Yermuk, when the Mussalmans withdrew from Syria, the Christian subjects cried out—"May God bring you again to this country, and the Jews with the old Testament in their hand, declared that so long as they were alive, Cæsar could not come there. The conquests in the time of Omer were not dimmed by unworthy deeds. Except in battle, the troops had strict orders not to kill the enemy. The old and the young were left unmolested. The officers had injunctions not to practice deception on the enemy during a fight nor mutilate the wounded. When the Jews of Khyber were banished for conspiracy and revolt, they were paid the equivalent of their land, and orders were issued to the Governors of the various Provinces to assist them in every way during their journey, and when they settled down not to collect Jizya from them for a year.

Although Omer did not personally take part in any campaign and the armies were operating in different directions, yet the reins were in his hands. In the conquests of Irak he actually did the work of a Commander-in-Chief. He marked out the routes to be adopted by the troops and sent written instructions, from time to time, regarding the positions to be taken up by them, the way in which they should array themselves in battle and other details. According to the great historian, Thibre

if one would carefully and critically study the campaigns of Irakhs, one would plainly see that the whole army was operating under the immediate direction of Omer whose hand was visible in every detail.

After a careful review of the campaigns and expeditions undertaken, victories gained and conquests made during the 10 years and odd that Omer filled the *Musnud* of the Caliphate, it can be said, without touch of exaggeration, that from the earliest historic time up to now, Omer, or Faroukhi Auzum (The Great Distinguisher between Right and Wrong) as he is generally called, stands out in the pages of history as the greatest conqueror the world has ever produced.

I have now to consider whether the Islamic Government under the second Caliph, was monarchical or republican. At that time republicanism found no favor among the peoples. Persia never had any inclination for popular rule. Rome at one time was known to be a people's government, but, long before Omer's advent, it had become a monarchy, which, in Omer's time, was absolute. Omer was, therefore, the first to lay the foundations of republicanism, and although, owing to the shortness of his career and the circumstances of the times, he was not able to formulate all its details, yet all the cardinal principles which are the essential constituents of a republican government were in existence and operation in his time. He instituted a Consultative Council in which all administrative questions were decided and without sanction from which nothing could be undertaken. The council was a large one, consisting of representatives from Muhagireens and Unsars, the most conspicuous amongst whom were

Hazruth Usman.

„ Ali.

Abdur Rahman bin Auf.

Muaz bin Japal.

Obi bin Kaub.

Zied bin Sabith.

The decisions of this Conclave were considered final in all ordinary matters, but all important and weighty questions were discussed at a General Council of Mahagireens and Unsars, and decided by a majority.

The Governors of Provinces and Commissioners of Districts were generally nominated in consultation with the tax-payers and

were sometimes elected by them. When tax Commissioners were appointed for Koofa, Basorah, and Syria, Omer authorised the Provinces to select their own Commissioners, according to their integrity and efficiency. It is the essence of a republican system that its head should be no more than a Chief Magistrate elected by the people, paid by them and responsible to them. All these conditions existed in Omer's time in all their perfection and owe their origin to him. In one of his speeches, he is reported to have made the following observations :

“Brethren,—I have a claim on your property to the same extent as the custodian of an orphan has on the property of his ward. If I had independent means, I would not receive anything from the public revenue, in the absence of such means, I will take only what is necessary for maintenance. I hold everything in trust for you ; the revenues of the country and the spoils of war should not be collected by illegal means nor expended in a questionable manner ; the national cause should grow, the frontiers be fortified, and perfect security prevail both within and without.” It was thus that Omer created the basis of a thoroughly republican system of Government.

Omer divided the Islamic dominions into eleven provinces, each of which comprised several districts :

Mecca, Medina, Syria, Jazeera, Bussorah, Koofa, Egypt, Palastine, Khorasan, Azurbayajan, and Fars (Iran).

Each province had the following administrative staff at Head Quarters.

1 Governor, 1 Commander of troops, 1 Chief Secretary, 1 Adjutant-General, 1 Revenue Commissioner, 1 Chief of the Police Staff, 1 Treasury Officer, 1 Khazi (Chief Justice).

The personal staff of the Governor belonged to the Permanent establishment and was appointed by the Caliph. Each district in its own turn had a separate staff of administrative and executive officials in every department.

Omer next undertook the selection of officials and the preparation of a Code of Regulations for their guidance. However sagacious and watchful a ruler might be and however perfect his Codes, unless the officials who form the limbs of Government are men of ability and good conscience, the country can never prosper. The manner in which this difficulty was overcome by Omer compels admiration. He was by nature a sound judge of character and had long been closely associated with all

the able men of the country, with the result that when he selected a candidate for a particular appointment or duty, he fully justified his preferment. Appointments to high offices were made in the General Council. Every Governor or Commissioner was provided with a Firman (Commission) in which his powers and duties were enumerated in detail and attested by a select body of witnesses. This firman was invariably read in a public Durbar on the assumption by the Governor of his new office, by which means the people became acquainted with the extent of his powers and duties, and resented any attempt on his part to exceed them. On one occasion he addressed the following remarks to his Governors in a public meeting:

"Remember that I have not sent you as extortioners but as leaders whose example and precept should be followed. Satisfy the claims of all Mussalmans, refrain from molesting them, either by physical force or otherwise, close not your doors against them so that the stronger may devour the weak, and give no precedence to yourselves over them, as this is injustice and tyranny."

Whenever a Governor was nominated, an inventory was taken of all his property and estate and carefully preserved. If subsequently there was any undue increase in his financial condition, he was at once called upon for explanation.

All the Governors and Agents had strict injunctions to be present annually at the Huj. As people from all parts of the Moslem world attended that great religious assembly, Omer took advantage of this opportunity and asked them publicly if they had any complaint or grievance against any official. Once upon a time, while addressing the people, he said—"Brethren, Governors are not sent to domineer over you or plunder your property, but to teach you the ways of the 'blessed prophet. If any of them acts contrary to this, please let me know, and I shall give him his deserts." Omer had pursued two courses when enquiring into complaints made against officials. If the accused was a high official, he was sent for to Medina and enquiries were made by the Caliph himself, in other cases, a Commission of Inquiry was despatched to the scene of the alleged offence. Imperiousness on the part of officials was severely visited. Officials who made themselves inaccessible to the people were summarily dismissed, and, to ensure honesty, their salaries were fixed on a liberal scale.

He instituted the Departments of Revenue Survey and Settlements as a preliminary step to the fixing of taxation, the incidence of which was governed by the strictest equity. One radical change which Omer effected in this department contributed considerably to the prosperity of the subjects. The Roman system, or, rather, the general system in the world then, was to confiscate all lands acquired by the right of conquest and, after reserving a portion for the Crown and the endowment of charities and temples, to distribute the rest amongst military officers and courtiers. The original proprietors had the privilege of cultivating them, but only at the will of the new owner. Omer at once abolished this iniquitous system, he resumed all holdings which had been made Crown Lands or been settled on military officers and restored them to their original owners. He even went a step beyond, ruling that no Muhammadan should acquire any land in conquered countries which, with his policy of rendition, acquired for Omer a wide reputation for justice and equity, unparalleled in the history of the world, as no conqueror ever extended the like indulgence to a vanquished foe. By such far-sighted provisions he promoted the agricultural interests of the country and popularised Moslem rule. An able French writer says: "It is admitted that taxation and revenue systems have played no inconsiderable part in Islamic conquests. The Roman Empire levied heavy taxation on its subjects, and this helped to speedy Mussalman conquests. The opposition offered to Moslem invasion was, not by the people, but by Government: In Egypt itself, the native cultivators assisted Muhammadans against the Greeks. In Damascus and Humms, Christian residents shut the gates of those cities against the Herculian army, declaring to the Mussalmans that they preferred mild Moslem to exacting Roman rule."

Omer proclaimed that those who cultivated or occupied waste lands would become their owners, by which means much waste lands soon came under the plough. He also allowed those who had left their country during war to return to their homes and resume their lands. One can form an idea from the following anecdote as to how much attention was paid by the Caliph to fostering agriculture—the mainstay of a State. Once a peasant-proprietor complained to him that the Moslem army had ruined his fields in Syria. Omer at once gave him 10,000 Dirhams as compensation. He excavated lakes and canals in

the newly conquered territories, constructed canals, and sanctioned a large establishment for working the irrigation system which, Professor Makrazee says, in Egypt alone occupied 120,000 labourers daily throughout the year.

It was Omer who first brought a Judicial Department into existence. In other countries of the world the Judiciary was separated from the Executive after a considerable lapse of time, but Omer, shortly after his installation, ordered their separation and drew up a Firman dealing with the principles and practice of law. We all know the 12 Roman rules, in each department of the State, which have been a matter of pride to the Romans and in respect of which Cicero said that they were better than the writings of all the philosophers. It is for the readers to judge for themselves whether these, or the rules enacted by Omer, display the hand of genuine statemanship. I give below the instructions connected with the administration of justice issued by both Governments :—

ROMAN RULES.

- (1) When you are summoned to the Court, appear at once with the parties.
- (2) When the defendant denies the charge, produce a witness, so that he may be brought by force.
- (3) You can arrest the defendant when he attempts to abscond.
- (4) If the defendant is sick or old, you should provide him with a conveyance, or his appearing should be dispensed with.
- (5) Enlarge the defendant on his producing a surety.
- (6) The surety of a richman should himself be rich.
- (7) The judge should adjudicate with the consent of both parties.
- (8) The judge will hear cases up to noon.
- (9) The judge will deliver judgment in the afternoon, in the presence of both parties.
- (10) The Court will be closed after sunset.
- (11) If parties desire arbitration, sureties should be demanded.
- (12) One who cannot produce a witness, should state his case in a loud voice at the door of the defendant.

These are the rules for which Europe hymns the praises of Rome. Here is—

OMER'S CODE.

- (1) The judge, in his judicial capacity, should treat all alike.
- (2) The onus of proof lies on the complainant.
- (3) If the defendant has no witness or any other means of proof, he should be sworn.
- (4) Parties may be allowed to effect compromise between themselves, except in cases of felony which are uncompoundable.
- (5) After delivery of judgment in a case, the judge can of his own accord reconsider and revise it.
- (6) A date should be fixed for the hearing of cases.
- (7) If the defendant fail to appear on the appointed date, the case should be decided *ex-parte*.
- (8) All Mussalmans, except those who have been previously convicted, or who have, on a former occasion, given false evidence, are eligible as witnesses.

Omer adopted all possible safeguards against judicial corruption. He fixed the salaries of the judiciary on a liberal scale and made it a rule that only rich and respectable men were eligible for the high office of a Khazi. He explained, in a letter to the Governor of Koofa, that rich people would be above corruption and respectable men, no regards of mere position in a litigant. The Khazies were also prevented trading or identifying themselves with any investment—a precaution which was only adopted after centuries by civilised countries. He was so keen in upholding the majesty of the Law and enforcing equal treatment to all that he very often appeared before the tribunals in the capacity of a suitor. There was once a case in which he was defendant. When Omer appeared in Court, the presiding judge incurred his displeasure for attempting to show him respect, and he was told in open court that unless Omer and any other ordinary man were both equal in his eyes, he was not fit to be a judge. The result of such high principles was that, up to the advent of Bani Ummiah, the Moslem Judiciary was the most upright the world had ever seen—the pride of Islam and the marvel of a outside its pale.

GHULAM MAHMUD.

THE COCHIN STATE.

MR. RAJAGOPALACARI has all but completed five years as the Dewan of Cochin and, during that time short as it is, he has, judging from what the representatives of the Paramount Power have said about his administration, earned for this small native state a reputation for good government which it has not been its privilege to enjoy at any time in its past history. Thus, while successive British Residents, with the probable exception of Mr. Rees, have, in glowing terms, given their testimony to that effect, Mr. Mackenzie, the last of the series, has, one may almost say times without number, expressed his unbounded admiration for the young Dewan's rare administrative abilities and, to crown all, no less an authority than H. E. Lord Curzon when he paid us the unprecedented honor of a visit last year, has stamped the seal of his high approval in these words—'Since I have been in India I have kept careful watch upon the circumstances and developments of the various Native States and nowhere have I seen signs of a more intelligent and progressive administration than in Cochin.' To any person engaged in the arduous task of administering a country, expressions of approbation such as these are always a source of great satisfaction. To one in Mr. Rajagopalachari's position who, as still being in the prime of life and as retaining his lien on the British Indian service, has yet a career before him, they must, to say the least of them, be invaluable. In these circumstances, there is no more pleasing duty to perform than to congratulate him on the good fortune which has so far attended him. But, much as one may desire it, it is not possible to stop with the performance of this agreeable function. It is affectation to deny that the picture that has been thus exhibited to the world has its sombre side as well. The people of Cochin who, notwithstanding their want of political sagacity or whatever else that may be urged against them, have yet had opportunities of making their observations on the spot, and who, in a sense, are the touch-stone by which to test the excellence or otherwise of the Government under which they live, have quite a different account to give of the five years' stewardship. They are unable to find in what has come to be

called the *new regime* anything more than the imperfect handiwork of an amateur administrator with whom self-applause is the first consideration and respect for the sentiments and aspirations of those under him not even a bad second. Opinion thus sharply divided between two sets of people, each from their standpoint claiming the right to judge, is, indeed, perplexing; but that is precisely the most prominent as well as the most characteristic feature of Mr. Rajagopalachari's administration. It is a problem which has all the appearance of a conundrum. Nevertheless, it is just possible that it may be explained on rational grounds, and it is the object of this paper to attempt to ascertain whether any such ground really exists.

An examination of the process of political evolution which little Cochin has been undergoing during the last decade will throw light upon the new administration and the nature of the criticisms it has evoked. Before its present ruler ascended the throne the small native state was governed on, what may be called, the old patriarchal lines. Its main characteristics may be briefly summarized as a rigid conservatism ingrained in the oriental mind, a general laxity arising from a sense of leniency which, according to modern notions, is a sign of weakness, but which an old school of thought inculcated as an attribute of persons called to occupy high stations in life, a general disinclination to add to the burden of taxation for any purpose, whether good, bad or indifferent, and, above all, an economy which always looked to the 'felicity of full coppers.' The native mind had several reasons to entertain a partiality for it; but to the stout sturdy Briton who is cast in a different mould altogether and who is ever impelled to march onwards, scorning indecision and full of hopes for the best, it was all "rot", pure and simple and nothing else. It was obvious that two views so unlike each other and of such unequal strength could not long exist side by side. The stronger must ultimately prevail, causing the total disappearance of the latter, and, slowly but surely, it was making for that end. It was, then, that Mr. Thomson, who was the British Resident at the time, got impatient at the slowness of the progress that was being made, and, ignorant as he was or appeared to be of what is known as the diplomatic beating about the bush, he chose the occasion of the installation of the late Raja to growl out the first unmistakable note of discontent. He declared in open Durbar that the whole state was rotten to the core, that it was immersed in corruption

as it was steeped in superstition, and that there was no time to be lost in initiating reforms which were both urgent and numerous, a survey and settlement on modern lines being the one that had to be immediately taken in hand. The speech which created a sensation at the time, was, it must be said, neither well-conceived nor was it a correct representation of the state of things as it then existed, and for those reasons, probably, it failed to precipitate the change which was meant to be brought about; but it could not, on that account, be said that it was without its own use. It was a clear indication that a cloud had formed on the political horizon which might at any moment develop itself into a storm. The gentlemen responsible for the administration of the State at the time did, indeed, understand it in that light: but owing to incapacity on their part, as was alleged by some, or faith in the virtue of the patriarchal system above referred to—quite a likely supposition—it did not look as if anybody was anxious to hasten in the direction pointed out by the Resident. Mr. Thomson's indictment notwithstanding, things went on much as they did before, and the result was that the Reviews of the Administration Reports which appeared year after year, far from containing anything complimentary, had almost always an ominous look, and the public press, or at all events, the Anglo-Indian section of it, which is a force to be reckoned with, if it referred to Cochin at all, only did so to hold it up to ridicule. It was at this juncture that the State witnessed a turning point in its career. The old Rajah gave up his mortal coils giving place to the present incumbent. That was an event which marked the commencement of a new era. Young, intelligent, vigorous, ambitious, a good equestrian and a better Shikar, the new ruler surveyed the situation at a glance. Almost the first act of his appears to have been to come to the conclusion that the old system of Government, condemned as it had stood by the local representative of the Paramount Power, must be deemed to have lived out its days and be relegated as an anachronism which could not be maintained without exposing those responsible for its continuance to the risk of being considered as fit only to belong to a by-gone age. To him, the necessity for a change was clear, and equally clear was the necessity for the removal from his office of Mr. Subramaniam Pillai, the last Dewan that represented the old order of things. Removed he accordingly was, and, with the true instincts of a well seasoned politician, the young

prince, not yet warm in the saddle of his new office, and yet withal impressed with a sense of what he should never fail to do to enable him to hold his own, availed himself of the opportunity thus presented to strike the key-note of the policy he meant to pursue by causing a short paragraph to be published in the Government Gazette, eulogising the splendid services of the outgoing minister. The board was thus cleared for quite a new game, and the very first move which, indeed, was also the clearest was the application made to the Madras Government asking for the loan of an officer who would administer his State on up-to-date business lines and remove the reproach heaped upon it from time to time. Mr. Rajagopalachari was chosen and sent out, and, conscious as he was of the nature of the mission entrusted to him, he set about killing the old system outright and installing Red-tapism in its stead.

The above short retrospect furnishes a clue to the extremely favourable attitude assumed by the authoritative censor of native Indian administration. But by itself it is insufficient to explain the position taken up by the people. Fashionable newspaper critics as well as the admirers of Mr. Rajagopalachari have already expressed their readiness to take it for granted that the Cochinites as a class are too conservative and sluggish to follow the Dewan marching with giant strides and that is one reason why they hold on and decline to be admirers themselves. The opinion is too audacious to need serious refutation, but as, however, it seems to be entertained by some persons who, though destitute of any valid claim to be proud of their common-sense, are yet fortunate enough to occupy positions of authority, it is as well to say that it is no more or less than an unmitigated falsehood invented for the purpose of belittling an opposition which might otherwise prove to be damaging. The people of Cochin are as intelligent and enlightened as their brethren anywhere else in the Presidency, and if they have not joined in the besotted laudation which, coming from quite unexpected quarters, has more than anything else served to turn Mr. Rajagopalachari's head, it is because they honestly suspect that their Dewan has been caring more for his own glory than for their material and moral prosperity, that he has been systematically acting in disregard of their just and legitimate aspirations, that he has not only failed to do justice to them but has even indulged in having a fling at them whenever it was possible for him to do it, and that he has put them

down as much as possible instead of trying to bring them up by giving them a portion at least of the benefit of that official training which, it was proclaimed more often than was necessary or even decent, was the exclusive monopoly of the gentlemen imported from British India.

Before dealing with the various grounds of complaint above detailed, it is a relief to advert to some acts of the Dewan in regard to which, happily, there is no difference of opinion. Mr. Rajagopalachari deserves to be unreservedly praised for being the first to fearlessly break through certain customs which, it would be no exaggeration to say, were absurdities themselves. The privilege of sitting accorded to native gentlemen invited to the Durbar and the wiping off the insane practice born of religious bigotry under which a certain section of His Highness' subjects were debarred from being entertained in the Public service on the ground of their being little or no better than human vermin are reforms which are essentially salutary. The members of the so-called low class to whom a small instalment of justice has thus been meted out, and the educated public of Cochin generally, are alike gratified at what the Dewan has been able to achieve. They cannot, however, help saying it with regret that besides what has been achieved, a great deal more yet remains to be done. A Proclamation like the one issued during Sir Madhava Row's time in Travancore, throwing open all public roads to all classes of people irrespective of their caste or calling, should have even preceded the removal of the disability in regard to the entertainment in the public service. It is hoped that Mr. Rajagopalachari himself, in the event of his coming back, or his successor whoever he may be, will find his way to do it.

The above, however, are not counted among the real, solid achievements of the new administration. These last, which are confidently pointed to by the Dewan's apologists in proof like of the wisdom of those who chose him, and of his real constructive statesmanship, consist in the introduction of the State Railway and the re-organization of the administrative machinery, both of which are nearing completion, and, as, curiously enough, they also happen to be the achievements serving as the axis of the people's dissatisfaction, it is proposed to deal with them somewhat at length.

To talk of Mr. Rajagopalachari in any terms other than those superlative praise for having introduced the Railway into

Cochin, is, perhaps, to furnish evidence that those who indulge in such talk are arrant fools. Speaking generally, the iron-horse is a giant of usefulness. It is one of those forces invented by the genius of man which has brought the several parts of the world close together and vastly augmented the sum total of human happiness. So much is this the fact that there is observable in several quarters a tendency to run into the fallacy that the Railway is a panacea for all evils, that it is a fetish for the worship of all those who are or claim to be educated in any sense of the word. It is counted a political heresy to do even so much as to whisper that it is just possible there may be circumstances rendering even the introduction of the Railway undesirable, not to say, unwise. With a quickness of perception which people intent on self-applause are generally found to possess, the Dewan understood the situation at a glance, and, what is far more important still, he also saw that the wisdom, or to accept the latest and his own version of the dismal science, the parsimony of a series of his predecessors had accumulated in the State treasury, the magnificent sum of close upon fifty lacs of rupees. The last discovery which, more than anything else, enabled the young Statutory Civilian to build up the fabric of his glory served as the spark to set his towering ambition ablaze. He has made the State Railway an accomplished fact and risen high in the estimation of his original employers.

The people of Cochin, with a full sense of the gravity of this act, have deliberately chosen not only to criticize the Dewan's Railway policy but to set it down as one of his monumental mistakes. In this view they may be right or they may be wrong. One thing, however, seems certain. They have an arguable case and to present it to the public is all that is here attempted to be done.

The good old adage that one must live within one's means is as applicable to the management of states as of households, and testing Mr. Rajagopalachari's administration by that standard, it cannot be said that the introduction of the Railway is an act of prudent management. Cochin is a very small country, not more than a microscopic speck in the vast Indian Empire. The whole length from one extremity to the other is but little more than sixty miles which is the length of the Railway, and if along with that fact is remembered that its annual Revenue from all sources does not exceed twenty lacs of Rupees, and

that the whole of it, according to the scale of expenditure now followed, has to be spent to keep the machinery of the state going, it must be clear even to the man in the street that before large sums of money are invested in any undertaking, be it Railway or be it anything else, it must be satisfactorily made out that the prospect of probable out-turn is sufficiently encouraging to justify the investment. Can it be said of the Railway in Cochin which is to be worked by the Madras Railway Company, whose administration is comparatively speaking costly, that it is likely to yield an income equal to a fair interest upon the amount invested? Upon the strength of the data at present available it is difficult to say that the question admits of but one answer, and that in the affirmative. At the best, it is problematical, as the Dewan himself is said latterly to have come to recognize, whether the big job is going to terminate in success or failure. Assuming, however, that there is no reasonable ground to apprehend danger on that score, the further question that arises is whether it is not a burden too heavy for the State to bear. The fifty lacs which supplied the incentive 'to make the plunge,' to use the Dewan's own favourite phraseology, have all been spent and an additional ten lacs borrowed besides. Do the sixty lacs suffice to meet all requirements? Is there any guarantee that before the line is opened for traffic there will not be occasion to make another excursion into the money market? And does not ordinary prudence enjoin as a measure of essentially necessary precaution that after the initial expenses have all been met, there should still be a few lacs always in reserve to meet possible contingencies? The Railway runs straight from north to south and all the large volume of water that comes in torrents during the monsoon to find its headlong way into the sea has to cross the line almost at every point. Is it not, then, within the range of probability that, despite all the arrangements which the skill of Engineers has devised, damage to the high embankments which exist in several places along the line may be caused almost every year? Is there a state which having had to drain its resources to the utmost and whose finances do not admit of easy expansion, unless, indeed, the new settlement which like a weird spectre has already begun to scare people, is freely appealed to for help, is likely to meet the emergency as it occurs with the necessary promptitude?

Apart from the above considerations, there is one other which should have made the Dewan pause before embarking on

the costly enterprise. The harbour of Cochin, one of the finest in all India, is, from a military point of view, left unprotected, and in the event of any complications arising between Great Britain and any other world-power, such as Russia, which God forbid, it is as matters stand at present a comparatively easy matter for the hostile army to effect a landing in Cochin. There is no British force either permanently or temporarily located there to prevent it, nor is there any chance, with the help of the existing means of conveyance, of one being brought there with the quickness equal to the emergency. These facts never absent, it may well be supposed, from the minds of British statesmen were stimulated by the strong minute said to have been indited by General Prendergast when he was for a short time Resident of Travancore and Cochin, and it may also be presumed until, of course, anything to the contrary is shown that the Tinnevely-Quilon Railway, which is in course of construction forms part of a general policy to improve the coast defences. In these circumstances, there is nothing which a Dewan of Cochin could have more easily foreseen than that sooner or later the British Government itself would have introduced a Branch of the Madras Railway right up to Ernacolum if not also to British Cochin. Now, did or did not Mr. Rajagopalachari foresee it? If he did not, which is by no means a likely supposition, it being so much inconsistent with the reputation for statesmanship which outside Cochin he thinks he has managed to establish, then, he is guilty of a political short-sightedness which is wholly inexcusable. If, however, the contrary is the fact, then instead of leaving the State to gasp in a famine of money, it was clearly his duty, if he ever cared to deserve well of the people, to reserve the large surplus at his disposal to be utilized for the carrying on of such works as are from their nature pressing and calculated to produce immediate and substantial benefit. The improvement of agriculture may be mentioned as the first and foremost of such works. Cochin, like Travancore and Malabar lying on either side of it, is a purely agricultural country. Just as the land revenue is the chief source of its income, the majority of people live entirely on the produce of their land, and yet the very everywhere is that the industry is languishing and that if effective steps are not taken to revive it, it will soon cease to become a useful occupation. The out-look is, indeed, gloomy and it is rendered all the more so by the fact that the depression

complained of is due to causes which are on the surface and remediable. Leaving alone for the present the impoverishment of the soil brought on by sheer exhaustion which as being at the root of the evil has, indeed, to be stopped, but the stopping of which must necessarily be a work of time, there are other causes which are not only capable of being easily removed but which a sympathetic and well-meaning Government cannot help removing except at the risk of being charged with culpable neglect. The repair of tanks and wells originally meant for agricultural purposes but since rendered practically useless by long inattention, the digging of new ones in appropriate places, the leaving open of Government waste lands for the purpose of grazing cattle, the afforestation of small hills with which at least the northern half of the state is studded with a view to facilitate the gathering of manure, the holding of cattle shows and agricultural exhibitions generally, these are some of the acts which could have been done with infinite advantage to the people and not much cost to Government.

The affording of sanitary relief to people, especially those living in congested areas, is a work of pressing and gigantic importance now left to be starved on account of the tremendous financial absorption caused by the Railway. The little town of Mattancherri, the most thickly populated in the whole State, presents, as it now is, an unpardonable affront not only to sanitary science but to what, broadly speaking, goes for civilization itself. To put it briefly, it is a negation of all the known rules of hygiene, and offended nature takes her revenge by making it the permanent abode of fell disease. Not quite so bad as Mattancherri which seems to be encumbered with a double measure of original sin, there are other places whose growing complaint is scarcity of water. In the very year in which the present ruler of Cochin ascended the throne of his ancestors or in the year that followed it, there was such a severe drought that the inhabitants of one or two of the important towns in public meeting assembled drew up memorials detailing their grievances and submitted them to their sovereign. His Highness, involved as he had not then been in Mr. Rajagopalachari and his present financial entanglements, delighted the members of the deputation that waited upon him by telling them that they had just ground of complaint and that it would be one of his first endeavours to have it removed. For a time, it was even believed

that the new ruler had grand irrigation projects in his head and that he was going to make himself famous by carrying them out; but the aggressive statesmanship of his minister, which could not remain satisfied with merely doing a few humble acts of pure benevolence having about them none of the dash and brilliancy generally associated with a spirited Railway Policy, stood in the way, leaving the people to shift for themselves as best as they could.

Administrative Reform is the next enduring achievement of Mr. Rajagopalachari. As has been already stated, that was, above all others, the one mission he was sent out to accomplish. According to the present political agent, Mr. Mackenzie, who chose the rather inappropriate occasion of the distribution of Prizes to the infant pupils of the Victoria Jubilee Caste Girls' School at Trichoor to give the world the benefit of some of his political views, the old Government of Cochin, or to be more precise, what at one time went by that name, was an Augean stable, and there is, therefore, little room for wonder if the young man specially deputed to carry on the work of cleansing it believed himself to be a modern Hercules and thought that in deed as well as in name he should resemble his ancient prototype. The ambition, if it existed, was, indeed, worthy of all praise; but it is questionable whether the same can be said of the method by which it was sought to be realised. The system of administration which the young Dewan set before him as the ideal to be striven after, was naturally enough the one he was familiar with in British India. Without the least doubt it is, in many ways a marvel of modern civilization. It is at once the blessing of the countless myriads of India as well as the glorious monument of Britain's greatness. Nevertheless, it may be permissible to observe that it is not without its own imperfections, traceable to serve that it is not without its own imperfections, firstly, the very huge causes among which may be mentioned, and, secondly, the natural as well as artificial barriers that exist between the rulers and the ruled preventing each from well understanding the other. The question, then, arises whether in attempting to improve the administration of a Native State which has neither the imperial responsibilities weighing down British Indian statesmen nor the difficulties arising from the sovereign and his subjects belonging to two different races, the British system is to be copied outright or it is to be introduced *mutatis mutandis*.

put, it is simple if not even ridiculous; but its justification consists in the fact that instead of the statesmanlike course which he should have pursued, Mr. Rajagopalachari has made it appear that it is wholesale reproduction and nothing short of it that he has gone in for. It is not here intended to do more than point out some of his acts which distinctly point to that conclusion. The Dewan has partially, at least, done away with, or at all events considerably diminished the utility of Malayalam, the language of the people, as the medium of official communication. Ignorant as he was of the Vernacular, the change from Malayalam to English was, indeed, advantageous to him, and, viewed as a step intended to facilitate the process of anglicising, it might even be considered necessary; but as taking away from the mass of the people their power of articulation in their dealings with the Sirkar, it is neither beneficial to them nor is it countenanced by prudent statesmanship. The doing away with the State coin is another act which certainly does not evince any partiality for the state of things which existed before his advent. The *Madras Mail* has praised the Dewan for it, and it is just possible that several arguments may be found in support of it. All the same, its most obvious result is the deprivation of the sovereign of one of the few emblems of royalty that alone are now left to a native Rajah. The bigotry of reform which the Dewan seemed to be possessed of manifested itself even more offensively in his attitude to the sons of the soil, exhibited by the policy he pursued in importing people from British India to fill up important vacancies as they occurred. This policy, at no time liked by the people, and, as pursued in Cochin, indefensible on any ground, did not at first arouse much antipathy. Messrs. Swaminatha Iyer, Alwar Chetty, Brown and Thompson were all spoken of as experts and regarded as the inevitable adjuncts of the new regime which had a mission to fulfil. But the difference in the treatment accorded to imported talents and native stuff as well as the fresh importations of even underlings in whose favour no special qualification could be urged, by slow degrees made it clear that the gentlemen who came from outside were not free from any of the weaknesses which their position is generally supposed to engender. In the words of the writer in the *Madras Review* on British Indians in Native India they began 'to presume to be superior to local men and justify their intrusion by arrogance.' This made the people, to use the words of the same writer who

seems to have written his article with special reference to Cochin, 'to smart under a double sense of insult and injury implied by the assumption of superiority on the one hand, and the denial of justice on the other.' But it was reserved for Mr. Mackenzie who has never even once failed to stand by the young Dewan, to lay bare the extent to which his protegee was prepared to go in his frenzy of reform. In the speech he delivered when he opened the Havellock Market at Trichur, he staggered diplomacy and, it is believed, Mr. Rajagopalachari also by making the revelation that the Rajah and the Dewan were both so good that they deserved a better lot of people than those in Cochin, and reading between the lines, one would think that it was even suggested that the people of some Districts on the East Coast where the Resident was District Judge were all early risers and industrious, and they could, with advantage, be asked to come and settle down in Cochin in a body. That is importation with a vengeance and, if carried out, would have been the crowning glory of Mr. Rajagopalachari's administration. In its absence, he has contented himself with the next best thing—the appointment of Mr. Locke as his successor and old Mr. Gover as Chief Judge of the Chief Court.

It is not possible to close this short and imperfect review without adverting to one episode which brings into clear relief the strange irony of fate which has overtaken the people of Cochin. What is now generally known as Ramunni Menon's case is still hanging fire. That young man for the crime of going to England and prosecuting his studies there with honor and credit to himself and the community of which he is a member is even now under the ban of excommunication. Is this consistent with the progressive administration for which Mr. Rajagopalachari has been praised? Does it not on the other hand shew that there is something wrong somewhere? Where is it? With the people who manfully fought for Mr. Ramunni Menon's readmission into caste or with the enlightened Government that refused it? Be the answer to these questions what it may, they strongly recall to mind a passage from an eminent author whose authority is not likely to be questioned. Mr. Morley, the philosopher statesman, in his admirable work entitled "Compromise" expresses himself in these words: "The decisive sign of the elevation of a nation's life is to be sought among those who lead or ought to lead. The test of the health

of a people is to be found in the utterances of those who are its spokesmen and in the action of those whom it accepts or chooses to be its chiefs. We have to look to the magnitude of the issues and the height of the interests which engage its foremost spirits. What are the best men in a country striving for? And is the struggle pursued intrepidly and with a sense of its size and amplitude or with creeping foot and blinking eye? The answer to these questions is the answer to the other question, Whether the best men in the country are small or great."

PRO PATRIO.

TWO SCHOOLS OF SOUTHERN INDIAN MUSIC-II.

IN my last contribution, I have dwelt on the general characteristics which distinguish Tiyagayyar's music from Dikshitar. In this paper, such particular features as call for special remark will be noted with a view to showing the difference between the two styles. It has been usual with our composers to not only compose songs with words but also now and then to append solfa passages with the object of further illustrating note-combination of different varieties. The change from words to solfa-syllable is peculiarly relished. Such a form of singing, where an elaboration of a Raga combined with any time-measure selected for the occasion is brought to a close by a variety of solfa-passages which accord with the time-measure, enhances the attractiveness of the style and enriches its effect. And this mode of elucidating note-combinations is not infrequently had recourse to by composers towards the close of a song, and sometimes also in the middle of it. Tiyagayyar and Dikshitar are remarkable for the beauty of solfa-passages composed by them. As masters to whose mental eye the whole range and extent of a Raga presented itself at a single glance, they composed them with a facility, whose design and form few can imitate. Tiyagayyar's facility of solfaing is even better than that of his contemporary, because of the different kinds of style in which he was capable of composing.

Dikshitar very frequently employed what may be called musical tropes. His mastery over the Sanskrit language enabled him to weave the names of Ragas into verbal passages so dexterously as to make them appear to have no connexion with the names of Ragas, whereas a close student will find therein the name of the Raga itself in which the song is composed. This artifice is generally resorted to in compositions known as *Raga-malikas* or garlands of Ragas, where several Ragas are strung together by words with *double entendre*. Dikshitar has introduced this in many of his compositions. This is an excellent device for giving a sort of permanency to the Raga in which a passage is composed, for otherwise the name of the Raga has to be ascertained, for want of expressive notation, by means of oral tradition

only, whose testimony is not always trustworthy. The reason why this has not been followed by other composers was that such a musical feat is impossible of execution in other languages, such as Telugu and Tamil, two of the most popular languages of Southern India, which rarely admit of double or triple interpretations. Kulasekhara Maharajah of Travancore who was himself a great Sanskrit scholar and profound musician very frequently indulged in such devices. Another peculiarity closely allied to this, is the meaning of solfa-notes which do not appear to be such but have all the appearance of pure words intended for conveying some meaning. Dikshitar, here also, is a past master in the art of introducing the names of the notes (Sa, Ri, Ga, etc.) into passages which only appear to be a continuous exposition of some theme seemingly unconnected with the notes. This may be regarded as *Curioso felicitas* of musical expression, which was frequently indulged in with great dexterity and success by Shat-kala Govindasawmy of Tanjore, a contemporary of Tiyyagayyar, who besides being an eminent singer and composer, was a Telugu scholar of rare attainments. Dikshitar excelled in the beauty of such compositions. Tiyyagayyar, however, does not seem to have paid much attention to this form of verbal composition. He was pre-occupied by the fairy creations of his active imagination, which roamed through the vast field of musical possibilities. These simple devices no more interested him than rhyme could have interested a genius of Milton's stamp whose imagination had reached the highest poetical flights. Rhyme has all the disadvantages over blank verse, which these musical devices have over free compositions which are untrammelled by restrictions and curbed by limits. Another peculiarity of Dikshitar's music is the Madhyamakala style which he invariably introduced in his pieces. The first passages are generally in *audante* style, while the closing ones are, with very rare exceptions, in a more rapid style. Such a change in the same song has a happy effect. This idea is probably borrowed from the different styles of singing a Raga. There were also others like Pallavi Gopalayya who frequently indulged in this style. Tiyyagayyar, though he did not use it with the same persistence as Dikshitar, had introduced the style in many of the closing variations which strikingly add to the beauty of the finish.

Dikshitar is also famous for his *Ragamalikas* which he composed with great artistic perfection. This is one of the many

varieties of composition which, by its sudden change, introduce us to unexpected variations of Ragas, though the time-measure is the same throughout. Much skill consists in the sequence with which Ragas are made to vary. But there seems to be no principle on which the Ragas are varied. The change, has a happy effect.

The beauty of language to which music is set has a great deal to do with its permanence and popularity. We need not here dwell upon the difference between speaking and singing in different languages in which the largest amount of vocal music has been composed. It is enough for our purpose here to state that that language which has "the purest vocal sounds and the largest amount of vowel" is the best suited for musical purposes. The Telugu language is eminently fitted for musical effect owing to its entirely phonetic character and to its being pre-eminent in the two respects of vocal purity and amount of vocal sound. The gradual evolution of the Telugu from the Sanskrit, the elimination of every hard sound, where practically consistent with the exigencies of articulation, and its refinement to a state of perfect vocal purity has much facilitated vocal sound and has fitted it for refined musical expression. The highly mellifluous effect of Govindasawmy's Telugu compositions is unrivalled and has never been surpassed by any composer, ancient or modern. Dikshitar invariably employed Sanskrit, and Tiyyagayyar, Telugu, as the medium of expression. The innumerable hard consonants of the Sanskrit language are unsuitable for the best singing whereas the easy, flowing vowel sounds of the Telugu have a charm which is not possessed by any other of the Indian languages. Dikshitar's Sanskrit songs are not suited to improve the music, whereas Tiyyagayyar's Telugu pieces, though not of great literary merit and finish, are still calculated to popularise his music which is in everybody's mouth and which is one of the secrets of his success. An Indian musician observes "The bulk of his (Dikshitar's) compositions being adapted to Sanskrit words which contain any number of hard unpronounceable letters and long and short syllables, his style naturally differs from his illustrious contemporary, as much as the German does from Italian. Tiyyagayyar's *kritis* which are adapted mostly to Telugu words, please the moment they are heard. Most of Dikshitar's have to be studied and heard over and over again before their intrinsic merits can be fully realized."

THE MADRAS REVIEW.

In Hindu Music, Ragas play the most important part. Their extended use is unique in the annals of music in general. European critics appear to fall into the mistake of supposing that Raga is identical with a song or tune. The following extracts will illustrate the difference. "For whereas Melody is a general term which is applicable to any fragment of music consisting of single notes which has a contour—whether it is found in inner parts or outer; in a molet of Palestrina or a fugue of Bach—tune is more specially restricted to a strongly outlined part which predominates over its accompaniment or other parts sounding with it, and has a certain completeness of its own. Tune is most familiarly illustrated in settings of short and simple verses of poetry or in dances, where the outlines of structure are always exceptionally obvious." It will be thus observed that tune may be fairly taken to be a sort of formalised melody, whereas no such restrictions can be applied to Raga. Another distinction between the two seems to be that a tune is a rhythmic combination of notes, that is to say, is always in some well-known "species of time-measure. But the peculiarity of a Raga is its independence of time. It is not confined to any given measure. It is merely a string of every possible fanciful combination of notes which the singer can devise, subject to certain limitations. The first test of musical proficiency here is the scientific handling of Ragas in general. We shall now remark on the part played by Tiyagayyar in the elucidation of this most obscure subject of our music. Before the time of this most fertile composer, it might be said without fear of contradiction that the number of Ragas actually in use (i.e.) those in which pieces were composed was extremely limited. Jayadeva, the author of the famous *Ashtapadi* which has been well characterised as "music itself from beginning to end," employed only a few Ragas. The mellifluous smoothness of Jayadeva's words added to the beauty of his music which can be said to have been subject to very few variations. Of the very few Ragas therein employed many had already become obsolete; and as musical activity increased, they gave place to others whose artistic beauty secured for them greater popularity. His immediate successors too hesitated to tread on unsafe ground and consequently confined themselves to an exposition of a very limited number of Ragas. The melodic sweetness of many a Raga thus "lay unfathomed" for a long time.

TWO SCHOOLS OF SOUTHERN, Etc.

It was reserved for Tiyagayyar to dive deep into the mystery of Raga combinations and thus become the masterly expounder of many an intricacy, relating thereto. Nobody before his day could have surmised what a large field lay before him for study and investigation in this direction. A knowledge of Ragas was hitherto a sealed book even for professional men.

Before attempting to estimate his work in this direction, it is necessary to refer to his compositions in the more familiar Ragas—Ragas handled from generation to generation in all possible varieties. The most ordinary Ragas (such as, *Sankarabharana*, *Saveri*, *Mukhari*, *Bhuvavi*, *Mohana*, *Atana*, &c.) are endowed by the fertility of his imagination with new spirit and rare beauty. Impartial critics will not fail to notice the astonishing effect of his pieces in these Ragas as compared with those composed by his predecessors. He alone was capable of originating new forms of endless variety in a field which has been considered by others as having become already barren. He brought out their characteristics in greater entirety than had ever been attempted before. He had the knack of presenting fresh forms where freshness was regarded as impossible. His well-known "five gems" composed in the too familiar Ragas, *Nata*, *Gakla*, *Arabhi*, *Sriraga* and *Varali*, are splendid illustrations of his rare originality. The fertility of his resources gives to the most hackneyed melodies, new forms and shapes which escaped the attention of the most assiduous composers. The master's eye alone glancing "from heaven to earth and earth to heaven" could unroll the hidden pages of a rare musical lore. The systematic and measured development of the Ragas, the fresh beauty of his note-combinations, the grand and spirited cadences the artistic employment of grace-notes peculiar to each have an abiding charm, and the strong hold they have on the popular mind is something remarkable. His attempts in other popular common Ragas are equally fresh and successful. They stand by themselves on a higher level, incomparable in beauty. The varieties of style displayed in pieces composed in one and the same Raga are astoundingly ingenious and no two compositions are alike (compare his several pieces in *Thodi*, *Bhuvavi*, *Kunthalavarali*, *Devagandhari*, *Sriraga*, *Sankarabharana*, &c.). The triteness of a Raga does not discourage him. On the other hand he seems to take to them with greater gusto, like an indefatigable student of mathematics who attempts to prove well-known theorems in as

many different ways as his ingenuity leads him. His kaleidoscopic eye sees in prosaic Ragas an uncommon beauty which he presents with freshness. Dikshitar too is an eminent composer in this direction. The staleness of a Raga does not stagger him, and his pieces in ordinary Ragas are of surpassing beauty, being endowed with a rare grandeur and sonorousness. He appears to have laboured a great deal to endow his songs with characteristics sufficiently marked and distinguishing from others. In this he had immensely succeeded. The process of his note combining is highly scientific and productive of pleasant enjoyment. But, with all the assiduity inseparable from deep artificiality and elaborateness, we are constrained to remark that his music is poor in those brilliant flashes which characterise Tiyyagayyar's music.

We owe to Dikshitar and Tiyyagayyar our knowledge of the very many 'Apurva' (rare) Ragas whose nature remained till then unexplained. Their exposition of the principles of development of Ragas which they illustrated in their compositions will be the beacon-light to guide all future composers. But Tiyyagayyar seems to have outstripped Dikshitar in the fertility of his productions in these 'Apurva' Ragas. He dashed off several pieces in each Raga with uncommon facility and at one stretch of inspiration. Dikshitar was not equally bold, but very carefully managed to steer clear of the difficulties inherent herein. There is evidence of much artificial selection, as though each of the parts was studied and restudied till he was satisfied that they would provoke no criticism. Indecision and diffidence with which he seems to have set himself to his task are enough to deter him from a free handling which requires the boldness and self-confidence of a master who feels that he is the high priest called upon to fulfil a sacred mission. Dikshitar scarcely composed more than a single piece in any one of the 'Apurva' group of Ragas. Tiyyagayyar composed many pieces in one and the same Raga of the Apurva kind. He is as familiar with these as with the more common Ragas. Everything is alike to him whose "imagination bodies forth the form of things unknown" with as much ease and as much grace as can only be possible to a practised hand. It is impossible here to give a list of the melody-types he has thus popularised, for they are a legion. He was the first to weed out the tares from the wheat of abstruse music. The refulgent rays of his

his musical penetration have thawed the mist of ignorance that had hitherto pervaded the musical world, and no praise is sufficient for his high order of originality and ready resourcefulness which see no barriers however insurmountable and obstacles however menacing. In a general way, it may be stated that the pleasure derived from hearing Dikshitar's music is of a less abiding character than that afforded by Tiyyagayyar's music which has that ringing continuity which vibrates in the memory even after its discontinuance. His compositions scintillate with flashes and illumine the deep recesses of pent-up emotion. Dikshitar's uniform Pallavi and Madhyamakala styles being unvaried, are a little monotonous. Music is not a thing that can be "cribbed, cabined and confined" within limits. Variation in music is the one factor which lends increasing charm to the hearer. Dikshitar confined himself to one form of style. Without attempting to introduce variation of any kind and without varying the style of his composition, his music lends itself to the reproach of monotony and of that want of spirit and activity which are the real enlivening elements of music. The element of surprise which is a legitimate factor of musical effect is really wanting. He is one of the cleverest of musicians, brilliant and resourceful, but he cannot rouse his audience to a high strain of attention. Tiyyagayyar's music has the happy force of rivetting his hearer's attention at once. Perhaps the monotony of Dikshitar's music is not peculiar to himself, but perhaps was due to that of his predecessors. He was powerless to throw off the shackles imposed by an exploded tradition and unjustifiable custom. But be it said to his credit that he had, to some extent, demolished old barriers and struck out for himself a new path which is sufficiently original.

An effective employment of *gamakas* or grace-notes is one of the tests by which a composer's knowledge has to be gauged. We are not concerned here with a history of their growth in Hindu music from the earliest times. Their judicious application belongs to the practical art of singing. The beauty of music depends upon their correct use. In every system of music, they find an important place and are indispensable for a high musical effect. But the varieties of these notes recognised by different systems have been the primary cause of the speciality of each. Hindu musicians have laid great stress on their importance and we find early writers on music attempting elaborate classifica-

tions of *gamakas*. But as a matter of course, these have so varied from time to time, that no trace of the early *gamakas* seems to be now left. Concurrent with musical development, new graces were introduced. These have exercised a great influence on forms and styles of music which are popular at the present day. Two styles of movements are noticeable, though, for convenience's sake, they may be recognised as the *adagio* and *allegro* and *prestissimo* styles. But for all practical purposes, two movements may be sufficiently recognised, the slow and the rapid. The two are not always kept distinct but are combined in practice to produce good effect. The blending of expressions of agility and of slow cadences is infinitely superior in effect to an abundance of either which has a tendency to weary the hearer.

We shall now offer a few remarks on the employment of *gamakas* by these composers. Dikshitar is specially famous for his *adagio* style—slow movement, grand, sublime, sonorous, and dignified. Such a majesty of style is rarely found in any of the ancient or modern composers. He was particularly fond of illustrating one set of grace-notes, which are more fully employed in bringing out the character of adjacent notes, whose coalition has a pure and simple effect. The precision with which a whole piece is carried in all its grandeur is exceedingly felicitous. But the sweetness of even such graceful combinations would tend to "pall upon the sense" by continuous prolongation. His fondness for Madhyamakala style has tended to minimize the liveliness of his pieces and has resulted in an elephantine gait which, though it has a beauty of its own, is still in a studied contrast with the "turning and wheeling with the agility of a hawk upon the wing," which characterises Tiyyagayyar's music. The briskness and the sprightliness of the one are in a marked contrast with the ponderous character of the other. The Madhyamakala style of Dikshitar may be regarded as a mannerism which he could not avoid. It may be that he intended that great importance should be attached to this kind of musical style which deserved greater popularity. But frequent repetitions of a uniform style have the undesirable effect of taking off that zest of pleasure and of hanging heavy upon the listener. Tiyyagayyar is well-known for his mastery of different kinds of styles. His melodies illustrate all phases of movement and vary only with the object in view. Devotional songs are generally in slow movement. Ragas which by their nature and

by sanctioned usage, are endowed with grace-notes which, from a juxtaposition of notes, cannot slide over a large area, have been treated in the customary way (such as *Saveri*, *Edukulakambhoji*, etc., etc). But even here originality of conception is traceable and compared with compositions in these Ragas by other composers. But personally he seems to have enjoyed a brisk style with keen zest. His compositions are invariably brisk, lively, and spirited. They are replete with "crescendos and diminuendos, rallentando and accelerandos" brimming with a native grandeur and sparkling beauty which it would be difficult to find elsewhere in such happy abundance and in such perfect style of execution. His chromatic cadences have a charm of their own, and are justly admired for their uncommon sprightliness and vivacity.

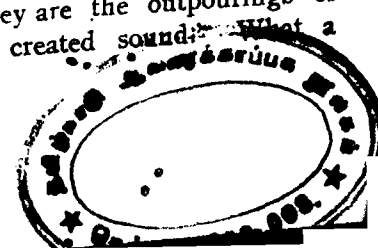
Tiyyagayyar composed pieces for all kinds of voices, from the bass to a rich tenor and counter-tenor. His ambition to familiarise music among all classes of men and by means of different kinds of themes led him to improvise pieces to suit all grades of voices so to speak. His best melodies composed with an eye to the accuracy of musical form and scientific precision are suited only for the best voices. It is said that, at the request of persons of eleemosynary profession, selections were composed whose artistic beauty was necessarily subordinated to a desire to suit the uncultivated voices. But even these are not absolutely poor in music but everywhere point to the hand of the master. His *Bhajana* or devotional songs come under this category. Their peculiar pathos and inherent sublimity are of charming superabundance; their simple melody, most affecting, and their smooth and flowing style, remarkably graceful. He seems to have had a keen knowledge of the capabilities and limitations of the human voice. He seems to have felt that "the chief charm of the human voice is its endless intonation and its individuality." His rapid crescendos of a *prestissimo* style are incapable of execution by the uncultivated voice; many are possible to an ordinary baritone which the bass voice cannot execute with equal facility. A study of his compositions shows that he, in composing, had always an eye on the possibilities of a voice production and had moulded them in accordance with them. To this should be attributed the undeniable success and the growing popularity of his songs which please the young and the old; the rich and the poor; the educated and the illiterate and the amateur and the scientific musician. Scientists there

have been who have mystified their writings with technical pedantries and cryptological language, but it is always reserved to masters of art to simplify language and to convey teachings by easy methods and simple steps. Tiyyagayyar though standing alone on a high pedestal of his own was condescending not only to the ardent votaries of the science but to the humblest of men who, in their work-a-day life, could not drink deep from the fountains thereof. With a knowledge of the true function and mission of music, he willingly dedicated himself to the life-work of propagating the beauties of music in the most practical way of securing the most ignorant and the most indifferent. Painting, sculpture, and architecture have the advantage of securing the attention of the ordinary man in the usual routine of his life. But music unless clothed in simple garb and ordinary language is apt to be neglected. He seems to have set himself to the task of bringing the conception and enjoyment of music to the level of the other arts, whose enjoyment can always be relatively inferior to this. He was the high priest of the musical art beckoning the strays and waifs into his fold, offering them a redemption and promise of salvation.

Now it remains only to say a few words with regard to a minor production of his work, namely, the 'Nowkacharitha,' 'the History of a float,' described in musical songs of his own, the sports of Sri Krishna with his Gopi mistresses whom he escorted in a boat on the river Jumna. These simple and exquisite songs have not attained that popularity which they deserve. A few are in the mouth of every housewife. It is said that they are popularly sung in his native place. But the whole is full of music and their undulating gracefulness cannot but be admired by those that have had an opportunity to hear them. There is at least one song which is extremely popular in the Hindu households; and this is the one which is sung in chorus by the united voices of the gopis, as the float slowly glided on the surface of the water with the gentle southern breeze full of perfume. It may be interesting here to draw the attention of the reader to the curious fact of the existence of a similar form of music composed by Handel under similar circumstances. It is related by Hogarth, that Handel, one of the greatest of the German musicians, having been prevailed upon to join a party of pleasure on the Thames with the King (Elector of Hanover) was requested to compose and composed his celebrated "Water-

music," "a piece composed for wind-instruments and calculated to produce a very pleasing effect when performed on the water. This music was performed in a barge which followed that of the King." This is one of those remarkable coincidences which are not uncommon in the history of music. Mention must, however, be made here of the numerous household songs composed by him which are indispensable on occasions of marriage and other ceremonies in the Hindu household. It is really astonishing that their popularity is so great that no traces of songs employed for similar purposes before their time, are left. His songs may be supposed to have an absolute reign in the Hindu house, which no foreign invasion can ever upset. No housewife, however uncivilised, is ignorant of it and no ceremony can take place without their auspicious singing. Their marvellous hold on the Hindu girl will continue to predominate.

Emerson remarks that "genius is the naturalist or geographer of the supersensible regions, and draws their map; and, by acquainting us with new fields of activity, cools our affections for the old. These are at once accepted as the reality, of which the world we have conversed with is the show." The genius of music is not less busy in acquainting us with that mysterious dominion of sweet concords, whose absolute autocracy no one is prepared to call in question. Yet on what frail basis does the whole fabric rest, considering the comparatively slender output of "but seven notes in the scale"? Newman asks with great discernment and justice, "What science brings so much out of so little? Out of what poor elements does some great master in it create his new world! Shall we say that all the exuberant inventiveness is a mere ingenuity or trick of art, like some game of fashion of the day, without reality, without meaning? Is it possible that that inexhaustible evolution and disposition of notes, so rich yet so simple, so intricate yet so regulated, so various yet so majestic, should be a mere sound, which is gone and perishes? Can it be that these mysterious stirrings of the heart, and keen exertions, and strange yearnings after we know not what, and awful impressions from we know not whence, should be wrought in us by what is unsubstantial, and comes and goes, and begins and ends in itself? It is not so; it cannot be. No; they have escaped from some higher sphere; they are the outpourings of eternal harmony, in the medium of created sound."



skilled painter achieves by pencil and colour, a musical master achieves by spinning out of imagination, inexhaustible combinations of notes, whose variety and beauty no other art is capable of producing with the same soul-enthralling effect and unaccountable influence. These bold and original explorers in the intangible spheres of sound have been justly called "subtle-souled psychologists," incessantly employed in rousing in their hearers "palpitating emotions so exquisitely wooing it through the aerial tissue of the tones" and in "uttering in the language of the tones those mysteries of passion and of grief which man has been permitted to understand without words, because there are no words adequate for their expression." Such is the influence exercised by great artists who have consecrated their genius to the life-work of raising humanity steeped in prosaic existence and grovelling misery to a pinnacle of happiness and enjoyment.

Tiyagayyar is one of those rare and brilliant meteors which astonish a gaping but delighted crowd by their splendour and radiance. Religion has its own Budha; philosophy, its Aristotle, and science, its Newton, to vindicate its cause and establish its supremacy. And Hindu music has had the rare fortune of having Tiyagayyar as its exponent and interpreter. He is as much the pride of the Hindu as Shakespeare was to his countrymen in the productions of the stage and Milton in epic poetry. It is impossible to estimate the impetus which European music with its vast scope and myriad possibilities would have received at his hands, if he had translated his efforts to the cause of harmony and counterpoint. His deep originality and glowing imagination have given to the world such a wealth of musical forms that they may be said to form an epoch in the delineation of musical style. His compositions are characterized by that boldness and richness which never interfere with their perspicuity; his singular touches are never fantastic, and an abundance of ornament never mars the chastity of musical expression. Their influence over his contemporaries was something marvellous and, judging by the modern tendency, we make bold to assert that the present-day compositions of other composers are fully saturated with their tinge. It is well-nigh impossible to predicate with any definiteness as to whether earlier compositions would ever survive their surprising popularity. Their worth has been amply recognised and their need felt every day. "Daring, brilliant and attractive, they disguise their profundity under so much grace,

their service, under so many charms, that it is with difficulty, we free ourselves sufficiently from their magical enthrallment, to judge coldly of their theoretical value." The bewitching charm of his music has been to the sincere devotee, a soothing balm; to the gay libertine, an undefined pleasure more attractive than all "bacchanalian or sensual debauches"; to the dilettante amateur, a never-failing source of happiness; to the scientific musician, a never-ceasing wonder and an inexhaustible store-house of musical erudition; to the meek housewife, a tower of strength and a source of simple enjoyment; and to the frolicsome flirt, the cause of a buoyancy of spirits which no libertine ways by gay youths and by admiring enthusiasts in all hours of pleasant solitude or happy idleness. Their influence on musical composers is so immense that they will continue to model their efforts on them and mimic not only his genius but his eccentricities as well. They act and re-act and so warm the multitude—the masses—"which is like a sea of lead, and as heavy to set in motion, and which, though its waves may be melted and rendered malleable by heat, requires the powerful arm of an athletic Cyclops to manipulate and fuse." No concerts are complete without them and popular acclamation always greeted and encircled them, which no other compositions have provoked to an equal degree. The best proof of the force and originality of his genius is that, while all other compositions are totally forgotten or are perhaps remembered only as belonging to history, his songs are destined to live and to be remembered with delight by a wondering posterity. To say that his pieces possess a rich vein of pure melody, marked by strong individuality and scientific precision is but a poor compliment to one who "has borne his part in a national cause and has thereby won for himself a triumph that will endure, who has enriched his people and in so doing, has augmented the treasury of the whole world." The description of Handel by Hogarth applies *mutatis mutandis* to Tiyagayyar, who was "the greatest of musicians; and it is not more probable that the lustre of his name shall be dimmed by age, or impaired by successful rivalry, than that any such thing shall befall the names of Homer, Milton, or Michael Angelo. Since his day, music has been progressive. Melody has become more rhythmical, flowing and graceful."

We have now reached the close of our subject. A few remarks will not be found out of place here on a general estimate of Dikshi-

tar's music, and on his place in the musical history of the country as compared with his illustrious contemporary. In the foregoing pages we have reviewed the salient characteristics of his music. His contributions to the musical literature of South India will be gratefully remembered. As a musical savant endowed with a rare perception of beauty, he had few equals, excepting Tiyyagayyar. Goethe says, "There are different crowns, there are some which may be readily gathered during a walk." Dikshitar may be said to have won some such crowns which "charm for the moment through their balmy freshness." But he is not one of the greatest singers of all times, who may be supposed to have exercised any extraordinary influence on his contemporaries, an influence closely woven into the national thought and action. We are prepared to grant that, in the details of his work, he took counsel from no one and his style is peculiarly his own. If it be tinged with mannerisms and peculiarities, they are sufficiently marked to enable us to recognise him with pleasure. But we feel our inability to go behind his limited repertoire and to accord to him that high place which is the essential birthright of classical muses who are recognised as the type and standard of musical perfection. He was no doubt pre-eminent for purity of style and simple expression but his genius was limited, could not divest itself of local prejudices and soar through ethereal regions, take his hearers to dizzy heights and thus command a willing following. Deep introspection and subtle analysis supplied the place of fresh spontaneity and smooth flow. His true place in the musical history of Southern India must be one of subordination to that of his contemporary, who, by his fertility of imagination and rare grasp of his unlimited genius, "passes beyond the horizon of a mere singer and poet and touches upon the domain of the seer and prophet."

C. TIRUMALAYYA NAIDU.

THE DAWN OF ECONOMIC SCIENCE.

THE prominent position which the Science of Economics occupies is due to the work of the great minds of the Nineteenth Century, who have contributed their time and energy towards its development. Economics may almost be called a new science, and few have read or tried to understand the progress of this branch of human thought. Like other sciences it has undergone changes. Its history is interesting, its present position is worthy of our careful consideration. Without a clear grasp of the principles of the science, and a correct conception of the circumstances deduced from these principles, many of the problems of the commercial world are incomprehensible. People talk loosely of "supply and demand," "the rate of exchange," "protection," "free trade," "the bounty system," "paper money," "fall of prices," "currency," "international trade," and so on,—but they do not recognise that commerce in 'special' and 'general' is greatly influenced by these things. Even people engaged in commerce have no precise notions on the subject. W. Bagehot mentions that Political Economy labours under an "inherent difficulty," which no other science is subject to. This difficulty is due to the circumstance that those who are 'conversant with its abstractions' are 'usually without a true contact with its facts' and those who are 'in contact with its facts' have little conception of its 'abstractions.' Theorists are not acquainted with business and business men do not reason out theories. It would only be a minority who could trace out the remote effects of a new tax upon a commodity. It is, however, essential that a man of business must be able to reason out the formidable problems that beset him in the ever-changing monetary facts of modern life. It shall, therefore, be our object to survey the history of the science, and to trace what light it throws upon our struggles for social betterment.

In the dawning years of the development of Political Economy, the subject had been foolishly called the cold-blooded or dismal science, evidently people being incapable of reflecting on the beneficent results accruing from it. Let us, before entering into the history of the science, try to show how and when the so-call-

ed "dismal science" arose. We find that Aristotle had something to say upon economic facts; so had Plato. Sir Thomas More touched upon various points of the social problems that confront us to-day—but not until modern conditions began to prevail was the full significance of the science grasped. The *benevolences* and *monopolies* granted by James I for the purpose of filling the Royal Treasury, gave an impetus to the study of Economic Science, and to this period of the Stuarts may be traced the origin of the science. It was in the Seventeenth Century, that the term Political Economy was applied to the study of the special groups of facts relative to production and distribution of wealth. Monterethie de Valteville, a Frenchman, was the first who invented the name Political Economy, and the name has been used by all other writers since. Sometime before the French Revolution broke out, Adam Smith, the Father of Political Economy, gathered up the threads of earlier social speculations, in his work the 'Wealth of Nations,' which ever since became the corner-stone of the science. He was not the only economist of his time, but in his book was included all the principles advocated by his contemporaries. In the words of an American Economist "the subsequent history of the science is mainly the history of attempts to broaden and deepen the foundations laid by Adam Smith, to build the superstructure higher, and to render it more solid."

At the close of the 18th century, the Rev. T. R. Malthus, M.A., F.R.S., sometime Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, and Professor of Political Economy in the East India College, brought out an "Essay on the Principle of Population and its effects on Human Happiness." His writings exhibit an intellectual character, and he has contributed much to the progress of Economic Science. He possesses in an eminent degree the faculty of observing particular phenomena, but he is deficient in the power of analytical head and has no claim to the name of Scientist. His name is distinguished for the very important doctrine he has enunciated—a doctrine which is the foundation and centre of most important economic theories—the Malthusian doctrine, that population tends to increase faster than subsistence.

In his "History of Civilization in England," vol. III, chap. v., Buckle thus speaks of the services rendered by Malthus:—

"Scarcely had the Eighteenth Century passed away when it was decisively proved, that the reward of labor depends solely on two

"things; namely, the magnitude of that national fund out of which all labor is paid, and the number of laborers among whom the fund is to be divided. This vast step in our knowledge is due, mainly, though, not entirely, to Malthus, whose work on population, besides making an epoch in the history of speculative thought, has already produced considerable practical results, and will probably give rise to others more considerable still. It was published in 1798; so that Adam Smith, who died in 1790, missed what to him would have been the intense pleasure of seeing how, in it, his own views were expanded rather than corrected. Indeed, it is certain that without Smith there would have been no Malthus; that is, unless Smith had laid the foundation, Malthus could not have raised the superstructure."

A few years after the publication of the "Essay on Population," Ricardo devoted his attention to Political Economy with brilliant success. He corrected the views of Smith concerning the nature and cause of rent, and furnished, in support of his statement, the Malthusian theory that "rent would increase as the necessities of increasing population forced cultivation to less and less productive lands, or to less and less productive points on the same lands, and thus explaining the rise of rent." His important contributions are the theories of rent and value. "Rent," he says, "is the price paid for the use of the original and indestructible powers of the soil" and the differences of rent for lands are due to differences of these powers.

At the commencement of the 19th century, in the preface to Jean Baptiste Say's Treatise on Political Economy, we find the proud announcement of the achievements of the science:

"Everything announces that this beautiful, and, above all, useful science is spreading itself with increased rapidity. Since it has been perceived that it does not rest upon hypotheses, but is founded upon observation and experience, its importance has been felt."

In 1821, Mr. R. Torrens, F. R. S., in an introduction to his essay on the "Production of Wealth," said:

"With respect to Political Economy the period of controversy is passing away, and that of unanimity rapidly approaching. Twenty years hence there will scarcely exist a doubt respecting any of its fundamental principles."

But so far we have not reached the happy state predicted by this writer. In fact when we compare the views of modern economists with those of the earlier, we find that the latter argued that man's character and efficiency are to be regarded as a fixed quantity, whereas the former constantly kept in mind the fact that it is a product of the circumstances in which he has lived.

Contemporaneous with this development of Economic Science in England, the continent was not dormant, but was foremost in taking the broader view of the science. The theorists of the Austrian school dealt with the very centre of abstract theories. Belgian economists, foremost of them being Emile de Laveleye, represented the science on the broad lines of Sociology.

Great developments commenced to take place at this period, developments that have resulted in a marvellous transformation of industrial conditions. Previously custom prevailed. Men obtained the same remuneration as their forefathers, rents and tithes were not paid in cash, but in produce of the soil; foreign trade was insignificant, and there were no huge financial undertakings. Colonization had hardly commenced; there were no great marts and cities. Although there was little money, there was little starvation. Subsequently when England made great advances in wealth and knowledge, some surprising things happened. In the press, on the platform and in Parliament, humanity's utterances for the social betterment were more distinct and earnest than before.

It was under the logical investigations of John Stuart Mill that the old cast iron system began to crumble away, and new movements became visible. J. S. Mill in his "Principles of Political Economy" followed Ricardo's theories in their entirety, but he contributed no new principles to the main theory. The renown of his work is for the clear exposition and lucid style, in which the subject is treated. He proclaimed that the laws of distribution partakes of the character of physical truths and declares distribution to be a matter of human institution solely. Society can subject the distribution of wealth to whatever rules it thinks best.

Prof. Cairnes and Jevons, following the threads left by Mr. Mill, dealt in detail with many of the fallacies of the existing theories. The latter set up a theory of value, which had important influence on the science, the former showed in an ingenious way that the wage fund may be large where capital is scarce, and high wages and high interest accompany each other.

The fact that the science had got into a loose way was evident in 1886, when, the 9th edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica was being revised, the article on Political Economy was removed, and a history of the development of Political Economy was substituted on the ground that the science was in a state of transition. The

very name Political Economy had disappeared, and the name "Economics" was substituted. The idea of a group of social laws had disappeared from Economic works. Political Economy became a branch of history. The writers on this subject followed the path of Humanity's march, gathered facts concerning human activity, especially in business, or making, buying and selling. As there are no laws of history, so there are no laws of society. All that the historian or economist can do is to state conditions and describe results, and that result invariably in a very unsatisfactory manner, because the opinion a man expresses depends entirely upon his point of view.

"Prof. Powell says that the historian has been too much the ally of the politician. Political Economists admit that they are quasi-historians.

Toyrbee says:

"The historical method has revolutionised Political Economy, not by showing its laws to be false, but by proving that they are relative for the most part to a particular stage of civilisation. This destroys their character as eternal laws, and strips them of much of their force and all their sanctity."

According to Dyer, in his *Evolution of Industry*, "The laws of economics therefore vary according to the circumstances of the times, and the ideals which men may have, and they do not favor one form of industrial organisation more than another, and any political economist who says so, proceeds on entirely unscientific lines."

Cunningham views the situation:

"The so-called laws of Political Economy in so far as they are universal in form, are hypothetical principles which it is convenient to use as instruments for investigating the complicated phenomena of society; but it is absurd to treat mere instruments of investigation as assumed for convenience sake as principles for practical guidance."

Prof. Alfred Marshall adds his weight to the historical school. Marshall, who is at the present time the recognised authority in England on Economic Science, has taken up a middle position from the views held by Ricardo and Mill. His main contribution to the Economic theory is to the development of the Ricardian principles of rent.

These are in plain words: if a certain number of labourers work and produce a stuff to-day, they can do so to-morrow if internal and external conditions remain unaltered. As conditions shift through the will of men and on account of external physi-

cal conditions, the laws of political economy must change. History and political economy can only state *conditions of existence*. What great changes will take place in the future we cannot guess. Who in the beginning of the Eighteenth Century could have predicted the social and economic changes that have happened at the present time, which have been the result of the investigations of but a few men?

The tendency of the study of Economics in Great Britain at the present day, is to arrive at exactitude in the theories enunciated by mathematical calculations, giving prominence to monetary aspects and thus making it a financial science.

Another great writer, who has devoted a great deal of his time for the development of Economic Science is Prof. Sidgwick. In his principles of Political Economy, he states his principles are primarily founded on J. S. Mill's treatise. But he was far from leaving Mill's doctrines as he found them. His economic method was mainly analytical, and he made important contributions to the science both on its theoretical and on its practical side. He severely criticised every position taken by Mr. Mill, and where necessary corrections and limitations were introduced bringing the science up to date. It is often mentioned that Prof. Sidgwick's work is difficult reading. His treatment of the science certainly requires concentrated attention; the science of economics, being in a state of transition, cannot be a simple science, the principles of which can be mastered without systematic study. There is no gainsaying that Prof. Sidgwick's work is one of the few works on Political Economy of first-rate importance published in England since the death of Mr. J. S. Mill.

It might be considered dangerous to refer to the names of Carlyle and Ruskin—the two giants of the Nineteenth Century—as masters of Economics. In the voluminous writing of Carlyle he has rambled over a vast field of economics. Political Economists, with the doubtful exception of Adam Smith were cordially hated by Ruskin. Nevertheless, they have sometimes owed inspiration to him. Their general principles were never more finely stated than by Ruskin in the *Political Economy of Art*; and in *Munera Pulveris*, *Unto this last*, and *Fors Clavigera* he has made many of them more fully aware than before of the limitations of their study. He touches upon real flaws in their arguments, as for instance in Mill's contention that demand for goods is not a de-

mand for labor (*Unto this Last*). In *Unto this Last*, he anticipates the doctrine of a living wage, if that be a merit. He says that "the final object of Political Economy is to get good method of consumption, and great quantity of consumption, in other words, to use everything, and to use it nobly." And, as he continues, "It is, therefore, the manner and issue of consumption which are the real tests of production. Production does not consist in things laboriously made, but in things serviceably consumable, and the question for the nation is not how much labour it employs, but how much life it produces. For as consumption is the end and aim of production, so life is the end and aim of consumption." Here then we have the goal of Ruskin's Political Economy; "There is No Wealth but Life." All his definitions point here: capital is the material for producing happy life; value, its measurement; exchange, its method of distribution; price, its cost. Most economists will agree that the economics of Ruskin are to be read with great reservations; they may be used for examples of life and instruction of manners, but we must not apply them to establish any doctrine.

Another marked tendency in the Economic Studies at the present day, is towards Industrial and Financial history. A thorough knowledge of the industrial revolution is necessary for a correct understanding of the great labour movements of the 19th Century. If we were to turn to any classic work on Political Economy, we will find chapters on wealth, capital, rents, interest, value, production, distribution, consumption and international trade; but nowhere can we find an attempt made to arrive at the evolutions of industrial problems. In Cunningham, Toynbee and Ashley's works, we find this desideratum accomplished.

The limit of this paper will not permit me to make any wide reference to the working-class or reform political economy, which rests upon a scientific basis. A socialist is distinguished from other politicians by the opinions which he professes with respect to the causes of, and the remedies for, the great evil of poverty. The school of thinkers who preceded the birth of modern scientific socialism are Robert Owen, Saint Simon, and Charles Fourier. From the elaborate schemes of future society which they have built up they have been called the Utopists. Of these, Owen was the only one who had the fortune, good or bad, of seeing his schemes tried by experience. Of the socialist

thinkers who form a link between the Utopists and the school of the socialism of historical evolution, by far the most noteworthy is Proudhon. The teachings of these earlier socialists afterwards led to a consummation in the full development of Socialist theory, or "Scientific" Socialism in the writings of the late Dr. Karl Marx. He is considered to be the great exponent of this theory, and the author of the most thorough criticism of the Capitalistic System of production. The most important among his works, besides *Das Kapital*, are *Die Heilige Familie* written in conjunction with his life-long friend Frederic Engels and the *Misère de la Philosophie*. Marx' Capital is an interesting historical book, but it is not, in the opinion of some, the Bible which some Socialists think it is, as it has little relation to modern Socialism and less to modern Economics.

To sum up: It is within the bounds of the art of Political Economy that we have to discover how we can make the most of ourselves and the world in which we live. It consists in the application of knowledge to the ordering of the production and distribution of wealth. According to Adam Smith, "Political Economy, considered as a branch of the science of statesman or legislator, proposes two things: first, to provide a plentiful revenue or subsistence for the people or more properly to enable them to provide such a revenue or subsistence for themselves; and secondly, to supply the state or commonwealth with a sufficient revenue for the public services." McCulloch tells us, "The object of Political Economy is to point out the means by which the necessities, comforts, and enjoyments that constitute wealth may be most easily and cheaply produced; to ascertain the laws which regulate their distribution among the different classes of the community, and the mode in which they may be most advantageously consumed."

C. GOPAL MENON.

HINDU HYMNS.

(From Tamil Poets).

Glory to Thee! Eternal God!

Grand Architect of countless worlds,
Whose mighty will controls them all
And all their teeming life upholds,
Whose form no mortal eye hath seen
But who art present everywhere
Throughout the boundless Universe
Sustaining it with loving care.

II.

First cause of causes! Source of Life!
Most good and gracious Power divine!
Who art revealed by Thy works
Of matchless skill and vast design;
Whom every creed claims as its own,
Denying Thee in other creeds,
And seeks to please with offerings
And prayers, fasts and pious deeds.

III.

Unknown, unknowable Thou art,
Beyond the power of mind to guess,
Beyond the reach of words to tell
Thy qualities so marvellous!
I find not words to sing Thy praise
And yet my tongue would lisp to Thee
I know not how to seek thy grace
And yet my heart doth yearn for Thee.

KANAKA DAS

THE FIRST YEAR OF LORD AMPHILL IN MADRAS.

WITH the close of the current year Lord Amphilh will have completed the first year of his Governorship. He will have by that time shown, not real solid achievements, but some indications of his ability, strength of character, and statesmanship. In the course of one year we do not expect any Governor, however clever, to accomplish anything great; but one year is sufficient to enable us to discover in any Governor those elements of future promise which an expectant public anxiously look for in his first words and acts. Lord Amphilh has come amongst us with no great prestige or reputation at his back. He has yet to make his mark in life. We in this country received the news of his appointment as Governor of Madras with exactly that kind of feeling which is roused by the occurrence of an unexpected event. We knew that he had no administrative experience and that he had not filled any position in public life. That he was Private Secretary to Mr. Chamberlain was the only recommendation for his appointment. There are, however, instances in history of genius having supplied the place of experience, of men unknown to fame and distinction having achieved great things. It is yet too early to say what Lord Amphilh's place will be in the history of the Madras administrative. He has grand opportunities before him; but unless he shows early enough not only that he has ability, but that he has a will of his own, those opportunities will fly away, and he will return to his country just like any ordinary man, leaving Madras as he found it with no achievement to his credit and with no reputation to endure. Lord Amphilh has the advantage of noble birth, he has the advantage of an education befitting his rank, and, what is more, he has youth which appeals to the sympathy of generous minds. He has naturally nothing but the kindest feelings towards the people whom he has come to govern. He is free from all the prejudices which long stay in India engenders, and he must be credited with the generous impulses, the good intentions, and the noble ambition of youth. But if he fails in his first beginnings he will have created in the minds of the people a prejudice which it will afterwards be difficult to

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overcome; for people will seek to find in his first utterances and acts signs of what is to come, of what he is likely to accomplish. So far, it must be said, his Government has done nothing which has borne the impress of his individuality. It has done nothing which will even show that he is the leading factor in the administration, that he is the dominant force in the Government. Short as has been the period of his rule there have been occasions for him to show self-assertion and determination of will; but His Lordship does not seem to have felt thorough confidence in himself to assert his rights as the head of the Government. This is the opinion formed by those who have had close relations with him and even by those outside the circle.

On his first arrival in Madras Lord Amphilh attempted to become acquainted with some of the most prominent men of the country, to ascertain their views and sentiments on matters that might engage his attention as the Governor of the Presidency, and to keep himself in touch with public opinion. For this purpose he had by his side an excellent Private Secretary in Mr. H. A. Sim than whom none was better fitted to put him in the way. The good beginning that His Lordship thus made has not been without advantage to him, and he has, we believe, kept up the practice of seeing Indian gentlemen and talking to them freely on matters of public importance. He has thus gained an amount of personal popularity which to the ruler of a Presidency has a value of its own. His good nature, noble bearing and easy courtesy will not be lost on those who come in contact with him; they will help him in winning the confidence of the people, their attachment and their affection. This will not, however, be a bar to their looking somewhat critically on his tendencies, on his acts, and on his achievements as an administrator; and upon the result of this critical study and examination will depend his claim to be considered a good and successful ruler. The public have not had many opportunities of judging him by the light of his administrative acts; but their first impressions of him, so far as they could be formed on known data, have been rather of an indifferent sort. His Lordship has not so far done anything which could rouse popular enthusiasm, nor has he done anything to damp it altogether. Such disappointments as he has caused have been attributed to inexperience, but inexperience cannot continue long. His Lordship, however, has need to be on the alert. Situated as he is in Madras, with colleagues

who are far different in type from some of those distinguished men who have preceded them, he has soon to make his choice; he must either dominate his council or allow himself to be dominated by it. This is specially necessary in regard to those matters which engage universal public attention. The want of confidence in his own powers, in his own judgment, is fatal to his individuality as the head of the Government, and to his reputation as a statesman. To place himself entirely in the hands of his Councillors and Secretaries is to give way to the plea that there is no merit in appointing English politicians direct from England and to fortify the position of those who contend that Madras and Bombay should, like Bengal or the North West Provinces, be ruled by Lieutenant Governors. It would be a matter for grave disappointment if such a plea should receive strength from the experience of Lord Amphill's rule.

In the only matters in regard to which the action of the Government provoked public attention and criticism, there has been evidence that His Lordship failed to exercise his independent judgment. Twice after he assumed charge, he was led to make an arbitrary and, as we think, wrong use of his discretion in rejecting questions proposed to be asked in the Legislative Council. His Excellency must have known that the power of veto vested in him as the President of the Council was intended by the framers of the Rules to be exercised very rarely and only in cases of the clearest necessity. In the course of the first speech that Lord Lansdowne made in the Supreme Legislative Council to announce the new Rules he gave an undertaking on behalf of the Government to that effect, and he made it clear that the veto in this respect would be used as rarely as that in regard to Bills passed by the Legislature. This declaration was departed from by Lord Amphill in regard to a pretty large number of questions without any more justification than what His Lordship attempted at the last meeting of the Legislative Council held at Ootacamund. The public have not been particularly impressed with the fairness of the procedure, and the excuse of inexperience cannot be maintained in the face of the justification which his Lordship deliberately attempted. We can only hope that the mistake will not be repeated, as the cumulative effect of successive mistakes of that kind is bound to be a diminution of public confidence in the Governor. They are the

first indications of weakness, of a readiness to ignore public grievances, of a tendency to be led into pitfalls.

By those who have seen and talked with His Excellency, he is credited with quick intelligence, with a ready reception and easy grasp of things. But those who see him from a distance and judge him by what he does, suspect a lack of self-assertiveness, a certain want of will power. When he left the Government House and went among the people in the districts he fascinated them by the charm of his manner and by his readiness to hear their grievances. In his first two tours he had no big question to tackle. The matters to which he had to devote his attention were of minor importance. They concerned what we may call the small grievances of the people, grievances which could be removed by small remedies. But when His Excellency went on his third tour into the heart of Malabar, there he was confronted with serious problems such as he had never before been called upon to deal with. There he was put to a hard trial, and he hardly came out of it with credit or with glory. His Excellency went to Malabar not only to see the land, but to enquire into the grievances of the people, to gather information on the spot, and to form his own opinion. This was what the people had been led to expect from His Excellency's visit, and they had naturally entertained hopes of receiving some measure of justice from the new Governor. But the famous Government Order of 1st October had preceded His Excellency by a few days in time to damp the expectant spirit of the people who were waiting with their addresses to hear words of relief from the King's representative. The Government Order had answered all the points raised in the various addresses about the new Land Revenue Settlement. It had summarily rejected all the prayers contained in them; and His Excellency the Governor seemed for the time to be an entity quite unconnected with the Government. What remained for the Governor was to repeat what the G. O. had stated or rather to follow the course chalked out for him in that extraordinary document. The Secretariat had written what he was to echo. The Members of Council had said what he was to echo. The position was humiliating enough, and it could not be redeemed by anything that he could do on the spot. It is a wonder to us how a Governor with a consciousness of his own position and prestige, could have quietly allowed this supersession of his authority, this usurpation of his right

It is a mystery to us how any person or persons who cared a straw for the Governor, who acknowledged any obligation of loyalty to their chief and the representative of their King, could have despatched that G. O. in advance of the Governor. His Excellency, it may be said, was too young and inexperienced to understand the significance or effect of what his advisers did. But what about the Members of Council, the Revenue Secretary, and other nondescript officials through whose hands the document had to pass? Youth or inexperience cannot be unfortunately urged in favour of the first three gentlemen, and ordinary common sense should have suggested to them the extreme impropriety of the course they deliberately adopted. They should have known how serious a matter it was to compromise the representative of their august sovereign in the eyes of the people. Loyalty is a thing which is as obligatory on the officials as it is on the people. The Governor of Madras is not merely the head of the Government; he is the representative of the king in this Presidency. In the event of a temporary vacancy occurring in the office of viceroy it is his privilege to assume that office. In the minds of the people, therefore, his position is associated with the powers and prerogatives of the sovereign. They have no conception of his legal status, of the relative position of his council, or of their method of transacting business. They find him in the place of the sovereign, and they think that he has all the attributes of sovereignty. The G. O. of 1st October was hardly consistent with this assumption, this belief, this conception of kingly power. Public opinion has unanimously declared it to have been a gross mistake, inexcusable from every point of view; and those who perpetrated it have no reason to be proud of their foresight or even of their common sense.

It seemed that Lord Ampthill himself had no idea, before he replied to the addresses at Calicut, that his advisers had prepared for him a false position; and he appeared to be anxious to show that the G. O. had been passed with this approval. Except in his reply to the address of the Municipality he was not particularly happy in his utterances. His reply to the Mappillas of Ernad was, indeed, direct and straightforward, but it was not statesman-like. The same may be said of his reply to the tappers' address at Tellicherry. On the subject of the settlement he fell into many fallacies of logic. The subject was, of course, a difficult one. With the history of the settlement such as it is, the science

of logic would not help one very much to defend the policy of the Government. It would have been wisdom to take shelter under the decision already arrived at by the Government instead of attempting a justification of it. But his lordship followed a different course. He entered into an elaborate disquisition and stumbled at every step. He began by disputing the binding character of the Proclamation of 1805 which the landlords of Malabar regard as the Magna Charta of their rights. It was granted under peculiar circumstances. It was intended to soothe the feelings of a discontented population which had risen in rebellion owing to the ill-advised interference of the Principal Collector, Major Macleod, with the prevailing land assessment. It was not merely a pledge graciously given by one party, but a solemn contract agreed to by both sides. There was a voluntary offer on the part of the Government and a voluntary acceptance by the people. The terms of the contract were reduced to writing and delivered to the principal landlords under the signature of Mr. Rickards, the Principal Collector, on the 29th June 1803. They were accepted by the principal landlords who affixed their signature to the document of acceptance bearing the same date. Under the law the contract was complete. The only condition mentioned for the confirmation of the contract was the sanction of the Board of Revenue. It was stated that "the principles and rates above specified being favourable to all parties, if the Board of Revenue approve, they shall be permanently fixed on all lands". This approval was duly obtained and ratified by the Government of Madras under whose authority the Proclamation of 1805 was issued to the inhabitants of Malabar setting forth the terms of the settlement which, in the terms of the document, was to establish "an unalterable assessment." It is now impossible to wriggle out of this contract formally entered into and solemnly proclaimed. What is the excuse now urged to get out of it? Nothing more than this, that the settlement was not actually effected in accordance with the Proclamation! And it took nearly a century to make this discovery. If the settlement which has now existed for the last 96 years, is not the settlement made under the Proclamation, under what authority or arrangement was the land tax levied so long? There is not even a suggestion that any other arrangement was made in the course of these 96 years with the people of Malabar. On the other hand there is positive evidence that pattas were granted to the landholders fix-

ing the revenue payable by them in accordance with the principles and rates laid down by the Proclamation, after a most rigid scrutiny. Should the courts of law have occasion to adjudicate upon the validity of the contract, of the Proclamation, as we are sure they will have, not a lawyer can have any doubt as to what the decision will be. If the Proclamation is a valid and binding document, the assessment introduced under it must be permanent and unalterable. Hence it is quite irrelevant to the issue to suggest that the rates under the Proclamation would be much heavier than what they will be under the present settlement.

Lord Ampthill surprised us a good deal when he said that Malabar, unlike other districts, had long escaped famine, and with famine it had also escaped paying its due share of revenue. His Excellency seemed to say that every district under British administration should reach the famine point before it can claim exemption from an enhancement of revenue. Every other district in the Presidency suffers from famine. Why should Malabar escape it? If Malabar has so long escaped famine, it must be because it has not been subjected to the same heavy burdens as other districts. An addition to its burden will reduce it to the level of other districts. Why should then Malabar complain of additional taxation? This is the way His Excellency appears to argue. But while arguing so, he virtually admits that there is an intimate connection between famine and land tax. When more is taken away the less remains. This is an elementary proposition in arithmetic, which the defenders of the settlement policy of government alone attempt to reverse. There is no reason why the Government should be so jealous of the only district which, according to official theory, has so far escaped famine, but which in reality is as poor as are some of the less favoured districts. There is famine in Malabar as in any other district. Only the officials have so long refused to recognise it.

The Government itself has been long in doubt whether it was entitled to revise the settlement of 1805; and it is only after a long process of "quibbling" that it has arrived at the present decision. There was, therefore, no ground for Lord Ampthill to feel any surprise when people asserted that they had been granted a permanent and unalterable settlement. The people have a sufficient foundation for their belief, and that foundation is not disturbed by the extreme diffidence reflected in the official writings themselves as regards the right of the Govern-

ment to revise the settlement. People who have a strong case to urge are not put off by mere warnings of failure such as Lord Ampthill conveyed. His Lordship flinched before their eyes the fate of Tanjore which had suffered from over-assessment and which failed to get justice even from the higher authorities. It did not require a governor to tell a suffering people that the government is strong enough to persist in injustice, to disregard popular agitation, and to be blind to popular grievances. Yet Lord Ampthill did nothing more than this when he declared that agitation in England would prove as futile as it has been in this country. We are sorry that his lordship permitted himself to make this sarcastic observation. It lacked grace and sympathy; it was devoid of generous feeling. A Governor like Sir Arthur Havelock would not have made it; nor would have Lord Connemara. We regret it all the more, because Lord Ampthill is not wanting in generous instincts, in sympathy for his fellow subjects, in good intentions, and in a noble ambition. We have no manner of doubt that, in this instance, he incautiously repeated what he had heard from his official advisers; and his official advisers have yet to prove that they are statesmen.

His Excellency held a sort of informal discussion with the members of the Kerala Mahajana Sabha deputation on the details of the settlement. They had come well stocked with facts and arguments. They had even divided their task among themselves. They were waiting to speak, each in his turn, on different aspects of the question. The first who rose to speak was ruled out of order. The second, who made an impression by his mastery of the subject, was not allowed time enough to have his say, for the governor rose to go. Thus ended the informal discussion which, short as it was, disclosed real hardships which the settlement officers themselves were not able to deny. It is not our purpose to go into the details of the settlement; but a word may be said about its general effect. The present revision is estimated to raise the total revenue from 22 lakhs to 40 lakhs. This sudden rise cannot fail to produce its natural effect on the well-being of the people. Let us take the case of an individual who has an income, say, of Rs. 1,000 a year. As a prudent man who lives within his means he may be expected to so arrange his expenses as to make both ends meet. A man of moderate income has not much to lay by. He can at best just live on. What will, then, be his position if his liability of land revenue is

raised 90 or 100 per cent? It means that he will have either to borrow or to lower his standard of living and, as will be the case with a very large majority of the people, to dispense with some of the necessities of life and even to diminish the quantity of his food. A small nominal increase may not seriously affect his position; but the imposition of a burden which is double what he has been long accustomed to must crush him beyond hope. And this is precisely what is happening in Malabar, and comparison with other districts which are famine-stricken cannot afford much consolation or relief to him. The government has, in the past, professed much sympathy for the lower orders in Malabar; but what will be their fate after the new settlement, after even their house sites have been taxed? It is yet possible for Lord Amphill to at least mitigate the hardships of the new settlement, to relieve the people of those admitted evils which result from it, and to give them protection against the harassments which are connected with it.

Lord Amphill doubtless feels real sympathy for the suffering people as evidenced by his patient enquiries during his previous tour in North Arcot and Cuddapah and the relief that has been since granted to them. These are not great things in themselves, but they show that His Excellency is really anxious to do justice to the people so far as it lies in his power. Good intentions are in themselves commendable; but in order that they may be fruitful of good, they must be followed by efforts, earnest and vigorous, unhampered by the fear of displeasing officials or want of confidence in his own judgment. Strength of will is a desirable characteristic in a ruler; and nowhere is it more esteemed than in India where the people have been long accustomed to personal rule. A ruler who judges things for himself must always inspire confidence among the people. Lord Curzon is one of those who has inspired this confidence. Sir Antony MacDonnell is another. Since the advent of the present viceroy, no important document has been issued from the government of India which has not borne the impress of His Excellency's personality, and since Sir Antony MacDonnell took charge of the administration of the North-West Provinces nothing has been done by his government which was not dictated by his will. Circumstances in Madras, we admit, are somewhat different; there is, however, no lack of occasion or opportunity for the governor to show that he not only possesses a will of his own but that he is

prepared to assert it when necessary. Unless the governor does this early, unless he takes care to prevent a repetition of the mistake he made in regard to the Malabar settlement, he will not have established his claim to the confidence of the public.

The time has not come to judge Lord Amphill by any high standard of constructive statesmanship. But eventually he will be judged by such a standard alone. That is our reason and our justification for now writing on the first year of his rule. It will be useful for his lordship to know how the public have viewed his career so far, and what they expect from him for the future. It is creditable to him that, like Lord Curzon, he has ever had his finger on the pulse of public opinion. He talks with Indian gentlemen. He reads Indian Newspapers. From both sources he can gather an amount of useful information which cannot be obtained by any other means. This habit of keeping himself in touch with public opinion ought to save him from many pitfalls. It ought to help him to correct many errors. It ought moreover to assist him in inaugurating beneficent measures. The gratitude of the people will go to that ruler most who raises their status, extends their privileges, and improves their position generally. The claim of Lord Ripon to the gratitude of the Indian people rests on the solid foundation of his achievements in this direction. He recognised that we were a fallen people and endeavoured to raise us higher in the scale in all possible directions. We also owe something to Lord Dufferin who helped us to secure a reform of the Legislative Councils on an extended and elective basis. Lord Amphill doubtless labours in a limited field; his opportunities are far less than those of a viceroy. But even in his limited field he can do a great deal. The grievances of those who depend on land for their livelihood deserve the most sympathetic attention from His Excellency. The present method of survey and settlement, the administration of Salt and Abakari revenue and the working of the Forest laws inflict real hardship on the people at present. A mitigation, if not the entire removal, of these hardships is within the power of His Excellency's government. Then there is the system of Local self-government which is capable of infinite development but which, at present, receives no sympathetic attention from the officials. The Taluk and District Boards are mere official bodies, controlled by officials, led by officials, and worked by officials. The elective element introduced into them is a mere sham. Non-official voice has no

potency in these bodies; and independent non-official gentlemen have no place in them. Without at all diminishing the efficiency of these bodies it is possible to constitute them on, at least, a partially elective basis. The election of members to the Taluq Boards may well be made by the people direct, by men who pay a certain amount of tax. This will ensure the representation of the popular element to a certain extent. It will also familiarise the rural population with the elective system. With the function which the District Boards now perform of returning members to the Legislative Council, the reform we suggest is very material and will partially fulfil the purpose of Lord Ripon's beneficent scheme of local self-government. There is also scope for similar improvement in the District Municipalities some of which have been very harshly treated by the Government of late. The local officials are the real masters of these bodies, and the introduction of the Secretary has conduced little to their internal harmony. The recent resolution of the Government not to sanction the appointment of its officials as Secretaries is a step in the right direction, as it will prevent the prevalent conflict between the Chairman and the Secretary. The latter should owe his appointment and be responsible to the Council, and not to the Government and the local officials as is the case at present. He must be the servant of the Municipality, and not the watch dog of the Government.

The two remaining non-official seats in the Legislative Council long held by the Hon'ble Sir. V. Bashyam Iyengar and the Hon'ble C. Sankaran Nayar were seats reserved, as the Government said, for the representation of unrepresented interests or communities. It was on this ground that the prayer of the Mahajana Sabha to add them to the elective seats was rejected. But the way the Government has disposed of one of these seats denying the special representation which the West Coast had long enjoyed has surprised the public which rightly thinks that it is entitled to the special benefit of these seats both in the broad public interests and in the interests of an exceptionally situated population. Lord Ampthill will easily see that the present arrangement of the electoral groups is not satisfactory; that it is far from being adequate for a fair representation of the Presidency. A re-disposition of the electoral groups and a modification of the rules regulating the elections are both necessary if all parts of the Presidency are to secure equal representation. The

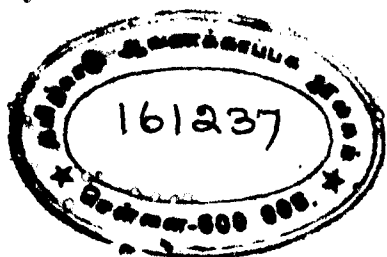
present system has had a sufficiently long trial; and an attempt may now be made to recast it.

A more important matter which may well engage His Excellency's attention is the due recognition of Indian talent in the public service. It is at once the means of according a higher status to the best men among the people and increasing the efficiency of the public service. The association of Indians in the work of administration and legislation has been fruitful of immense benefit to the people. This has been acknowledged by the highest authorities. Indian judges on the High Court bench have attained the highest eminence and distinction; they have proved of immense help in the administration of justice. Yet even here a strange reluctance has been shown in utilising the best Indian talent. The Public Service Commission year ago recommended that two out of the six judges of the Madras High Court should be Indians; and the Government of India confirmed this recommendation. But when an opportunity presented itself this was disregarded. In the appointment of Sir V. Bashyam Iyengar as one of the judges the Government recognised the principle of having two Indian Judges; but in appointing a temporary successor to Sir S. Subramania Iyer, it ignored the principle again. Lord Ampthill thus lost an excellent opportunity for showing liberal-minded sympathy with the just aspirations of the people. It had been widely expected that the most distinguished member of the native Bar, would be appointed to the vacancy, and Mr. Sankaran Nayar's name had been mentioned with confidence. But when the appointment was actually announced, it was Mr. Moore and not Mr. Sankaran Nayar that happened to be the Government's fortunate nominee, and the satisfaction created by Sir Bashyam Iyengar's appointment was naturally short-lived, and the people are now disposed to transfer the credit for the latter's appointment from Lord Ampthill to the India Office. It is open to His Excellency to early make amends for this disappointment, and in doing so he will not be conferring any new privilege, but only giving effect to an old promise.

In the revenue and the executive line there is great scope for the due recognition of conspicuous Indian talent. A membership of Council, of the Board of Revenue, is a thing long denied to us. There is no bar to the Government appointing an Indian to be a colleague of His Excellency or at least as a Member of the Board.

The necessity for such a concession to distinguished native talent has been emphasised by the reversion of Dewan Bahadur. Sreenivas Raghava Iyengar, the late Dewan of Baroda, to his old position in the British service. He was the Gaikwar's Prime Minister for five years on a salary of Rs. 5,000 per mensem and as such ruled a first class native state. But the moment he returns to British India there is no higher place for the exercise of his great ability and talents than the Inspectorship of Registration which carries with it a salary of Rs. 1,250! That an officer of Mr. Sreenivasa Raghava Iyengar's meritorious service and distinguished talents should have no higher place in the service of his own country is a discredit to British administration. And it is rulers like Lord Ampthill that ought to attempt to remove this discredit. By the elevation of the worthiest members of the community to high offices of trust and responsibility, the community is itself elevated; and the ruler who so elevates the people will be entitled to their lasting gratitude. Lord Ripon did such a thing when he appointed an Indian, for the first time, as Chief Justice of Bengal. It is in the power of even Lord Ampthill to do something in that direction.

When the time comes to pass a final judgment on Lord Ampthill's rule of Madras it will give us sincere satisfaction to be able to say that his lordship leaves the country better than he found it, its people more prosperous and contented, their rights as citizens increased, and their status improved. He will have then deserved the enduring gratitude of our countrymen, and to this consummation we shall look forward with hope, with pleasure and with enthusiasm.



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