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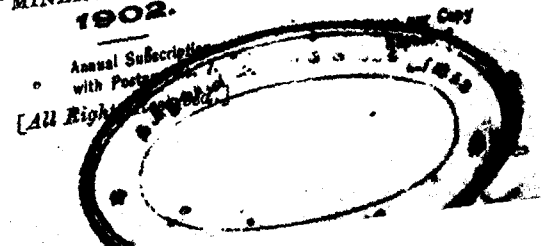
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dependants who universally indicate the feverish state of the times. A process of disintegration had set in all over India. Even the loose centralization of the Moghul Empire was fast dissolving. Fiefdoms let loose from ill-fastened or non-fastened ties of political subordination were forming kingdoms for themselves, and dependants not unaware of the quick transition that was taking place beside them were setting up independent principalities for themselves and their descendants. A general struggle for existence set in on all sides in the peninsula and the country presented a scene of disorder, turmoil and warfare followed with rapine and murder, that is beyond both description and conception. But it was not without its redeemable features: it possessed the seeds of future progress and growth. The general ferment paved the way for the introduction of new blood into the effete politics of Moghul India. The old order was yielding place to the new. Asiatic conquerors of India were giving place to their European cousins and thus were bringing together into one common arena the long separated Eastern and Western Aryans for their mutual benefit and the general progress of humanity. The tottering Moghul <sup>muslim</sup> was fast crumbling to pieces and upon its debris was being raised a part of an empire upon which the sun never sets. The Mahrattas were endeavouring to build an Empire for themselves and but for their rout at Paniput would have succeeded in their attempts at a national Hindu Empire. The French and the English in the South were fighting for supremacy in India and ere long the fate of the French was sealed. War seems to have been the order of the day. Likewise it was at Mysore. With the decline of the Imperial Court at Delhi the native Court of Mysore was on the decline. The power of the Sovereign had passed into the hands of functionaries called *Dalvais* or Commanders-in-Chief, corresponding to the Mayors of the Palace of medieval European times. Kantirava Narasa, Dodda Deva Raja and Chikka Deva Raja, who may be called the makers of modern Mysore, had always avoided these Dalvais. They had endeavoured—not in vain—to administer the growing state of Mysore without the aid of these grasping generals. But their parts had been played out. Mysore had fallen on evil days. Weaker sovereigns had begun to appear in the line of rulers. Chikka Deva Raja left his unified and well consolidated state in the hands of his dumb successor Kantirava Narasa. It was im-

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possible for one like him to attend personally to the administration of the state, well-knit though it was. He and his pious successor gave ample scope to the grasping Dalvai brothers of the reign, Deva Raj and Nanj Raj, to arrogate all sovereign powers to themselves. But these Eastern Mayors of the Palace, like their Western cousins, only paved the way for one mightier than themselves in ambition, cunning and treachery. The eagle eye of the adventurer saw the situation and appreciated it. The hawk would fain pounce upon its prey at once. But the way had to be cleared by trickery and treachery, cajolery and flattery, and cunning and deceit.

Haidar first came to prominence during the siege of Devanahalli in 1749. His courage and coolness of head impressed Nanj Raj, and he gave him the command of 50 horse and 200 foot with permission for recruiting and augmenting his corps and appointed him to the charge of one of the gates of Devanahalli, then a frontier fortress of the Mysore State. Soon after he was sent south under the Mysore General to aid Nasir Jang, on whose murder and the general confusion that followed Haidar secured a large fortune to himself which he promptly sent to Devanahalli as also 300 horses and 500 muskets picked up at odd intervals. In 1751 he followed his master Nanj Raj to aid Mahomed Ali at Trichinopoly, and for his services there was appointed to Dindigul, which then belonged to Mysore, as Faujdar. Here he enlisted a considerable body of Bedars and Pindaris and began, having regard to future contingencies, by a regular system of plunder, enriching himself in the most unscrupulous fashion. In 1757 the Mahrattas invaded Mysore and retired after levying contributions when Haidar appeared on the scene and regretted that he had not been ordered from his post and advised expulsion of the Mahratta raiders and non-payment of their promised dues. At the same time the arrears due to the army had accumulated and the position became critical. Deva Raj had already retired in disgust and Nanj Raj unable to liquidate the payments due to the army substantially resigned in favour of Haidar and Khande Rao his friend. Subsequently Haidar put to death by assassin the brave and able Hari Singh, the Rajput General, who he feared would prove an impediment to his impending usurpation. The Mahrattas invaded Mysore again in 1759 and Haidar was appointed to the chief command against them and they retired after a promised payment of 35 lacs. The pay of the army had again

fallen into arrears and Haidar promised to pay them on the King's dismissing Nanj Raj and assigning some more districts for himself besides the former assignment. Thus Haidar succeeded to the helm of affairs by trickery, treachery and plunder, entirely putting into the shade the Dalvai brothers who had in the main brought him into public notice.

But he was not left in undisturbed possession of his usurped power for long. The Court indeed had long fallen into a political languor that made easy the usurpation. But there were individuals even there who had the grit and the political sagacity to see that Haidar's ambition was rivetted upon no other than the sinking Mysore throne. The nation outside cannot by any means be supposed to be the silent spectators of the shocking change of hands that was taking place. They could not be expected to have any sympathy with an alien usurper who would set at defiance every cherished sentiment, and custom, not to speak of religion. When Chikka Deva Raj died in 1704 he left a well consolidated state, a prosperous kingdom and a full treasury that had secured for him the title of Navakote Narayana, the lord of nine crores of pagodas. Haidar had come first to public notice in 1749, and during the intervening period of half-a-century between 1704 and 1749 there was by no means any national retrogression. After the death of the upright and able Tirumaliengaraja, who had managed state affairs till about 1710, unscrupulous persons, who cared more for their self-aggrandisement than for the continued prosperity of the state whose servants they were, began to usurp the chief authority. About the same time, as the Fates would have it, direct descent ended with Dodda Krishna Raja in 1731. He was succeeded by Chama Raja who struggled hard to put down the usurping brothers Deva Raj and Nanj Raj, and when he succeeded in effecting the desired object, his self-chosen ministers rendered themselves odious to the public by their thoughtless procedure, and thus the deposed Dalvai brothers again entered politics. They adopted the drastic course of transporting the king and his wife to a malarious climate to which they ere long succumbed. They passed over his brother and appointed Chikka Krishna Raj as the next king, whom they ere long married to a daughter of their own who dying, the illustrious Lakshunammanni, of whose services in the restoration of the ancient Raj to its lawful owners we shall have soon occasion to speak, became his partner in life and survived him. Public

opinion was gaining ground apace against the despotic Dalvai brothers. They must have grown unpopular through their cruel treatment of the last king and his family as also by their expenditure on wars of annexation and conquest, which wrought no good for any one, but brought on internal misery and created foreign enemies, besides the sums spent in bribing away the rival Nabobs of Sira and Arcot, the Maharatta raiders and the quarrelsome Nizams of Dekhan, all of whom pretended to have some right or other over Mysore revenues. For these the treasury, though it was full at the death of Chikka Deva Raj, cannot have proved sufficient. Hence repression must have run high against all sides. Public resentment must have run high against the ministers, one of whom, the younger, Nanj Raj, the willful and improvident, was abusively hooted as *Harachiri* lit. a word and a blow. He was an ill-bred man of rash temper and worse habits. His ill-advised alliances and ruinous conquests were bringing ruin on the well centralised and consolidated state of Chikka Deva Raja's making. His appointment was objected to by the acute Venkâtapathi Pradhan, but it was of no avail. He was bringing into prominence Haidar, and for his thoughtlessness was the first to feel. His foolishness and stupidity was bringing ruin upon himself: he was securing his own dethronement. During the intense unpopularity that he and his brother had got into, a plan was formed for confining both of them and taking the power out of them. He himself was absent at Trichinopoly assisting Nabob Mahomed Ali, and Mysore had been successively invaded by the Mahrathas and the Dekhan Nizam, Salabat Jang, who had to be bribed at the cost of the mercantile community. At the head of this plot was the king himself, who had come to be a man of age and reason, and as such was disgusted with the criminal acts of his ministers, who were practising every sort of oppression and repression to carry out measures of foreign conquest with an empty treasury leaving their own country to the tender mercies of plundering raiders and pretending suzerains who endeavoured as much as lay in their power to fleece the rich State of Mysore. Unfortunately for the good of the State the plot was discovered, and amidst the protestations of even Deva Raj, Nanj Raj the tyrant stormed the palace and forced the king on to the throne, and then cut the ears and noses of his partisans. Deva Raj was disgusted at this insolence and cruelty of his brother and quietly retired from

public into the Coimbatore country with his family and effects.

Nanj Raj had thought that popular discontent had died by his repressive measures. It had only been hushed for a time. The popular party which sympathised with the court doubtless trembled to adopt any definite course of action against the cruel and ambitious minister. But the next Mahratta invasion placed him at their feet. The Mahrattas demanded their dues and besieged Seringapatam and soon reduced it. The empty treasury could not answer the call. Nanj Raj was brought to book. The popular party saw its time. During the last invasion of Mysore by Salabat Jang all the personal property of the Raja and the temple jewels and property were not sufficient, and the mercantile community had lent enormous sums to the ministry not a pie of which had been refunded, and even their hostages had either died in prisons or had been ruthlessly massacred. This time naturally they refused to have anything to do with such transactions and left Nanjraj, the represser, to his own fate. The available cash and jewels being found insufficient the improvident wretch pledged some portion of the Mysore territory, which he had thus far mismanaged, to the Mahrattas. At the same time the army rose in rebellion. Its pay had been in arrears for long and clamours against Nanj Raj rose everywhere in the army, which cannot be expected to have taken any favourable view of his cruelties and oppression. They were incited into open rebellion by the court party, and they mutinied and sat *dharma* at the minister's gate. Nanj Raj, disgusted with the state of affairs, resigned the settlement of the arrears to Haidar and Khande Rao, who were coming to the forefront of late. The Mahrattas once again invaded the country and a *Nazrana* was taxed upon the public. At the same time the Dowager Maharanee of Dodda Deva Raj incited the army into rebellion and Nanj Raj was compulsorily retired from the service of the state. Haidar, after a solemn oath, succeeded him, and ere long public resentment was transferred to him, for he showed himself as fond of personal aggrandisement, foreign conquests, repressive measures and French alliance as the ill-fated but cruel Nanj Raj himself.

With the change in the usurpers there also came a change in the leaders of the popular party. Haidar displaced Nanj Raj and the great Lakshmanmami succeeded the Dowager Maharanee of Dodda Deva Raj. This new leader of the popular

party was the wife of the then King Chikka Krishna Raj. By her judicious diplomacy she counteracted the evil designs of Haidar. The classical historian of Mysore, the justly renowned Wilks, refers to her by name only once, and even then has very little to say about her who took the most leading part in uprooting the Mahomedan usurpation in Mysore. Of her conduct and diplomacy in *arranging that* to record. Thus the very standard, if not absolutely nothing, to record. This is answerable in the point from which he should have, as the historian of Mysore, proceeded is not recognised by him. This is answerable in the main for the view that he takes of Haidar's conduct and position and of the total neglect into which the national attempts that were made to uproot him have fallen. In his general survey of Mysore history from the earliest times he fails to appreciate the undercurrent of national feeling that was making ahead against the foreign usurper. He remembers not that there is a break in the continuity of Mysore national history with the usurpation of Haidar. Mysore belonged not to Haidar by right of conquest. Nor did it by virtue of hereditary descent. But Haidar cared as little for the one as for the other, and his historians should always recognise this. The Directors of the East India Company as a matter of mercantile expediency directed their servants in India to recognise him as the *de facto* and *de jure* sovereign of Mysore, and they might, perhaps, be excused for their ignorance. Even they might have averted much bloodshed and warfare if they had acted upon the words of their India servants. Apart from that, historians have no excuse *for recognizing the principle laid down by them*. By doing so they render themselves open to the charge of being unhistorical. Haidar was as much an usurper as Nanj Raj, and the people made as many attempts to get rid of the one as the other. While the attempts that were made to get rid of Nanj Raj have received some attention, however scanty it be, those against Haidar have received none at all. This is the result of starting with the assumption that Haidar was the *de facto* and *de jure* ruler of Mysore. Such an assumption is gratuitous and exhibits Haidar that is neither true nor historical.

If any one has perpetuated such an Haidar it is, I submit with the greatest respect to one who was so honourably connected with Mysore, Wilks, whose history has been followed for nearly a century though, of course, through no fault of his own-



even in so recent a book as the monograph on *Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan* in the *Rulers of India Series*. While he gives the fullest details regarding the exploits of Haidar and Tipu and of the English Captains and Colonels who assisted Coote and Cornwallis in annihilating their schemes, he regards the court party which had the fullest sympathy of the people to be called the *Mannis* as of no importance. In fact he accords to them no place at all. Even their very attempts against the usurpers are either ill-considered or ill-judged. If he had had the correspondence of Lakshammanni before him he would certainly have come to a far different conclusion. But being wedded to the theory that ascribes to the usurpers a *de facto* and *de jure* sovereignty beyond question, throughout he shows an entire want of sympathy with national Mysore aspirations. Not that this was due to any bias against the Mysoreans whose devoted lover he was, but that he had inherited from the Directors a conception of Haidar's right that is neither legal nor historical. Further, writing as he did early in the last century he had not the necessary materials that could lead him to a different conclusion. Yet it must be confessed that he had before him—and his book bears testimony to this\*—some materials on the right track and this would have materially altered his judgment of Haidar and the Madras Government of the day which comes in for no little share of unmerited criticism at his hands. But he was too much steeped in the theory of the Directors for that. He declares that Haidar is an usurper, but does not follow the declaration to its logical conclusion.†

Again if he had read the records of the Government of Madras from the Mysore standpoint he would have had less cause to complain with Orme about its barrenness. He would have found them altogether not so bad as he seems to think. Diffuse Orme owes not a little of his prolixity to those very records of which he bitterly complains that the labour involved in perusing them probably exceeds the conception of any of his readers, excepting the keeper of the records. It is for this very reason that his history is invaluable to every writer of the times. If again Wilks had looked at the Proceedings of the Madras Government from this point of view he would have seen that there was

\* See for e.g., Vol. II, pp. 76-77.

less reason for him to complain of its 'imbecile' procedure. Whenever we judge of the principle or policy that directed the actions of that much-abused Government during those times of turmoil when every man's hand was on every other man's we would do well to bear in mind two points: that on the one hand it had to see that it sustained its position of predominance in the south unimpaired by French ambitions and aggressions to which they had recently dealt a death blow, but which now and then showed signs of resuscitation, and on the other that for this end it had not the power to enter into alliances with native princes and states agreeably to the orders of the Court of Directors. They had seen what an alliance with a native prince like Mahomed Ali meant and were ill-prepared for fresh ones. It had, judging from their mercantile standpoint, ruined them root and branch. Madras was a drone and as such required careful scrutiny of its policy and particularly its military policy. That was dictated from home, and even though expediency in India demanded another it had to pursue the one that had been laid down for it by its superior authorities at home. And it is not a little curious to observe that despite all these directions and restrictions and even Acts of Parliament, as we shall see later on, the British Government in India was drawn into such alliances and the British Empire has been formed by what has been well termed "a mysterious but inexorable necessity," and the credit must go to the Madras Government, for it was the first to turn the Civilian into the Soldier.

Again, Wilks,† following Lord Wellesley's minute,‡ views British right to Mysore territory in a light that does not seem to be supported by facts. Lord Wellesley had certain facts before him which led him to take the particular course that he adopted in regard to the settlement of Mysore affairs after the fall of Seringapatam in 1799. It is indeed true that they are not specifically referred to in his Minutes. But it is submitted that it is evident on the face of the several minutes penned by him on the subject that he had them before his mind's eye. His primary consideration was the seeking of "that mode of settlement" which shall unite the most speedy restoration of peace and order with the greatest practicable degree of security for the continuance of both." General Harris had suggested on the repre-

\* See for E.G. Vol. I, pp. 371-2.

† Vol. II, pp. 383-6.

‡ Wellesley Despatches Vol. II pp. 750.

representations of Tipu's officers the placing of one of the family of the late Sultan at the head of the new Government. But Wellesley himself was of opinion that "the restoration of the ancient family of the Rajahs of Mysore, accomplished by a partition of territory between the allies, in which the interests of the Mahrattas should be conciliated to be the most advisable basis on which any new settlement of the country can be vested." Accordingly he resolved to frame, without delay, a plan founded upon those principles at the same time taking precautionary measures for the pacification of the principal Musulman Sirdars and Killadars of Forts, and for the removal of Tipu's family away from Mysore—which he called a "revolution" that he felt bound by every principle of duty towards the British interests in India to accomplish without delay. While he was thus very favorable towards the ancient royal family of Mysore, he was not for the draft treaty submitted by Kirkpatrick, one of the Commissioners appointed for the settlement of Mysore affairs. He wrote: "I think the whole transaction would be more conveniently thrown into a more different form, from that which you have given to it. I do not see any necessity for ceding the whole country in the first instance to the Rajah of Mysore, and accepting again as a cession under his authority such districts as must be retained by the allies. I think it will be more convenient, and less liable to future embarrassment, to rest the whole settlement upon the basis of our right of conquest and thus to render our cession the source of the Rajah's dominion." He was not for delaying the settlement of the country on any account even the possible delay from the Nizam's side being obviated by his writing to the Resident at that Court for vesting full powers in Meer Allum for that purpose. In his letter, again, to Dundas after premising that he would transmit, by a more convenient opportunity, an accurate view of the motives which induced him to adopt the particular form of settlement in preference to any other he says: "For the present, it may be sufficient to observe that to have divided the whole country equally between the Company and the Nizam, while it would have afforded strong grounds for jealousy to the Mahrattas, would have aggrandised the Nizam's power beyond the bounds of discretion and would have left in our hands a territory so extensive as it might have been difficult to manage, especially in the present state of the Company's service at this Presidency. To have di-

vided the territory into three equal portions allowing the Mahrattas, who had taken no part in the expense or hazard of the war, an equal share in the advantages of the peace would neither have been just towards the Nizam, nor politic in the way of example to our other allies, nor prudent in respect to the aggrandisement of the Mahratta Empire. To have given the Mahrattas no larger a territory than is now proposed, while the Company and the Nizam divided the whole of the remainder to the exclusion of any central power, would have been liable nearly to the same objection as that stated against a total exclusion of the Mahrattas from all participation. The establishment, therefore, of a central and separate power in the ancient territories of Mysore appeared to be the best expedient for reconciling the interests of all parties." Instead of placing that power in the hands of one of Tipu's sons as being inimical to British interests he proposed, it be given to the ancient family. He wrote: "You will observe that throughout this view of the subject I have assumed the justice and necessity of the late war against Tipu Sultan, and consequently the right of conquest under which I conceive the absolute disposal of the territory to have accrued to the Company and the Nizam. In the exercise of this right, if I were to look to moral considerations alone, I should certainly on every principle of justice and humanity as well as of attention to the welfare of the people have been led to restore the heir of the ancient Rajah of Mysore to that rank and dignity which were wrested from his ancestor, by the usurpation of Hyder Ali. The long and cruel imprisonment which several branches of this family have suffered, the persecution and murder of many of their adherents, both by Hyder and Tipu, and the state of degradation and misery in which it had been the policy of both those usurpers to retain the surviving descendants of their lawful Sovereign, would have entitled the representative of the ancient family of Mysore to every degree of practicable consideration." At the same time he was sure that "there was no Mahomedan influence in Mysore from which any serious opposition" need be apprehended. He was glad he had extirpated the French influence in India: indeed so, for, with the extirpation of the Mahomedan usurpers of Mysore there was a complete extirpation of the French in India.

This is so far as possible a statement of Wellesley's scheme for the settlement of Mysore affairs in his own words. It is only just to add that some time before the war he had come over

to Madras and was staying with Lord Clive, then Governor of Madras. So he had ample opportunities of learning from him the true character of the situation in Mysore.\* Mr. Webbe was then Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, a man of whom both Wellesley and Clive had the highest opinion. Webbe was acquainted with Mysore matters and he was in correspondence with Lakshammanni, the Dowager Rani of Mysore, who had written letters to Lords Clive and Wellesley praying for their help against Tipu and the restoration of the Raj to the ancient family of Mysore. Much more he had acknowledged the letters she had sent to him and to Lords Clive and Wellesley in which he says "You may rest assured that there will be no end to our friendship" and assures her that after the war is over Lords Clive and Wellesley "will without doubt attend to your business." Wellesley had sent for the accredited Mysore Ambassador and had a long conversation with him on Mysore affairs. So then without entering into a lengthy argument we might take it that Wellesley was acquainted with the true nature of the right of the usurpers to the Mysore throne. But he liked to base his settlement not upon the principle that he had conquered the country for the native King whose authority Haidar had originally usurped and whose restoration the indefatigable Lakshammanni was all along urging upon the British as suggested by Kirkpatrick, but on the right of conquest assuming the justice of the war against Tipu, whose *de fact and de jure* right to the Mysore throne he would thereby seem to admit in conformity with the view hitherto held by the Directors. But that basis he sought only for attaining his own primary object compatible with British interests. As he himself admits both in his letter to Kirkpatrick and Dundas, by basing the settlement on the right of conquest he would be avoiding future embarrassment as had already resulted in the Carnatic, Oude and Tanjore. "In the exercise of this right," he adds, "if I were to look to moral considerations alone, I should certainly, on every principle of justice and humanity as well as of attention to the welfare of the people, have been led to restore the heir of the ancient Rajah of Mysore to that rank and dignity which were

\* He arrived at Madras on 26th April 1798; Seringapatam fell on 4th May 1799 and the settlement of affairs at Mysore did not end for some months together from that time. He was all the while at Madras.

† All these will be referred to in detail in the succeeding pages of this article.

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wrested from his ancestor by the usurpation of Haidar Ali." That is, politically he thought it expedient to recognise the *de jure* right of the usurpers but morally he would not do that, and for annihilating the otherwise unjust effects of the principle of right of conquest he determined to act up to the treaty that the Madras Government had entered into with the Dowager Rani and restore the ancient sovereignty of Mysore to its lawful owners. So that there seems to be in this case a distinction without a difference.

Again he writes: "the long and cruel imprisonment which several branches of this family have suffered, the persecutions and murder of many of their adherents, both by Haidar and Tipu, and the state of degradation and misery in which it had been the policy of both those usurpers to retain the surviving descendants of their lawful Sovereign, would have entitled the representative of the ancient family of Mysore to every degree of practicable consideration." That is surely a telling passage. It shows that Lord Wellesley knew thoroughly well the history of the attempts that the native Mysoreans had been making from the beginning of the usurpation, and the sequel will show that that was really the case. Further the fact that he refused altogether to hear anything about the continuing of Tipu's line in power and the express direction that the settlement of the arrangements should be completed without any delay whatever, and the using of the phrase in the subsidiary treaty between the Company and the new Raja of Mysore "to increase and strengthen the friendship existing" indicate unmistakable knowledge on the part of Wellesley, who drafted the treaties, of the renewed attempts of the native Mysoreans to regain their lost sovereignty and of the true nature of the right that he was asserting over the Mysore territory. This was perhaps what he meant when he said in the very commencement of his letter to Dundas on Mysore affairs that he would transmit by a more convenient opportunity an accurate view of the *matres* which induced him to adopt the particular form of settlement that he actually did adopt in preference to any other.

At this stage it would seem necessary to briefly refer to the relations existing between the native government of Mysore and the British Government in India. The British Government were bound by treaty to "place the descendants of the Royal family in

possession of the Raj. \* In pursuance of the correspondence that followed thereafter this condition had been assumed as one of the reasons for British interference in Mysore affairs. The native Mysoreans made various attempts to shake off the foreign yoke, the last of which was successful and that was the one in which the British were their allies. Thus the very thing that the Directors had prohibited their agents in India from doing had in the long run to be done and that at their request also—only in a circuitous way that cost them more men and money and the country general progress and the Mysoreans sometime more of the cruel foreign usurpation. Pigot had suggested after the surrender of Pondicherry in 1761 the capture of all the French possessions in India and of the destruction of all their fortifications and had even suggested a plan for the invasion of the French islands which after preparations was given up on the orders of the Directors. These French Islands came to be the source of danger in after years. Tipu wrote to them for help against the English in India and the principal event that led up to the immediate invasion of Mysore and the reduction of Seringapatam in 1799 was Tipu's intrigues with the French and the publication of his letter by Maltairic in the French islands.† At the same time Lord Pigot had suggested to the Directors‡ for an alliance with the native Mysoreans in 1761, but the Directors were against it. His main idea in forming that alliance was the crippling of the French power in India which was always on the side of Haidar. Thus these very points which the Directors had at first rejected had to be sanctioned by them after three successive wars against the usurpers of Mysore; and Wellesley's first principle of action was the aiding of the native Mysoreans for the extirpation both of the usurper and the French from India. If the Madras Government of Pigot's days had been given a free hand in the matter subsequent trouble from Mysore would never have come and the aspect of Indian History would have materially altered. But the Directors clogged the free passage of their Madras agents, and the Madras Government once in that policy of alliance with Haidar,§ i.e., a policy of inaction, relished not the idea of interfering in the Mysore

\* This Treaty is printed in Aitchison's Treaties Vol. V. p. 133.  
† Wellesley Despatches Vol. III.

‡ Fort St. George Records Military Despatches to Court of Directors Vol. II. pp. 1-12. Letter of 4th Feb. 1761 and Military Despatches from the Court, Vol. II, pp. 22-25.

§ Tellicherry Factory Vol. XVIII. pp. 178-180. Military-country correspondence, Vol. XI. p. 245. Military Consultations Vol. XIX. pp. 1-12.

affairs until their rights had been actually invaded by him. As a matter of fact they knew that Haidar would give them trouble by his French alliances, and the news that their agents\* all through the south sent them was not reassuring to them. His policy was one of ambition and aggression, and this combined with the dying embers of the French nation in the south would, they had always feared, blaze forth one day into an inextinguishable fire. They would attack him as the ally of the French but they dared not incur heavy military expenses in the face of the strictures of the Directors that Madras was unproductive. They would fain join the native Mysoreans against Haidar, but here too, the Directors stood in the way by at first applying the closure to the Mysore question after the report of the Governor of the Mysore King's proposals for an alliance against Haidar who was making overtures with the French for aid and then by the general order contained in the Act of 1773—for Parliament in this case perpetuated the doctrine of the Directors—prohibiting alliances with native states and princes. All this shows not so much the political 'imbecility' of the Madras Government but the political incapacity of the Directors who, though they were laying the foundation for a vast Empire in India, had not the foresight to see that walking in mercantile leading strings was incompatible with such political aspirations. The best justification of the much abused government of Pigot and his Council is the carrying out of the very design that had been proposed by him to the Directors by Lord Wellesley, and that is the alliance with the native Mysoreans as a means to the extirpation of both the usurpers and the French from India after 35 years of warfare and bloodshed. As it was, the result of the policy of the Directors was disastrous. The Madras Government had to wait for a time when they themselves had sufficient cause

\* Military Despatches to Court Vol. II. pp. 1-12.

† Military Despatches to Court. Vol. III. p. 3850 informing of the desertion of Lieut. Coulson to Haidar. Military country correspondence. Vol. XVII. p. 392-408. Major Campbell informing Haidar's garrisoning of Sautgad Fort with his own men.

‡ Tellicherry Factory Vol. XVIII. pp. 98-102. Mangalore Linguist's report of Haidar's proceedings in Mangalore.

§ Ibid. Vol. XVIII. pp. 122-129. King Regent of Colastria's request for stores and money to oppose Haidar.

¶ Military country correspondence. Vol. XI. pp. 68-9. Nabob of Arcot's letter informing of the sale of Sautgad Fort to Haidar, and of the disadvantages resulting therefrom to the Circar and of the steps to be taken for its reduction.

¶ Ibid. Vol. XI. pp. 154-7. Nabob informing of Useof Khap's Negotiations with Haidar.

against Haidar for declaring war against him. In that case the Directors could not take any objection to their action. At the same time they had made their position secure by a treaty with the native Mysoreans by which the entire expenses of the war were to be borne by them and as the result of the "these two causes" they invaded Mysore. This while the Directors ordered one policy political expediency in India dictated another. So that their servants kept it up to the letter but broke it in spirit. The Company directed the recognition of Haidar as the *de facto* and *de jure* sovereign of Mysore. The Madras Government which was in a better position to know the state of affairs did not apparently relish it, but with due subordination recognised temporarily Haidar as the *de facto* sovereign of Mysore, while they did not recognise him as the *de jure* ruler. This is evident from the treaty of 1782 wherein they declared "the Company is aware of Haidar being a servant of the Mysore king and of his faithlessness in usurping the kingdom as well as of his oppression towards the king and his family," and from by their subsequent declaration of war against him while they were yet keeping up to the terms of that treaty and writing to the native Mysoreans to persevere for some time longer.

Such in short is a brief resumé of the relations existing between the *de jure* Government of Mysore and the Madras Government which determined—there is evidence to prove this—Lord Wellesley to adopt the measures that he did on the settlement of Mysore after the fall of Seringapatam. These were the "motives" that he referred to in his letter to Dundas. Consideration for British interests required the recognition of the *de jure* sovereignty of the usurpers and the assertion of the right of conquest. But justice and duty dictated the non-recognition of such a sovereignty and right. He therefore qualified such a recognition by the restoration of the ancient family, thereby altogether annulling its injurious consequences. In other words while British interests required the assertion of the right of conquest, regard for the treaty of 1782 with the native royal family of Mysore required the recognition of the *de jure* in them. He got out of the difficulties of the situation in which he found himself by making a distinction without a difference. Such, then, were the considerations that determined the policy of Lord Wellesley in Mysore affairs. Wilks and the writers following him have had generally before them only his minutes, and

so have been generally led away from the truth.\* They have not had before them the relations previous to the war between the Government of Madras and the *de jure* Government of Mysore. The inevitable consequence of such a position is that they are driven to the conclusion that the restoration of the Raj to the ancient royal family was "an act of grace and mercy" and a "concession" and not due as a matter of duty—a view which is as unhistorical as it is unrighteous—overlooking altogether, as it does, the treaty of 1782 and the causes for which, and the circumstances under which it was concluded.

Such are some of the misapprehensions which abound the usurpation period of Mysore history. It is high time that we revised some of our pet theories and untenable views in regard to this intricate period of Indian history. An endeavour is accordingly made to look at Haidar and the events that led up to the extirpation of the usurpation that he set up from the Mysore stand-point in the light of the more important of the available records.

But this is all a digression, though a necessary one. We were talking about Lakshammannit as the leader of the Mysore-party for the extirpation of Haidar. She was the daughter of Gopaul Raj Urs who was Killedar of Trichinopoly and was taken prisoner by the English mistaking him for a brother of Nanj Raj whom they had for his machinations with the French declared their enemy. He followed in the footsteps of the old Dowager of the late Dodda Deva Raja Wodayar who had inflamed the already enraged army and the people by pathetic appeals against Nanj Raj to secure his extirpation. But she was even a greater woman than the old Dowager. She spared no pains in trying to subvert at every favourable opportunity the alien usurpation. Her enthusiasm and zeal were only equalled by her quickness of grasp and readiness of perception. Talented and able her political sagacity was even greater than that of many of her august contemporaries, not excluding the European section of them. When

\*Wilks' History Vol. II. 384-5.

Lewin Bowring's "Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan"; and Rev. Mr. Hutton's "Lord Wellesley" in the *Rulers of India Series*.

The view that recognises the *de jure* sovereignty of the usurpers has such mastery over Wilks as to make him pen: "the usurpation, although comparatively modern, had yet subsisted a sufficient time to have extinguished the hopes of the ancient family and accustomed to the humility of their fortune." pp. 384-6.

† This estimate of her character is based upon her correspondence which have only recently seen the light.

the warlike Cornwallis or the pacific Shore was unable to differentiate between friends and foes—such were the machinations of the Indian states then—with an acuteness that is really surprising in a woman she would pitchfork into her service only that very power that would ungrudgingly render her help against the usurper and this at a critical time when even astute politicians would give up such endeavours as dangerous and useless. Perhaps the only one of her contemporaries, it might be hazarded, that came up to her vigour of thought and force of action was the noble Marquis of Wellesley who carried out into full execution the very plan of action that she was for long urging upon the British Government. Unremitting in zeal, uncompromising as truth, and unmoved by the imminent fears of assassination or perpetual imprisonment, she cherished the object that was nearest her heart until she attained it. She directed her means, power and men towards regaining for her own native sovereign family the lost sovereignty. She designed cleverly and carried out boldly. She tried in turn the natives of the country, the Mahrattas and the English to secure her object. Sometimes she would perplex the usurper by fomenting his enemies abroad with a simultaneous uprising at home. Her one object in living was the expulsion of the usurper, and for attaining it she risked even her very life. She was made of stern stuff. She lost no courage in her successive failures: they only made her the more tenacious of her object. She kept a level head in the most critical moments. If the British refused her help at one time that never hindered her from repeating once again her request. Once she felt convinced that her and her country's redemption lay through British arms she kept on hammering on the Madras Government, despite adverse fortunes and circumstances, till they saw fit to interfere in Mysore affairs. A woman of singular talents and rare intellectual vigour, from behind the *purdah* she studied the situation and guided the nation that surrounded her with a tenacity of purpose that is unique in her race while the variety of ways in which she met the successful adventurer who had the province grovelling at his feet and its revenues ready to serve his selfish and ambitious schemes discloses the rare stateswoman'ship that she was capable of. Her scrupulous honesty and regard for her word stand in strong and vivid contrast to the dishonesty and corruption that stained Indian political life in those days. The

## MYSORE AND THE MAHOMEDAN USURPATION. 11

very fact that her life was not tampered with all through the long period of usurpation, an usurpation, be it remembered, the most bloody that history records, bears testimony in no faltering fashion to the deep and lasting impression that her iron character had produced upon the cruel Haider and the yet more cruel Tipu. When in the end her unremitting exertions and continued perseverance were crowned with complete success through the bold and statesmanlike policy of Lord Mornington which quenched for ever the French thirst for supremacy in India and made possible a British Empire in India while it did substantial justice to the Mysoreans, she was as sincere in her heartfelt thanks to the British nation as she was zealous in her own country's cause. Thus the woman who under altered circumstances would have proved another Ahalya Bhai, on whom the very light of heaven had descended,\* lived to be the deliverer of the country whose usurpation had been recognised in good part by the most just of the governments of the time in India. She lived long enough to see the restored country prosper under the renewed native rule, but she does not seem to have interfered much in the conduct of the government seeing that it was in the hands of an able commission and a capable and experienced Dewan, the great Purniah, which left nothing to be desired. Her work was done and she resumed her old subordinate position with a resignation of will that brings to one's mind the old Roman Dictator who in his country's hour of need exchanged the plough for the sword and after delivering it from the enemy's grip laid down his supreme power in the state and went back to his native occupation. Her life's object was won; she had come to the end of her journey; her function was done; the yearning soul had found its haven; she sank to her old level. After the restoration, as the poet says,

Her court was pure; her life serene;  
God gave her peace; her land reposed;  
A thousand claims to reverence closed  
In her as Mother, Wife and Queen.

It is sad to contemplate the oblivion into which her name and her services to her country have fallen. But we have anticipated much and must stop here for the present.

C. HAYAVADANA RAO.

\* Keene's *Madhava Rao Scindia* p. 164 in the *Reveries of India Series*.

## MADRAS IN THE LAST DAYS OF THE COMPANY'S RULE.

**M**OST of the Districts now subject to the Government of Madras were transferred from Native to British rule during the short period of 11 years between 1792 and 1803. From Tippoo Sultan of Mysore, the Districts of Salem, Dindigul and Malabar were acquired after the first war with him in 1792. Canara and Coimbatore were taken over by the British Government after Tippoo's death in 1799. In 1800, the Nizam ceded the whole territory south of the Kistna and the Tungabhadra including Cuddapah, Bellary, and Kurnool. The Rajah of Tanjore resigned his sovereignty over that splendid District to the British in 1799, and two years subsequently, the Districts of Nellore, North and South Arcot, Trichinopoly, Madura and Tinnevely came under British rule from the Sovereignty of the Nabob of the Carnatic. The Northern Circars were acquired from the Nizam in 1766. Thus the whole of that portion of Southern India now comprised within the Presidency of Fort Saint George, had come under direct British rule before the year 1803.

It goes without saying that the condition of most of these vast territories was, in consequence of the extremely unsettled state of the country, as bad as imaginable. The first task that fell on the new rulers was to establish order and peace and redeem the country from the misrule and depredations of the numerous Pologars who defied British supremacy with numerous armed followers. After reducing these to submission, the British Government applied themselves to the most important duty of settling the Land Revenue in the several Districts, and after trying, without satisfactory results, the Bengal Zemindary system and the system of village leases, they established the present system of ryotwar settlements. But the immediate results of these settlements proved disastrous on account of the numerous mistakes made by officers who had no experience and on whom was pressed in the strongest language possible the urgency of large remittances to meet payments in England. The Court of Directors were duly apprised of the abject condition of the people. Still orders were sent from England for

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the remittance of the additional amount of a million sterling annually, accompanied by a threat from the Court of Directors that unless this were done they would take the question of reducing the establishments in their own hands. When settlements were conducted under the influence of such a threat, the results to the ryots may be imagined. The assessments were so heavy that, according to a calculation made by Sir Thomas Munro in 1807, the assessment was represented by Rs. 45-12-0 and the expenses of cultivation, by Rs. 40, leaving a profit to the ryot of only Rs. 14-4-0. He recommended that the Government demand should be limited to one-third of the gross produce, the assessment on wet and dry lands by 25 and on garden lands by 33½ per cent. Though this recommendation was not carried out owing to the orders from the Court of Directors above referred to, still when Sir Thomas Munro became Governor of the Presidency in 1822, he had his own proposals carried out. Even this relief did not improve the condition of the ryots. It was bad enough during the regime of the moribund Native Governments, but the measures adopted by the British rule did not improve it. The collection of the tax which was high and oppressive was made by coercion of the most objectionable nature, and the people lived a life of chronic starvation. Within the expiry of the first quarter of the century, that is, during 24 years of British rule, so many as four famines occurred in various parts of the Presidency, and the one that occurred in the District of Guntur in the year 1833, though confined to a small area, was attended by a mortality that surpassed that of the notorious famine of 1876. A British military officer who was an eye witness describes the horrors of the famine in the following horrid language:

"The description in the 'Siege of Corinth' of dogs gnawing at human skulls is mild as compared with the scenes of horror we are daily forced to witness in our morning and evening rides..... It is dreadful to see what revolting food human beings can be driven to partake of. Dead dogs and horses are.....devoured by these starving wretches; and the other day, an unfortunate donkey having strayed from the fort, they fell upon him like a pack of wolves, tore him limb from limb and devoured him on the spot." !!

The transfer of these territories from Native to British rule was accompanied by a serious change in the fiscal system of



Government, which brought into operation economical complications telling on the condition of the rural population. The first step taken under British rule was to substitute regularly paid and disciplined troops, located in military stations, for the rural Militia of the native feudatories, and a staff of European and native officials receiving fixed salaries, in place of the former revenue farmers with their followers, who paid themselves by perquisites and other indirect gains, but received very trifling emoluments from the treasury of the State. The next step was to collect the land tax in money instead of realizing it in kind, as was previously the practice. These two changes at once introduced an infinitely larger demand for coin than the volume of currency then available could supply, and this increased demand for coin brought down the prices. The ryot requiring more cash to pay his money assessment had, of course, to bring more produce to the market, which occasioned a glut and reduced the level of prices. In the old Quarterly Journal of Bombay, April 1857, a writer, apparently a high European official, remarks :

"The sufferings of the rural population during the transition period were, without doubt, very severe. The revenue reports of our Collectors in newly acquired territories abound with harassing descriptions of the depressed condition of the agricultural classes and with representations of the difficulties they experienced in collecting the land assessment, owing to the great fall in prices of all descriptions of agricultural produce. The assessments of Sir Thomas Munro in the Madras Districts failed from this cause. So did the early settlements of the Bombay Presidency and also the Permanent Settlement of Bengal, which occasioned the ruin of the first proprietors. And quite recently we have had a striking example of the same phenomenon in the case of the Punjab."

It is curious that the Court of Directors did not comprehend the full effect of this transition. They did little or nothing to advance the prosperity of the ryots as will be seen further on ; on the other hand, the assessments were heavy and the prices were low. The sufferings of the people were most acute. In the face of these causes, the Court of Directors manifested the greatest anxiety for their revenues and promised little to relieve the people from distress. In a Despatch dated 1848, they said of this Presidency :

"The Madras Land Revenue exhibits a considerable improvement since 1845. In the 10 years from 1830 to 1839, the

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depression in this most important branch of Revenue was such as to occasion us great anxiety. The average receipts during that period having been upwards of 24 lacs per annum less than the average of the preceding 15 years. Since 1830, the aspect has considerably brightened. In 1845, the receipts more than equalled the average amount realised from 25 to 30 years ago, or before the deterioration already alluded to commenced ; and in 1846, there was a further improvement of 8 lacs, while the actual receipts of 1847 and the estimate for 1847 were still more favourable. We therefore hope that we may safely pronounce the condition of the great bulk of the people employed under the Presidency of Madras in Agriculture to have been much improved of late, and our anxiety for the permanent prosperity of the Land Revenue is consequently relieved."

On this Colonel Cotton remarks, "Not one word is said to show whether this increase is owing to increased severity of taxation or to increased ability to pay. We make a tenant pay us £ 10 instead of £ 8 and say, "see how much richer he is."

The Financial Despatch of 1852 affords another instance in point.

Again : "When I find Sir Thomas Munro in his minute of the 31st December 1824, para 35 referring to the fact that on the 30th September in that year *only two* ryots were in jail in the whole of this Presidency for arrears of rent, I am sceptical enough to attribute such a startling fact less to the promptness with which the land tax had been paid, or the leniency of the Collectors, than to the use of those fearful means known to the Tahsildar and his under strappers for literally *screwing* the money out of the people."

While thus the Court of Directors were congratulating themselves on the prospect of agricultural prosperity, they failed to consider what measures had been sanctioned by them, which were calculated to promote the prosperity of the people. Their hope was only the offspring of their wish. Far from a prospect of prosperity cheering up the local authorities, the continued sufferings of the people caused the greatest anxiety possible in their minds. Since 1834 there had been no severe famine, but the country suffered from a series of unfavourable seasons ; and to the severe agricultural depression caused by a sudden and continued fall in prices, we have already alluded. In 1854 the condition of the country was described by the Honourable Mr. J. B. Norton, Advocate-General, as follows, in a lengthy and able letter he wrote to



Mr. Robert Low, on the general condition of the Madras Presidency at that time :—

*At this very moment we stand at the verge of that most awful of all Indian calamities, a famine. The Government has suspended the demand of duty on imported rice; the march of regiments has been countermanded because their route would take them through districts, ordinarily fertile, where no food would be found for their support. Already the tocsin has sounded, agrarian disturbances are reported from the provinces; rice warehouses have been broken into and gutted in Nellore; but the famine's full effect will not be felt until April next."*

On what data the Court of Directors' hope for the permanent prosperity of the Land Revenue of Madras was based it is difficult to see. About the period of which we are writing, there prevailed a general uneasiness in the minds of local official and non-official critics as to the neglected condition of the old irrigation works and the apathy of the Court of Directors in investing money in the construction of new works. The policy of the Court of Directors was to squeeze out the maximum revenue from the ryots, but spend the minimum amount for their well-being. The correspondent of Mr. Robert Low to whom we have already referred complains "It is clear that the old works of irrigation are not kept in a sufficient state of repair". The estimated return to Government in the shape of assessment was 135 lacs of rupees annually, and the expenditure by Government to keep them in order was only 4½ per cent. It was reckoned that in the 12 chief irrigation Districts there are 12,62,906 acres of land with an assessment of Rupees 47,54,802, once irrigated and cultivated, then lying waste, but capable of being again brought into cultivation if the tanks and channels were put into proper repair, and many works were classed as in proper repair, though in fact they were not supplied with the full amount of water which they were capable of containing.

While the state of the old irrigation works mostly executed by former rulers of the country was such, the condition of the roads and other means of communication was most deplorable. We quote the following from a petition addressed to Parliament by the people of Madras about the grievances of the people :

"That the condition of the roads at Madras, however bad, is just what could be expected under such circumstances—but as it is impossible for your petitioners to get at official documents on this head, the Government having declined complying with the request of the

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Association, and all public officers, civil and military, being prohibited to communicate official information.....they will draw upon an article contributed to the Calcutta Review, No. XXXII for a few facts by way of elucidation. The number of principal or trunk roads as set down in the return of public works, printed by order of your Honourable House in 1851, is only 11; but very few of these are finished, and not one of them is kept in a state of efficient repair; the only road that is always in good order is that leading from Fort Saint George to the Headquarters of the artillery at Saint Thomas Mount, a distance of about 8 miles. The longest road is that from Madras to Calcutta, 900 miles estimated length, but it has never been completed; and although it is called the Great North Road and is used by all travellers proceeding to the northern parts of the Presidency, yet even a few miles from Madras it is not distinguishable from paddy fields, and piece goods have to be brought on the heads of coolies from Nellore, 110 miles distant, and situated on this very road: fifty miles farther it passes over a wide swamp, causing carts and travellers to skirt its edge in mud and water, as well as they can during six months of the year: on another part of the same line near Rajahmundry, a gentleman was lately 4 hours in travelling; 7 miles on horseback: parts of this road have been at various times repaired, but these portions have afterwards been totally neglected and allowed to fall again into ruin: for the most part of the line is unbridged and in the places where bridges have been constructed they have been neglected, till the approaches have been wholly cut away by the rains leaving the bridges inaccessible and consequently useless. From the road another branches off towards Hyderabad and Nagpore; but though it is only 22 miles in length, the money expended upon it has been thrown away; and it is never in a fit state for traffic, and such is the general condition of all the rest of the trunk roads, with the exception of that leading to Bangalore, which, and which alone, is practicable, and that only latterly for post carriages and horses, proceeding at the rate of 4 or 5 miles per hour."

"That the country is in an equally desperate condition as regards district roads. The district of Cuddapah, measuring 13,000 square miles, has nothing that deserves the name of road; there are tracts impassable after a little rain; and everywhere carts, when used, carry half their proper load, and proceed at stages of half the usual length: while the trunk road from this district is so notoriously bad that the Military Board use it as a trial ground to test the powers of new gun-carriages, which are pronounced safe if they pass over this severe ordeal. This district is one of the finest cotton fields in South India, but its prosperity is impeded and kept down by the wretched state of its internal roads, and of its communication

with the coast, the natural outlet for its commerce. Other districts might be named only second to this in extent and hardly inferior in capabilities, in which the internal communications are no better; and there are few districts in which country roads, as distinguished from the chief trunk roads, have received any attention whatever, and to all but these few the description of Cuddapah is applicable: the principal exception being the Collectorate of Salem, which, as it is a level country, without any large rivers has, under Mr. Orr, received considerable improvement at a trifling expense of about £ 4,000, and the forced labour of the district: but it is still without main routes of communication with the surrounding districts."

We shall now proceed to consider the state of education in Southern India about the time that the East India Company's selfishness and neglect brought on its own ruin. In April 1828, the Court of Directors sanctioned an annual grant of Rs. 50,000 for the educational wants of the whole of the Presidency; "but up to the present moment," says the writer of the letter to Mr. R. Low, "only one school has been founded, which under the name of the Madras High School or University, has been attended by an annual average of 160 pupils and turned out an average of 16 educated boys at a cost of from 25 to 30 thousand rupees, *the surplus not being appropriated to any other educational purposes whatsoever.*" The italics are not ours. On the then state of education in this Presidency, Mr. Norton thus writes:—

"Having been for several years a Governor of the Madras University, I could say much on this pitiable topic; but having lately felt constrained in common with my name sake, then President, and the whole body of Hindu Governors save one to resign, I fear that whatever I might write would be attributed to partial motives and indeed it would compel me to enter too much into detail, when my object is to group together large startling results and facts; but this I will permit myself to say that it has been through no lack of energy, desire, entreaty, importunities, on the part of the Governors of the Institution, that a well-considered comprehensive scheme of general education has not long since been in full operation; and that the annals of the University are about among the saddest of the many sad proofs of Government procrastination in carrying out the most necessary measures for the amelioration of the condition of the people."

By the side of this most lamentable neglect of education by the State, the spontaneous progress made by the people in villages and towns was not worth mentioning. Mr. Bourdillon.

one of the ablest officers of Government in those days, thus speaks of the state of the popular education:

"As to anything like education or mental culture, they are wholly destitute of it. Even among the more wealthy ryots and indeed among all ranks throughout the country with the few and rare exceptions where there is a missionary school, the whole education consists in learning to read and write with a little arithmetic; the only books read are foolish and trifling, not to add immoral legends; there is no true knowledge communicated even on matters of physical science or any useful training of the mind."

"Such is the education at the very best among the native middle ranks, but the poorer classes of ryots of whom I am now speaking are wholly destitute even of this. Very few of them can read, and their minds, growing up to maturity in a very narrow circle, and with nothing to rouse their powers, remain in deep ignorance and superstition. But the most painful part of the character is the entire want of independence or what is called 'honest pride.' A common Taluk peon is to them a terrible personage, and the Brahmins of the Cutchery the objects of the greatest terror, as well as suspicion and dislike."

What the material condition of the people was, is indicated in many an official publication in those days. We select the following passages from Mr. Bourdillon's report:

"Among the more wealthy classes of agriculturalists the number of those who possess any considerable amount of property is very small.....I should say that a man of this class is able to spend Rs. 15 or Rs. 20 a month or rather if he can command a value equal to that, for he will rarely spend so much money, such a man I say may be accounted to be very well off, and that a net income from all sources to the value of from Rs. 30 to Rs. 50 a month is very rare among the agricultural class. Though the incomes above specified undoubtedly raise their possessors far above want; still they appear small in the extreme when regarded as the highest income comes from the possession of land in a very extensive country, and the largest of them certainly confined to an extremely limited number of instances. The dwellings of this class certainly do not indicate much; tiled houses are rarely seen and masonry walls are still much more rare. The almost universal habitation has mud walls and a thatched roof, the latter of a very flimsy order, and both often much dilapidated. The value of the residence of a ryot of the more wealthy class, of whom I am now speaking, probably rarely exceeds Rs. 200 or £20."

The foregoing description refers to the better class of ryots. But let us see what Mr. Boardillon says about the great majority:

"A ryot of this class of course lives from hand-to-mouth; he rarely sees money except that obtained from the Chetty to pay his kist; the exchanges in the out-villages are very few and they are usually conducted by barter. His ploughing cattle are wretched animals not worth more than from Rs. 3½ to Rs. 6 each (7 to 12 shillings), and those perhaps not his own, because not paid for. His rude and feeble plough costs, when new, no more than 2 or 3 shillings; and all the rest of his few agricultural implements are equally primitive and inefficient. His dwelling is a hut of mud walls and thatched roofs, far ruder, smaller and more dilapidated than those of the better classes of ryots above spoken of, and still more destitute if possible of anything that can be called furniture. His food and that of his family is partly their porridge, made of the meal of grain boiled in water, and partly boiled rice, with a little condiment. And generally the only vessels for cooking and eating from are of the coarsest earthenware much inferior in price to a good tile or brick in England and unglazed; brass vessels though not wholly unknown among this class are rare:

"The scale of the ryots descends to those who possess a small patch of land, cultivated sometimes by the aid of borrowed cattle but whose chief subsistence is derived from cooly labour either cutting firewood and carrying it for sale to a neighbouring town, or in field labour. The purely labouring classes are below these again, worse off indeed, but with no very broad distinction in condition. The earnings of a man employed in agricultural labour cannot be quoted at more than 20 rupees a year including everything; and this is not paid in money but in commodities. As respects food, houses, and clothing, they are in a worse condition than the class of poor ryots above spoken of."

About the condition of the people, morally, the following official opinions may be quoted:

"Sir Henry Pottinger, the present Governor of Madras, in his Education minute of the 1st November 1852 speaks of their foul vices of untruthfulness and dishonesty, which are hardly now held by the great masses to be a reflection, unless discovered.

"But the most painful part of their character is the entire want of independence or what is called 'honest pride.' A common Taluk peon is to them a terrible personage, and the Brahmins of the Cutcherry the object of the greatest terror as well as suspicion and dislike."

G. SUBRAMANIA IYER.

## PSYCHOLOGY OF TASAWUFF.

WHEN the Prophet had settled at Yathrab, afterwards called Madina, the people of that city could be distinguished into four classes, so far as their attitude towards Islam was concerned. These were the Ansars who had invited the Prophet to settle amongst them, and were the helpers *par excellence*; and the emigrants or Muhajirins who had left their all behind them at Mecca and emigrated with the Prophet; and the Munafakins or hypocrites who under Abdulla-ibni-Obeid had accepted Islam outwardly, but whose hearts were far from their lips. These latter gave no end of trouble to the Prophet by their secret machinations, and were instrumental in bringing about a schism in Islam by the shuffling up of matters at Sakifai-Bani-Saida on the occasion of the first election. This distinction was restricted to Arabs only. There were also the Jews to be reckoned with, as a people who were ever a thorn in the side of the professors of the New Dispensation. At the instigation of the Jews, says Ibn-i-Khal-dun, Nars-ibni-Haris and Utba-ibni-Abi-Muyet propounded three questions to the Prophet (*viz*) (1) What do you know of a few young men who had lived in ancient days? (2) What again do you know of a man who was a wanderer and who reached the confines of the East and West? and (3) What is soul? In regard to the third question the Quran says—"They ask thee about the Soul, say "soul is by the command of the Lord thy God." This is a direct definition of soul obtained from the Quran, although there are many explanations of it, *e. g.* "We breathed into him from our spirit." &c.

The question put to the Prophet appears to have been a test question to catch him in his words, such as the one put to Jesus Christ by the Pharisees and Herodians "Is it lawful to give tribute unto Caesar or not?" The Prophet's answer was similar in spirit to Christ's answer "why tempt ye me?"

Soul or spirit was used in several senses in Arabic, *e. g.*, life (animal and plant), consciousness, revelation, the Arch-Angel, Jesus Christ.

\* Compare Genesis 2-7. We "breathed into his nostril the breath of life and man became a living soul."

The object of the Kuraishis who put the question was to ply question after question according to the several senses of the word, and then to frustrate an explanation. The answer that silenced them at once and once for all was "It is by the command of the Lord thy God"; just as the answer that had silenced the Pharisees was "Render to Cæsar things which are Cæsar's and to God things which are God's."\*

Some consider that the answer was designedly in proportion to the understanding of the questioner, for says an Arabic proverb "Speak to a man according to the capacity of his understanding." The answer to the first two questions consisted of the description of the seven sleepers and Zulkarnain (the two horned traveller) given in their books, the Talmud, &c., which were, however, silent on the third; and the Prophet accepting the omission as the gauge of their mental fitness determined not to burden them with a definition beyond the grasp of their capacity.

The Aristotelian doctrine of the three ascending grades seems to have gained acceptance of Munn. Sufis—viz., the one and the same principle manifesting itself in several grades.

The breathing of spirit into man is according to one writer the first manifestation of this soul. It displays vegetative quality in the womb of the mother. When the child is born, it displays desires. Then the stage of *Kulb* or mind is reached, when perception and understanding play the most important part.

*Gulshani Raz* says:—

Know first how the perfect man is produced,  
From the time he is first engendered.

He is produced first as an inanimate matter,  
Next by the added spirit he is made sentient,  
And acquires the motive powers.

Next he is made lord of will by the Truth.

In childhood opens out perception of the world.

And the temptations of the world act on him.

When all the particulars are ordered in him.

He makes his way from these sources to general notions.

The same ideas are expressed in Tennyson's *In Memoriam*.

The baby new to earth and sky,

What time his tender palm is pressed

Against the circle of his breast

Hath never thought that this is "I."

\* St Mark 12:17.

But as he grows, he gathers much  
And learns the use of "I" and "me"  
And finds I am not what I see  
And other than the things I touch  
So rounds he to a separate mind  
From whence clear memory may begin  
As thro' the frame that binds him in  
His isolation grows defined.

Then comes the third stage (i.e.), the soul which seeth.

*Toulana Roum* says:—

Dissolve the body in thy sight  
Go into sight, go into sight and go into sight.

This "going into sight" is seeing through. Suppose the sea a crystal palace; below this palace a clear stream is running at the most rapid rate imaginable. When you look at the surface, you imagine the surface itself is running. "Going into sight" therefore means, so fixing your sight as to see that it is the stream that is running and not the crystal surface. The stream of the running sight should be so solidified, as to find a running surface fixed and its motive power at work. This seeing the essence of God and not losing oneself in the sea manifestations. It is, in the words of the poet, seeing the essence

That changed through all, yet in all the same;  
Great in the earth as in the ethereal frame.  
Warms in the sun, refreshes in the breeze,  
Glows in the stars and blossoms in the trees.

This stage at which man attains may be said to be "seeing into," when the soul has displayed its legitimate activity. Until then the soul is drowned in mind or in passions.

There is a *hadis* related from the Prophet. "In the body, there is a lump of flesh. In this lump there is *Kulb* or mind—In the mind, reason—In the reason, *farwad* (the stage of contemplation). In *farwad* there is spirit, in the spirit there is *khafi* (secret) and in the secret, there is I." This "I" or Ego is not the ego of the lower manifestation. At the consciousness of this "I" all objectivities vanish from sight and thought, and the one consciousness is conscious of itself. *Gulshani Raz* says:

"When Absolute Being has to be indicated,

Men use "I" to express it.

When the truth is set in evidence in a phenomenon.

You express it by the word "I".  
 You and I are higher than body and soul;  
 For both body and soul are parts of one.

The sufis believe in one essence and one existence (both the same with some); and this "I" has found its full manifestation in the perfect man (Mohamed). The I, of which lower animals have cognition, is therefore of quite on a lower plane than the reality of the highest manifestation (*i.e.*) the soul; the Aristotelian reach therefore stopped short at *kulb* or mind of the Sufis. The soul of the Sufis could, therefore, be got a glimpse of only by epiphanies.

Some maintain that the soul is *Nur*, a light that lighteth the whole body, that sheddeth its light every where without being confined to a particular where.

Some with Thales considered that soul is water (*i.e.*, of fluid or nebulous kind).

*Ayan-ul-Khuzzad* says that the soul is of four kinds.

Elemental { Ru-hi-Namiahi (Vegetative.)  
 Ru-hi-Matahurrika (Motive.)  
 Ru-hi-Natikha (Intellectual.)

Ultra-elemental (Ru-hi-Kudsi (Holy Ghost). The last is said to be also called *Sakinah* and is the inspired spirit spoken of in the Quran. This last spirit knows what it was and what it will be and is the *asur* (effect or manifestation) of God's Essence.

The author of *Resalai-Mursad* says that the following are the attributes of the soul:

Illumination, as displayed in

|             |     |     |     |     |                  |
|-------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|------------------|
| Love        | ... | ... | ... | ... | { Speech         |
|             |     |     |     |     | { Sight          |
|             |     |     |     |     | { Hearing        |
| Knowledge   | ... | ... | ... | ... | { Fondness       |
|             |     |     |     |     | { Desire         |
| Patience... | ... | ... | ... | ... | { Will           |
|             |     |     |     |     | { Silence        |
| Life        | ... | ... | ... | ... | { Shame          |
|             |     |     |     |     | { Reason         |
|             |     |     |     |     | { Understanding. |

Imam Ghazzali was the foreteller in the conception of *tabula rasa* of the school of John Locke. Indeed the Quran has been mentioned in the Quran as the "blessed narration," that is, as the repetition of what is already there in the nature of man. It may, however, have been that both Ghazzali and John Locke imbibed their ideas at the fountain of Plato's archtypes.

There have been a few philosophers in Islam who believed in the doctrine of *me.empsychosis*. Ahmad-ibni-Habith, and his disciple Ahmad-ibni-yubus, Abu Moslem of Khorassan and Ahmad-ibni-Zakariah are the most notable names. Two or three verses of the Quran are quoted as favouring this doctrine.

*Surat-Baqi*. 61-62. "You have verily known these people who transgressed on a Sabbath day. Then we said unto them, become monkeys; and we made this a lesson to those who were present and those who were to come and a warning to the righteous."

*Sura-i-Maida* 65. "Oh may we warn you of a still worse recompense than the one that was meted out to those who were cursed and who became pigs and monkeys."

These transformations had happened to transgressors (the Israelites who worked on a Sabbath day); whereas transigrations appertain to the period after death.

Moulani Jelaluddin Roumi is often quoted in support of this doctrine. Some of his verses bearing on the subject are given below.

We have grown like grass often

Seven hundred and seventy bodies have we taken.

From the inorganic we developed into the vegetable kingdom

Dying from the vegetable we rose to animal.

And leaving the animal, we became man.

Then what fear that death will lower us;

The next transition will make us an angel;

Then shall we rise from angels and merge in Infinity

Have we not been told

All of us will return unto Him.

Muslim Sufis believe in circular movements, though Mr. Herbert Spencer would have us believe that all movements are rythmical. The seed germinates into a green sapling; this develops into a tree, blooms and blossoms; and the finale is the seed itself. So is *Suluk* or the travelling of man towards God. He has to complete his circle and to travel back to where he came from. It is held that Jalaluddin did not mean more than this; and his lines are not an exposition of the doctrine of transmigration. Some have gone even so far as to trace their own descent from absolute reason (*Akhlaikhnl*). In his *Fawakhir-us-suluk*, Syed Shah Abdul Lateef Saheb, a native and *servant* of Vel-lore, has actually done this. He says "This humble individual Abdul Lateef came with Absolute Reason, and then into absolute *nafs*, and then into external manifestations—Absolute Form,

Arask, Kurchi"; and then enumerates the manifestations of the heavens and planets and elements—mineral, vegetable and animal—and lastly mentions Adam from whom it is easy enough to trace one's geneology without break, he being 83rd in descent from Adam!

Such perhaps was the intention of Jelaluddin Rumi:

There is yet another explanation. Physical actions have an undoubted effect on the physical body; so much so that it has been proved that people who partake of the flesh of certain particular animals have the qualities of those animals almost leavened in their temperaments. Physical actions, like constant anger or mercy, alike alter the constitution of man, not only physically, as the face of a man given to constant out-bursts of anger, is an ample proof, but also morally. The moral consequences of actions are realised but faintly in this life. When the individualized soul or the soul whose isolation in the world has grown "defined" has thrown off its bodily trappings, it is yet encumbered with a formal (or astral) body; and the consequences are then realized in their true color or magnitude. To a man who has lived a virtuous life, his existence in *burzak*, (partition between this life and the Resurrection day) is full of enjoyment and bliss; such as could be realized by a thirsty wanderer in the Arabian desert as rivers flowing with milk and honey. To a man other than virtuous, the consequences of his actions also appear in their true color. A man often suffers or enjoys in his dreams, according to the nature of the life that he has led. Just as food or physical actions change the physical aspect of man in this life, so the consequences of life led here that cling to him in the formal life-influence and change his astral body. The ape and the tiger "that are in the man, then show themselves more prominently. The formal bodies so to speak assume their shapes according to the inner man, while the soul burning with the desire to soar to its native height which it becomes conscious of, feels "cabinéd, cribbed and confined" in a form worse than that it had assumed in the worldly life; hence its great repentance and the great abhorrence to that condition which it feels, is worse than the most burning furnace of a seventh hell. The assumption of forms by the individualized soul according to the ascendancy of the different temperaments exhibited in this life is very like a transmigration. But transmigration as entertained by some of the ancient Grecian philosophers and the Hindu vedantists, means a return to this

life in the physical body till *rukic* is obtained; whereas what was believed in by some of these Sufis, plainly appertains to enjoyment or suffering of the individual soul, till that soul loses its individuality or merges in Infinity or is left to suffer for ever in a formal body which has become its native tabernacle. There are, however, verses which distinctly give a denial to this doctrine Surai-Mouminii 110.

"When death comes to any one of them, he says 'Oh Preserver send me back that I may do good works in the world which I am leaving—the answer will be "never". There will be *burzak* (the condition of soul till Resurrection) in their front till they are raised again. The same Sura 112—114:

"When the trumpet will be blown then there will be no relationship between them. No body will care for another. Whoever has his scale heavy will have good reward; and those whose scales are light are those who have ruined themselves and they will be for ever in *Jehannum*."

The chief argument in favour of transmigration of soul is the majority of those who suffer and who enjoy have not purchased this suffering and enjoyment themselves. If there were no transmigration, their suffering and enjoyment have not been justly dealt out to them. The answer to this will be found later on.

The theory of spiritual conjunction seems to have found a ready recognition among the Sufis. The first *abd* (creature or manifestation) was the conjunction of an attribute or essence with a form in the knowledge of God who has forms of *abds* in his knowledge. On these forms he bestows His attributes, so that the attribute is manifested, e.g. He has in his knowledge the form of a creature, the form is ever the same—is always in his knowledge. With this form, His name of creator is conjoined, and the result is creature, and then this *ism* or name of His is manifested. The God is creator, whether creatures have been manifested or not, but when the *ism* is manifested, then only the *rasm* (the creature) comes into being with all the attributes bestowed on it. The gross matter is thus reduced not by being cut up with the scissors of an Atomist into atoms and molecules but to form as it is in its native condition in the knowledge of God conjoined with attributes or names of God. The Quran says "Everything will perish except the face of the Lord thy God." The theory of spiritual conjunction is carried down to the lowest

extremity. The author of *Resalât-i-Mursad* says that by the conjunction (or a marriage) of soul and body two children are born. One a son like the father soul, is called *Kalb* or mind; and the other a daughter resembling and having the attributes of the mother, body or matter is called *Nafs* which is expressed in Swendenborg's very expressive word, *animus*; the dowry of this marriage is the phenomenal world. *Kalb* is something inverted, as the form of the human heart, where it is supposed to be seated in an inverted cone. It is also called "inverted," because it turns towards soul or towards *nafs*, towards higher influences or towards lower, according to their attraction and intensity. The quality of this *kulb* is of a coarser kind, not the understanding which is the outcome of "seeing into" as in the case of the soul. It is perhaps the Ego of the western Psychologists. In regard to this Ego, it is said that it is a series of conscious states. "To know the substance of mind is to be conscious of some community between it and some other substance, which is impossible. It must equally remain unknowable, if with the Idealist, we say that there is no substance, or if we hold with the realist that Being is fundamentally divisible into that which is present to us as mind and that which lying outside of it is not mind."

Like Hindu \* philosophers, the Sufis locate mind in three places, *Dili Sanubari* (Pine-heart) is located near the nipples, is the soul of motive power and is shared in, by the lower animals. The second is located in the brain and is called *Dili Mandawari* (the spherical mind). It is called the colourless mind. It is the seat of consciousness. The third is located near the seat, and it is called † *Dili-Nilofari* (the lotus mind). It is the Soul in repose, shared in by the mineral kingdom. The office of *Nafs* is to imagine and discern. In regard to *Nafs*, Hazrath Ali is reported to have said "He who understood his *Nafs* understood his God." According to the qualities that it displays, it gets a particular name, and it has received four such names in the Quran.

*Nafsi-Ammara*. This is the *Nafs* that leads man to evil. It turns man away from the path that leads to perfection. It makes him participate in the attributes of the brute creation. This is the natural condition of man, and if he stops short here, man cannot attain that perfection which a creature endowed with

\* Epitome of Synthetic Ph. of H. Spencer, p. 200.  
† Tajullyut-i-Rahmani, p. 33.

*Nafs-Rahmani* (Holy Ghost or soul) was purposed to attain. *Nafsi-Low-zawanna* is the animus that reproaches man who goes in evil ways. It is conscience of the western Psychologists. It is like the mirror on which the smallest breath of moist air is visible; and it can so far lose its brightness under the influence of *Ammara* as to be dead to all susceptibilities to good influences. The third is *Nafsi-i-Mulhima*, the *Nafs* that is inspired. It is the higher phase of the aspect of soul. Virtue becomes virtue to it, because it is virtue. There is no utilitarian end.

The fourth is *Nafsi-Muthmainnia*, the *Nafs* that has found rest in God. In the Quran it is thus expressed "Oh *Nafs* which has found rest in God, turn back to thy Lord. He is pleased with thee; and thou art pleased with Him. Mingle with my servants and enter into my paradise." This is the stage in which *Nafs* is purified from all its alloys, and is so much fortified with spiritual strength, that it clings to God and cannot live without Him. It raises to God as water rises level with its fount. It lives in God and in his Love.

The *abd* or creature possesses nothing of its own; it is only a form. When the form has been endowed with attributes according to the desire of an *ism* of God to manifest itself, it becomes a manifested *abd*. *Abd* having no essence of its own, it can have no will and no desires of its own.

*Gulistani Raz* again

"Hew, O, foolish man, can free will appertain  
To a person whose essence is nothingness.  
Seeing that your being is all one with not-being,  
Say, whence comes this free will of yours.  
A man whose real existence is not of himself  
Is never good nor evil in his essence."

According to Sir William Hamilton, "Moral liberty does not merely consist in the power of doing what we will, but in the power of *willing what we will*." The act of our being conscious that we possess direct consciousness of liberty is the chief argument brought in favour of liberty. Perhaps a little analysis of this direct consciousness may prove that it is itself a composite of divergent influences, the highest of which determines conduct. This *abd* must have borrowed *will* like all its other attributes from the will of God; and it presumes to claim it as its own, as it claims everything else.

Islam is submission of man's will to God's will, is acknowledged that man has no will of his own, except what God has granted him. His will must be eclipsed like the stars which are turned to nothingness, when the glorious orb of the sky appears. But then such a will will evidently make man non-responsible for his actions. When man has attained to that stage, when all his actions proceed from God, he is no longer responsible. At the battle of Bedr, God said to the Prophet, "When thou throwest the dust, thou didst not throw it, but it was God that threw it." This is the stage which no man can attain but for a moment, but it is what all can strive after. Seeing that only a few can attain to it, but all can strive after it, it has been laid down in Islam that it is the will of God that is always to be referred to. Man is not thus a self-determining agent, otherwise it will necessarily follow "that there are as many first causes as there are men in the world" (Toylady). But if he forgets the real source of all power, and takes the responsibility on himself he becomes responsible for them. The poet Hafiz says "the heavens would not accept the 'burden of trust.' They cast the lot on this senseless me."

The second Khalif Hazrath Omer decided the question of free-will very simply and easily as it will appear from the following anecdote.

"When Omar reached Sivag in his tour to Syria, it was reported that plague was prevalent at Umvass, and he decided to return. Obeidah his commander grew angry and remonstrated that whatever happened, happened by the will of God. "Would you elude the fiat of God," he asked. "Yes," said Omer, "We run away from one decree of God to another," and ordered the removal of the camp.\* This was putting the whole question in a nut shell.

The spirit of Islam is "Do the best you can, exert your utmost; and do not rest quiet; and then consider whatever is the outcome of your efforts is the outcome of God's will."

KHAJA KHAN.

\* Shajis Al-Farukh, p. 207.

## WHAT IS TO BE THE FUTURE OF THIS GREAT EMPIRE OF INDIA?

THE attempt of Russia to plant herself on the Persian Gulf has again given rise to the question how such proximity would affect British interests in India. "A Russian Diplomatist" writing to the *National Review* declares that Russia is determined to defend her rights in Persia and that he sees no serious possibility of England preventing Russia from approaching the Persian Gulf which will certainly be reached in the near future (*Review of Reviews* for January 1902).

Commenting on this article the *Russian Exchange Gazette* points out (according to the Correspondent of the *Times*) "that the fundamental idea of the article, the groundlessness of the fears which are entertained in England with regard to Russian designs on India, has already been emphasised in many official notes of the Russian Government, and in the utterances of many leading Russian publicists. Prince Gortchakoff in the sixties and seventies, carefully explained that the advance of Russia in Central Asia was made with the sole object of securing Russian territories from the attacks of half civilised tribes and without any *a priori* perisec of menacing British Rule in India. At a later period Professor Martens in a pamphlet which was translated into English endeavoured to prove that a permanent understanding between the two great Powers could best be secured by making their territories in Asia conterminous. But neither the official explanation of Russian statesmen nor the arguments of Russian publicists have produced any effect in Great Britain. Every step taken by Russia in Manchuria is even yet regarded as a dire offence. The thought that Russia may secure an opening for her ships into the Indian Ocean has thrown the Anglo-Indian Government and the London Press into a state of panic, and this in spite of the fact that an opening into the Indian Ocean has been sought by Russia since the days of Peter the Great, and now that the Siberian Railway has been constructed it is a necessary condition for her economic and commercial development."





at all under contemplation the only route "by which Russia could despatch an army of the necessary proportions to the British frontier," is *via* Herat, Farah, Girisk, and Khandahar; and it must not be forgotten that whereas in 1838 the Russian frontier lay 800 miles north of Herat, in 1900 a "Russian outpost stood 60 miles from Herat, while the nearest British outpost was 530 miles away."

The conclusion at which Messrs. Coulter and Cooper arrive is that notwithstanding the pledges repeatedly given by the Government of India to the Amir of Afghanistan, guaranteeing the integrity of his dominions, and especially the safety of Herat, it is not possible for England to abide by these pledges. For placed as Russia is, in proximity to Herat, she could occupy the city, which as we have seen is by no means impregnable, "in a couple of forced marches, while it would take at least a month for a British Regiment to reach the place." And England is in the horns of a dilemma: if Russia moves to occupy Herat it will be too late to attempt to dispute its custody. "If Britain attempts to anticipate her intention and move troops from Quetta, Russia could defeat that object by swooping down upon the stronghold in dispute." Once Herat is seized the conquest of Afghanistan and the invasion of India would be a question of time. But, say Messrs. Coulter and Cooper. "England will hold India in spite of the fact that it is not possible to create an effective frontier in Afghanistan."

To review the position briefly, we have on the one hand the testimony of Sir Charles Macgregor, Sir Henry Rawlinson, Colonel Malletson, (author of *Herat*), Armenius Vambery and a host of other Military experts supporting the side of those who see a menace to British Dominion in India, in every advance made by Russia in Central Asia. On the other hand, there is the explanation of Prince Gortchakoff and of Professor Martens, the eminent authority on International Law, that the object of Russia in extending her dominions is to find an outlet into the Indian Ocean, and to secure her vast territories from the attacks of half civilised Asiatic tribes so that ultimately the Russian and the British possessions in Asia would be conterminous. In this sense it is possible that Russia may have an eye on Afghanistan. But even if Russia should seize the Amir's Dominions which is doubtful, it by no means follows that England will permit the former to wrest the brightest jewel in the British Crown.

There is no English statesman who has studied the problems of the Far East to such purpose as Lord Curzon, and as long as he presides over the Government of these vast dominions there need be no fear as to the future of this great Empire of India.

B. RAMA RAU.

## MUSIC AND ANTI-NAUTCH MOVEMENT.

HERBERT Spencer justly thinks that music must take rank as the highest of the Fine Arts—as the one which, more than any other, ministers to human welfare. The author of "Gay science" quotes Mr. J. W. Davison who assured him that, judge he never so calmly, he cannot accord to Beethoven a rank in art below that of Shakespeare. The consensus of opinions of valuable critics points to the high position which music is accorded on account of its being the source of pleasant impressions sustained and continued by its intrinsic beauty. "The glory of music is more intimately connected than any other art with the hidden soul; with the incognisable part of our minds, which it stirs into an activity that at once fills us with delight and passes understanding." Music has been frequently subjected to criticism from an ethical point of view, owing to its inherent capacity to please and to secure enjoyment of the best kind. It is only a particular phase of the broad question whether enjoyment or pleasure tends to affect the morals of an individual. Critics are not wanting who question the ethical significance of music. What are its relations to life? To individual and national life? What has been its general influence at all times and in all places? What is its ethical drift at the present day? Such are a few questions which a moralist who analyses all human actions into good and bad may raise with a view to determine its tendency to chasten human conduct and to examine its foundations so far as they affect society and its progress. Opinions have considerably varied with regard to these questions. In considering questions of such important significance to society, the testimony of prosers and bigots, social prudes and cynical affectors is entirely valueless. Passion and prejudice greatly minimize the critical worth of arguments which must be based on fact and reason, instead of imagination and sentiment, with a view to compel homage and unequivocal consent.

Before discussing the ethical influence of the art of music, it may be interesting to note the ethical significance of art in general. The importance of art in general is generally recognized. Though its origin may be traced to trivial circum-

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stances, yet its past history is found in the many art-relics that had defied all ravages of time. Everybody has heard fables about the origin of painting which is traced to the shadow of a candle, music to the strokes of hammers. But the fine arts which have had such a beginning are now the primary essentials of civilization itself, and supply us with the only clue to ancient existence. "What remains when the bows of the warrior lie undistinguished from the wreck of his horse, and when the dust of kings is of less account than the little worm which inhabits it? There remain the songs of the people, the engravings upon their friezes, the warbles they loved, their carved cups, their painted vases, their curious coins, their seals, their palaces, the altars of their gods and the tombs of their friends." It has been well remarked that while man's works of labour die, their works of pleasure live. A German Divine is said to have pointed out that cattle-keeping, music and smithery were first practised by descendants of Cain and argued that therefore music and arts have a Cainite element which renders them accursed from their birth. Such divines are now happily rare. It goes without saying that such preconceived notions are inimical to art progress.

The immediate end of all art is pleasure. All our actions have happiness for their end, and with art it is the first as well as the last. All schools of criticism describe art as the minister of pleasure, although each may have a different way of regarding this pleasure. "The Greek dwells on the truth of it; the Italian on its profit. The Spaniard says it is pleasure of the many; the Frenchman says it is of the few. The German says that it comes of play; the Englishman that it comes of imagination. But all with one voice declare for pleasure as the end of art."

The ethical influence of art has been repeatedly called in question. The lives of artists have not always been above reproach and this has contributed not a little to the belittling of art in general from a moral point of view. The follies and iniquities of artists are easily fathered upon art. But what is good in art is set aside as not very important and not as a redeeming grace cleaving to the artist. But the faults of artists have always been of relative character. What was considered as gross in one age is regarded as good in a subsequent age. But it may be asked why art, alone of all human things, should be expected to be faultless?

If the works of artists and authors be judged by their morals, a critic remarks, "Horace, and most of the rest of the ancient classics, must be burnt, the Bible expurgated, and possibly even our own glorious Shakespeare himself would come under the ban." If one is to be perfectly reasonable and impartial he must examine all departments of human knowledge and see wherein the iniquities lie. But that the finger of scorn should be pointed at art alone seems invidious and shows want of breadth of view on the part of such a critic. Locke observes, "If we would speak of things as they are, we must allow that all the arts of rhetoric, besides order and clearness, all the figurative and artificial application of words, eloquence hath invented, are for nothing else but to insinuate wrong ideas, move passions, and they mislead the judgment, and so indeed are perfect cheats." Before judging of the relative merits of things we have to bear in mind the facts that "all ages alike are not to be measured by the same standard of purity, that in most cases to call attention to the nudity of art is more offensive than the nudity itself, and that all treasures of art are not to be considered bad, because some of them are vicious."

The foregoing remarks more appropriately apply to music which is the most abused of all arts, owing to its tendency to please all kinds of people. It is perfectly obvious that, to mere sound as such, no ethical value can be attached, any more than to a musical sound. No direct moral influence can be traced to what is called absolute music, (*i.e.*, music without words) which is vague. But applied music (*i.e.*, music with words) has considerable influence over human conduct in general. It is the latter that is most popular. Very few can understand the significance of music without words, not clothed in any kind of language. Such a music is meaningless and devoid of all purpose. The masses cannot see to what object it can be applied. But set to words, it has a powerful tendency to raise passion, to create pity, sorrow, joy and indignation. Music suitably worded, "makes a body of soldiers march without fatigue, renders muscular exercise in gymnasia pleasant, and for thousands of years, it has ministered to the physical delight of the dance. It inspires patriotism, political and social movement, teaches humanity and the lesser virtues. Pressed into the service of religion, it tunes and melts the heart of the worshippers. In the form of the folk-song, it keeps the heart fresh amid the trivial round, the common task."

Music is the purest type of art, since it does not pretend to increase the store of knowledge. "It has less common with knowledge and matter of fact, but more common than any other with the unknown of thought." The influence which music is believed to exercise on human actions by the generality of the people, should be more properly ascribed to words to which it is set, though at the same time music adds its quota of emotional excitement. The proper function of music is clearly described by Hadow. "The general function of music," he says, "may be stated in a single word—to be beautiful. It is the one art in which no human being can raise the false issue of a direct ethical influence. It allows absolutely no scope for confusion of thought. \* \* \* Of course all contemplation of pure beauty is ennobling, and in this sense music may have the same indirect moral bearing as a flower, or a sunset, or a Greek statue. But of immediate moral bearing it has none. It means nothing, it teaches nothing, it enforces no rule of life, and prescribes no system of conduct. All attempts to make it descriptive have ended in disaster; all attempts to confine it to mere emotional excitement have ended in degradation. Grant that nations and individuals of imperfect musical experience have not advanced beyond the emotional aspect: that Plato had to prohibit certain modes as intemperate, that governments have had to prohibit certain melodies as dangerous. In almost all such cases, it will be found that the music in question is vocal, and that more than half the stimulus is to present the highest attainable degree of pure beauty in sound." Perception of beauty in sound is the aim of music. Beyond this it does not carry us. This aspect of music has been frequently accentuated by great musicians. "In any class of society," says Hogarth, "the influence of music is salutary. Intemperance may be rendered more riotous and more vicious by the excitement of loose and profane songs, and music may be an auxiliary to the meretricious blandishments of the stage. But the best gifts of nature and art may be turned to instruments of evil; and music innocent in itself, is merely abused when it is conjoined with immoral poetry and the allurements of pleasure." "Music," says Dr. Burney, "may be applied to licentious poetry; but the poetry then corrupts the music, not the music, the poetry. It has often regulated the movements of lascivious dances; but such airs heard, for the first time, without the song or dance, could convey no impure

ideas to an innocent imagination: so that Montesquieu's assertion is still in force, that 'music is the only one of all the arts which does not corrupt the mind.' It will be seen from the foregoing that the ethical significance of music by itself is very little and that all the charges of corruption of which it is supposed to be the source are really traceable to words with which it is linked. Earnest inquirers who have had opportunities of listening to superior music—music of that engrossing kind which leaves no room for thought but which wraps up one in concentrated emotion—music whose pure beauty enraptures the soul and deadens it to all outside activities—have had no occasion to moralise on the true import of music. Music is independent of all moral significance. It rests by itself. The true function of music can be inferred from what is here applied to the musician. "The musician is a being apart. He takes no part in the conduct of state or city: he is not a philosopher: or a theologian; he is not a preacher or a teacher: he writes nothing for instruction or amusement: in the pleasures of mankind he assists, but having no share or part in them. His place is in the gallery: they cannot do without him: he cannot live without them: but he is a creature apart."

In the light of the above remarks, we may here discuss the aims of what is known as the anti-nautch movement, that phase of social reform which has been first inaugurated in this city, and by which every supporter pledges himself not to attend any gatherings where nautches are performed or invite them himself or do anything else that tends to encourage them. This is, however, a reform which does not seem to have taken a deep root among social reformers themselves, not to speak of that great body of men who are outside its pale. The purity movement, of which the anti-nautch crusade is only a concrete form, seems to have failed of that success which was anticipated for it. It is not an edifying spectacle to find one of its staunchest exponents complain of the apathy of the public and also of reformers themselves. He says that "one party traced it to a lurking hatred for the dancing girl; another discovered in it a crusade against music; to some it appeared to be a graceless exposure of a small national weakness; to some others it was no better than a quixotic attempt to cure the irremediable. Even among friends but few realised that to discourage nautch was to demand purity in other respects, and to decline to employ the

dancing-girl's entertainment was to disapprove open impurity wherever found. When therefore a seemingly superfluous memorial to a distant Government disclosed a personal promise to do likewise, enthusiasm cooled down and eloquence was hushed in not a few cases. When next it gradually came out that to condemn the nautch was to covenant for an earnest endeavour after purity in thought, speech, and act, many more shrank from so heavy a demand." Why all this round-about way of checking impurity of thought, speech and action? If the true object of reformers were the resuscitation of moral purity, to attack the nautch-girl would not certainly bring about the desired reform. Moralists with a more profound understanding of human nature have long striven after the same ideal. The Lilliputian efforts of the modern reformers seek the remedy in the wrong place, even granting to their credit, that they have properly diagnosed the evil. Even the direct and forcible ethical teaching of Marcus Aurelius could not regenerate the heathendom of his day; how could indirect preachings without practice of the pygmies of the present day be expected to carry any conviction to, and exercise any influence, on 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, require the powerful arm of an athletic Cyclops to manipulate and fuse."

The word nautch seems to be indiscriminately used both for dancing and singing, though its original significance was confined to dancing alone. Among us the art of dancing dates from very ancient days. The God Siva was fond of dancing, so much so that one of his names is Natarajan, i.e., the prince of dancers. The Sangita Ratnakara says that Brahma borrowed and summarised Patya (verbal expression) from the Rig-Veda; Abhinaya (pantomimic expression) from the Yajur Veda; Sangita (music) from the Sama Veda; and the Rasas (expressions of sentiment) from the Atharva Veda. The same is performed in all royal festivals and on social occasions. In those days dancing was believed to mitigate pain pertaining to organs, mental anxiety, absent-mindedness and physical pain, though modern reformers are deeply apprehensive of its deleterious influences. In Europe dancing of every description, not to speak of that form of it where males and females join in company (which, if it had been practised here, would have roused the righteous indignation of many a reformer) is being countenanced and encouraged. Hogarth

says "At this time (17th century) the favorite entertainments at the Court of France, were *ballets* which consisted of dancing with dramatic action and musical recitation." This form of ballet closely resembles our own mode of dancing. A critic observes, "Nautches are sometimes objected to by European moralists on the ground that the dancing girls who play the principal part in their performances are persons of immoral character. In this respect they resemble our opera-dancers who may, in many respects, be very respectable but who, as a class, are not regarded as models of severe virtue." Mr. Kaye in his book on Christianity in India, wrote, "In the 17th and 18th centuries, the nautch assumed a prominent place. Every traveller landing in India, as a matter of course, went to see a nautch. He admits that in our time nautches are decorous, and that there is nothing to offend the eye; that compared with the dances on the stage of a European theatre, they are propriety itself. There is nothing to object to as far as outward propriety is concerned." J. A. Dubois remarks, "At the same time, notwithstanding their (dancing girls) alluring demeanour, they cannot be accused of those gross indecencies which are often publicly exhibited by women of their stamp in Europe; particularly the exposure of the person and the lascivious airs which one would think capable of inspiring the most determined libertine with disgust: on the contrary, of all the women in India, the common girls, and particularly the dancers at the temples, are the most decently clothed. \* \* \* Neither can they be reproached with that impudent assurance exhibited in public by the Messalinas of Europe. Shameless as the dancing girls of India appear to be, they will not venture, upon any occasion, to stop a man in the streets, or to take any indecent liberty in public. And, on the other hand, a man who would take such liberties, even with a prostitute, so far from being applauded or joked with, by the spectators, as happens in some countries, would be obliged to hide his head for shame, and would be treated with marks of indignation." In spite of the degrading position of public women, no social puritans of the most civilised countries of Europe think of abstaining from attending the theatre. "No country can do away with the existence of actresses and public singers." E. B. Parks, author of 'Woman's work,' observes, "We now come to the one art in which women have, from first to last, achieved success, renown and emolument commensurate with

those of its male professors—the histrionic art. Who will award the palm between Garrick and Mrs. Siddons? The queens of the drama have swayed the world, and won for themselves the brightest honours. The fine voice, and the stately step, the intellectual discrimination and the enthusiastic mood,—all are taken advantage of and carried to their utmost perfection. The temple of histrionic fame has been fairly open to *women*, and queens of song have received in this country larger remuneration for their labour than has ever been given by way of payment to any man in the State."

Such has been the patronage accorded to women proficient in the histrionic art, and no resources were stinted to train them to perfection with a view to public enjoyment. In most civilized countries, even where family women are sufficiently enlightened and are, from their youth, taught singing and dancing, the people are not satisfied with their amateur performances but invariably hire on public occasions professional women to entertain them. Notwithstanding the immense progress of female education and training of females in all the latest arts and refinements of the age in England and other civilized countries, it is said that "brilliant professional genius is summoned to do all the singing, playing, talking, and reciting; while society merely sits still and listens. Trained talent has seized the brain of the world, and grown rich on the monopoly; as the merchant has seized the commerce and transmuted all they touch to gold. Society is frozen into a mere aggregate of passive recipients and listeners, much depressed by the consciousness of their own insignificance and inferiority; while the professionals receive the plaudits and the pay, and exult, with justifiable pride in triumphs fairly won by genius, talent and earnest study." Lady Wilde remarking on the wonderful seductive grace in voice, tone, intonation and movement, and deploring that they are very little cultivated, says that "these exquisite charms are almost wholly left to the professional artists who consequently rule mankind by their fascinations." Ideas of purity can never drive out professional artists from the public. They will continue to be the sole caterers of society and its most indispensable adjunct. Their low associations cannot prevent their public existence; nor tend to their extinction as a class in spite of the clapnet of dreamers. How shall we characterise the knowledge of the man who in his circumscribed vision, complains that "in

India alone and by no other civilized people is the thin veil of music, as a profession, supposed to fully cover the iniquity of a woman openly living a fast life?" This has been already answered when, in the foregoing pages, reference was made to opera-singers and dancing women in civilized countries. It is no doubt unfortunate that music, that ethereal art to which Confucius ascribes a great influence upon social life, should have fallen into the hands of professional women of questionable morality.

Philosophers say that prostitution was the first condition of women; concubinage, the second; and marriage, the third. In most civilized countries all the three co-exist. This institution of dancing women in India is only a relic of bygone times when all countries in their early stage of civilization counted upon them as a necessary adjunct to temple service and to royal paraphernalia. When a highly-gifted lady like Lady Cook thinks that "the inanity of ordinary wives is one of the chief causes of modern estrangement between married people," we cannot wonder that in those early days when education and general culture were at a low ebb and rigid tyranny over females was the order of the day, public women with highly-cultivated talents, refined manners and rare accomplishments should have attracted even men of learning and distinction. The courtesan Aspasia of Greece was approached by "grave matrons with their husbands" for enlightenment. Socrates sat at her feet and called her "his teacher and his mistress in oratory." Milo was the recognised concubine, chief wife and advisor of Pericles, "whose counsel he never regretted." "Cleopatra," whose exquisitely musical and flexible voice was compared by Plutarch to a many-stringed instrument, "was a woman of a most versatile wit, was the concubine first of one Roman general and next of another." In our own day no name is better known than that of Lady Hamilton. "A Lancashire peasant lass by birth, she became successively the concubine of a Naval Captain, a Baronet, the Hon'ble Chas. Greville and Sir William Hamilton." She was the only woman whom, Nelson, the hero of Trafalgar, loved to his last moments. Such has been the extraordinary influence exercised by these women. To this early influence should be ascribed the class of women in India whose professions were early differentiated and petrified them into separate classes.

It has been shown above that music and dancing are not

considered in the best civilized countries as degrading forms of amusement; how the professional class of singers and dancers came to play an important part in social recreations, notwithstanding their want of moral rectitude; how men of high intelligence, light and leading, showed their respect for genius, in spite of its lowly associations; and how in spite of accomplished family ladies, people were not satisfied with their amateur performances but always encouraged professional merit.

What after all is the attitude of Social Reformers with regard to female singers of our country? It is that music is completely disreputed by its unholy association with open immorality. There will be no difficulty in taking it for granted that music will be equally condemned, if it is linked with covert immorality,—under a system of make-believe which shuts its eyes and pretends to think the practice scarcely exists. Will it not be more manly to recognise the evil and combat it? Is it not cowardice to allow oneself to be hoodwinked with a similar state of things in other countries, simply because it is not there recognised as an institution?

We shall next analyse the objections raised against the employment of professional female singers. The most important grounds of objection are their beauty, refined manners and their accomplishments generally. If the supposed demoralizing influence of music is to be traced to beauty in female musicians, it can only be said that beauty in a female generally, independently of her other accomplishments, must be a source of the prevailing corruption for which no reformer attempts to suggest a remedy. It is a matter for serious regret that musical entertainments should be considered as a means of degenerating our educated men and that all their immoral instincts should be roused at first sight. The weakness of such men can only be sympathized with and such men are totally unfit to walk our streets, lest the very presence of a beautiful woman should have a bad influence. Emerson says "A beautiful woman is a practical poet, taming her savage mate, planting tenderness, hope, and eloquence in all whom she approaches." Beauty is better appreciated in woman than in man. The Mahomedans say "To Eve, God gave two thirds of all beauty." We cannot ignore the claims of beauty, which has a most paramount influence over us. Lady Wilde remarks that "Beauty reigns without effort, charms without trouble, fascinates without art. 'Beware of women,' exclaims a brilliant French



writer 'if they do not crown you, they will strangle you.' Yet reason can do little against the force of beauty; the first impulse, the irresistible instinct of man's nature is the homage to physical beauty. It has a mystic power that sweeps down all before it the strongest and the wisest."

Real lovers of music however have always paid homage to the best singers in spite of their beauty or other accidental circumstances. When we listen to ravishing strains of music from whichever sources they may proceed, male or female singers, beautiful or ugly, we approach them for their music. If persons are found loitering with a view to gratify their amatory tastes, we can only say that such incorrigible men are beyond redemption, and their sources of corruption have deeper origin than music halls. It is related that "Mahomed the Prophet talked to his wife Ayesha of the resurrection, and told her that, at the end of the world men and women would rise from their graves naked as when they were born. Ayesha observed that it would be highly improper for men and women to see each other like that. And Mahomed replied that, on the great day, they would have something else to do than to look at each other." Similarly when music is the purpose of entertainments, we fail to see how people with real interest in music can be led away by extraneous circumstances. Music is independent of personal charms or otherwise in a female. A musician writes, "Lady singers have been and are, for the most part, well-favored, many were beautiful; those of the stronger sex are also generally well-looking. But there have been instances of the reverse, and of the triumph of art over this drawback. Tacchinardi (Persiani's father) was so plain as to raise a coarse laugh when he first appeared in Italy, upon which he came to the footlights and said, 'I am here to be listened to, not to be looked at.' He *was* listened to and admired. Pisoni, the great contralto, was so ill-favored that she usually sent her portrait to the managers of theatres before making an engagement. She was nevertheless very famous. In about the year 1855, Carbieri-Nini, a well-known soprano in many parts, was the *prima donna assoluta* at the Scala. The opening opera was Verdi's 'Vespri Siciliani,' under the title of 'Giovanna di Guzman.' The heroine was a young girl, Barbiéri-Nini, who impersonated her, was very short and thickset, without the semblance of a waist, very ugly, marked with small-pox, and with the looks of about fifty-five. When she appeared,

there was the general coarse 'Oh, oh!' and laugh of the Milanese public. As she proceeded, however, attention became fixed upon the singing; a certain duet with the tenor made her an established favorite, and she remained so to the end of the Carnival. The Milanese, though unsparing in their censure, are immediately ready to recognise what is good; they will hiss a singer through nearly a whole evening, and yet a little bit, of a few notes only, well executed, will provoke a storm of applause." Female reformers, if any can be found, will, following their male brethren, naturally object to male singers on a similar ground of rousing the immoral instincts of their female audience by the personal charms of the male singers. Such a spectacle will be highly amusing, if not ridiculous. But the course of argument is what is suggested by social reformers themselves.

Says the same exponent of social reform, "We decline to be charmed by the murky music of maudlin, and immoral songs." The blissful ignorance of the resources of Hindu music, on the part of such a critic, is really pitiable. Musical compositions popular among us are of various kinds, the majority being devotional. 'The murky music' of the ignorant reformer, is probably practised only by maudlins who are never engaged for that purpose. Their knowledge of music, if they have any, is most contemptible, and they eke out their existence probably by entertaining reformers of the above kind, who have no opportunity to hear the best musicians of the country. Glees and Bacchanalian songs are found in every nation. To say that these form the source of entertainments in general on social occasions is preposterous to the highest degree. Such songs are not unfrequently sung by male musicians whom the hand of the reformer cannot approach. No reformer dreams of ostracizing such men. He can fight only with wind-mills and phantoms. Granting that there are indecent songs, is it for this reason that all good music should be avoided? "Is it an argument against honey to say that the bees of Tribi-zonde feed on poisonous flowers and distil poisonous honey? Are all flowers poisonous and even in the poisonous ones may there not be some virtue? In point of fact, the crimes that have been committed in the name of art, are not worse than those which have been wrought in the name of liberty, of law, and of religion? Is freedom vile because to reach it a nation has to swim through blood? Is law bad because it is the instrument of tyrants? Is religion vain, because the cross has been sharpened into a dagger,



and the dew of Hermon is sometimes changed for the dew of Ben Nevis? And is art a low and coarse thing because sometimes it is seen stooping low and grovelling in the mire? Not so. Give us liberty with all its follies and its waste of life; law with all its tyrannies and its waste of time; religion notwithstanding its excesses; art, glorious despite its devilry."

The charge that female singers should be discouraged, because they sing indecent songs (which they do only at the instance of their male audience) is a highly flimsy one. An audience composed of respectable men can direct them to sing songs which are well-known for the beauty of their music and which are not clothed in flippant or coarse language. But to condemn all good music on this score is puerile, and only indicates want of ear for and sympathy with, good music. Jeffrey, in one of his essays, remarking upon the arguments urged against the hearing of women singing, because there are some obscene and bad women which it would be improper for young persons to hear, says that "they are obviously capable of being used with exactly the same force, against their learning to read, because there are immoral and heretical works which may possibly fall into their hands. As to the other objection that theatrical amusements produce too high a degree of excitement for the necessary sedativeness of a good moral man, the music is not so "extremely abiding" as to make men neglect their business and their duties to run after it."

The fuss about the anti-naught movement has been productive of much less good than was anticipated. Even reformers themselves admit that earnest men who would have helped in the reform were thwarted by the rigorous exactions of promise and action which were insisted on. To put down immorality and root out immoral institutions are no doubt commendable tasks but the means adopted have proved to be of a suicidal character and have tended more to estrange sympathizers with the movement than to invite zealous men into their fold. The weak side of the suggested reform consists in condemning all music, sung by female singers because it is associated with an immoral class of women. But sympathy for good music wherever it is found, is so inherent in human nature that we cannot do without it. A critic quoted above remarks "it may be that the benefit conferred on society by a class of tender, refined, thoughtful women, secluded from its rougher paths and grosser problems is inestimable. We can hardly imagine what a civilized country would

be like without such a class of women, for they have existed in all ages enriched by the higher forms of literature and art. The benefit they confer does largely exist in certain directions, and might under certain moral conditions be realized for the whole upper and middle classes, if the theory of a material provision for all educated women were humanly possible, *which it is not.*" It is this false step of dissuading all lovers of music from listening to professional singers that has brought about the failure of the movement. On the other hand, intelligent men are not wanting who would go the length of insisting on professional genius, being patronised by the state and preserving it from low cares, for, in the opinion of a critic, "they supply the life, the phosphorus, the divine fire, the grace, beauty, and charm of existence," and the nation in return should relieve them from all the mean burdens of prosaic and parochial claims."

Unfortunately in this country professional singers belong to a disreputable class. For the sake of the art we make up our minds to ignore their position which an early state of society imposed and which is now as useless to condemn as to find fault with. A sagacious animal like the elephant for its hugeness and ugliness. Such a class with all its venialities was considered a necessary adjunct to society in those days. Modern ideas of purity, though entertained by a microscopic few, condemn it indiscriminately without suggesting remedies. The dictum of 'morals before art or pleasure,' very few will be prepared to endorse in actual practice. We are not prepared to idealize on that state of society where this institution as such finds no place and where music and dancing shall have been relegated to that 'strictly pure' band of women who may study and practise them as a profession, but we do make bold to say that this Utopian way of thinking is least calculated to encourage arts without which human existence is impossible. The question of bringing about the extinction of bad institutions which have existed for ages by one stroke of the ideal reformer's magic wand, may appear to be easily realizable, but the only cure that is contemplated by them must come not from the most illogical and impractical reforms but must proceed from 'individual character.' M. F. Ossoli remarks that "this author (George Sand), beginning like the many an assault upon bad institutions, and external ills, yet deepening the experience through comparative freedom, sees at least that the only efficient remedy must come from individual character.

These bad institutions, indeed, it may always be replied, prevent individuals from forming good character, therefore, we must remove them. Agreed; yet keep steadily the higher aim in view. Could you clear away all the bad forms of society, it is vain, unless the individual begins to be ready for better. There must be a parallel movement in these two branches of life. And all the rules left by Moses availed less to further the best life than the living example of one Messiah." Mrs. Fawcett writes, "Mark Woolstonecraft exposes the insincerity of those who profess zeal for virtue by pointing the finger of scorn at the woman who has transgressed, while her partner who may have tempted her by money, ease and flattery to her doom, is received with every mark of consideration and respect. \* \* \* \* \* The two sexes must in this, as in nearly every other respect, rise or link together. Unchastity in men means unchastity in women and the cure for the ills which unchastity brings with it is not to be found in penitentiaries, but in a truer measure of justice as regards the responsibility of both sexes, in opening to woman a variety of honourable means of earning a living, and in developing in men and women self-government and a sense of their responsibility to each other, themselves, their children and the nation."

Moral espionage has always been, productive of the most disastrous consequences. General demoralization is said to be its first result. It is said that this has been the case in Russia from a long time, in the Venetian Republic under the later Doges, in France under the Second Empire and in England under Cromwell. Roman censors interfered in the most private and domestic affairs of the citizens. "Dress, food, table decoration, general conduct, religion and morals, all came within the scope of their authority, and yet the people continued deteriorating from bad to worse. And it was little better in the palmiest days of Greece." If espionage is to be enforced, it should be alike applicable to both the sexes. Dr. Croswell observes, "Take as an instance, the sin of *incontinence*. Sometimes the woman is the seducer, more often the man; yet she alone in every case must bear the cross and the shame, whilst her accomplice in guilt remains too often the sported pet of the world's forbearance. If this indeed be so heinous a sin as the canon law would have it, and society be minded to condemn, let the penalties be mutual, and inexorable as the laws of Draco. If, on the other hand, the divine property of forgiveness and mercy be invoked, let it not be

strained unequally and always against the female transgressor. \* \* \* \* \* We at least protest with our whole soul against the doctrine which makes woman a scape-goat to bear the sins of the people, while the popular conscience is content with saying "Fie thou gallant!" to the man, and society hugs him penitent or otherwise, to its bosom, without shame, indignation or compunction. It is a bastard charity which thus violates its own legend upon the flimsy pretext of a selfish expediency and renders us altogether unworthy of the high standard which we aspire to carry in the van of civilization."

It has been remarked that "abstractions have never supplied principles of action." The dream of our social reformers cannot be better characterized. The reforms suggested are more of a negative character. "Thou shalt not" predominates over 'Thou shalt' as observed by Mr. Mill. They are not constructive reforms which can take root. They try to demolish long-standing institutions at one breath without being in a position to find others to take their place. Their righteous indignation would sweep away what sober reason demands a more dispassionate consideration, and a more patient inquiry. They are fired with hopes of reform. But they do not, or cannot realize that they are surrounded by 'immoveable limitations.' To quote Mr. Emerson once more, "Moreover so deep is the foundation of the existing social system, that it leaves no one out of it. We may be partial, but Fate is not. All men have their root in it. You who quarrel with the arrangements of society, and are willing to embroil all, and risk the indisputable good that exists, for the chance of better, live, move and have your being in this, and your deeds contradict your words every day. For as you cannot jump from the ground without using the resistance of the ground, nor put the boat to sea without shoving from the shore, nor attain liberty without rejecting out obligation, so you are under the necessity of using the actual order of things, in order to disuse it; to live by it, whilst you wish to take away its life. The past has baked your loaf, and in the strength of its bread you would break up the oven. But you are betrayed by your own nature."

We have already exceeded the limits which we proposed to ourselves in the beginning. The thrilling influence of music seems to be foreign to the hide-bound nature of reformers. Have they felt at any moment what a great man felt when he heard music? "With the first note of the flute or horn, of the first strain of a

song, we quit the world of common sense, and launch on the sea of ideas and emotions." I shall now take leave of my reformer friends with the hope that they will give up their wild goose chase, and will equip themselves with all the necessary information and knowledge of the details with which they begin to tackle questions affecting the very foundations of society without the requisite patience and will take to practical reforms which may bear fruit without subverting society as it is. I shall only quote the following for their further edification, as bearing more closely on the subject of present discussion, "The science of musical sounds, though it may have been appreciated, as appealing only to the ear, and affording nothing more than a momentary and fugitive delight, may be, with justice, considered as the art which unites corporal with intellectual pleasure, by a species of enjoyment which gratifies sense without weakening reason, and which, therefore, the great may cultivate without debasement, and the good enjoy without depravation."

#### A MUSICAL CRITIC.

#### RELIGION AND ETHICS.

THE question of the utility of Religious education in schools as a means of promoting moral conduct, i.e., from a purely ethical point of view is the burning question of the hour. The three great prelates of India have unburdened their hearts on the subject. The rulers of the land have spoken their minds on it. The highest intellects have discussed the question. And yet we are no nearer the solution of the problem at the end of all this "noise and smoke" than we were at the beginning. One reason why all this tremendous noise and fuss have ended in merely emphasising the evil, without throwing any light on it, is because they have all been, in the words of the good Bishop of Madras, "playing upon the surface," without "going to the root of it." The importance of the Lord Bishop's speech at the Teacher's College lies in what he has left unsaid by what he has said. "If the moral teacher is to succeed, he must know and purify the deepest springs of moral conduct." With the instance of Bishop Welldon before him, the experienced Bishop of Madras did not feel encouraged to venture further and attempt, "to describe how this can be done." That he could not do, without bringing on his devoted head the malediction of a host of Sir Lepel Griffins, who with flippant tongue will animadvert on the conduct of these earnest souls who rising above the petty grandeur of regulating and checking Begums' quarrels and Rajahs' intrigues, have the courage to look an evil in its face and try to grapple with the problem of solving it in an honest spirit, however unsuccessfully it may be, for the time being. I have often read Sir Lepel's eloquent tirades against the educated Hindu dabbling in politics without having fitted himself for the task. Oh! how I wish he had held his tongue and observed silence on this occasion instead of dabbling in religion, a subject to which he has probably given the least thought if one may judge him by the remarks he made on the occasion of Dr. Duncan's lecture before the East India Association in Westminster Hall. Of Dr. Duncan's lecture itself I need say nothing. It is a characteristic performance of the lecturer. Dr. Duncan is ever for smooth sailing and would scrupulously

avoid entering into troubled waters. That he has done in his own inimitable and masterly way ; but towards a solution of the problem confronting us it contributes little or nothing, and this task he evidently did not attempt.

The question is not whether the present secular education indirectly infuses into the minds of youths the principles of religion and ethics, but whether or not the true basis of all character is religion, and if this be admitted, whether that foundation ought not to be "well and truly laid" before the super-structure is attempted to be built. The fact that it is extremely difficult to lay a true foundation like this has nothing to do with the judgment that has inevitably to be passed on the structure as a whole. That you have to build on shifting sand, where it is difficult, nay, impossible to lay a true and lasting foundation, may excite the sympathy of your Judges in your difficulties, but will hardly influence them to pronounce the structure as soundly built. And that such a structure has been able *apparently* to stand against tide and time to some extent does not justify you in claiming success for your efforts. Your success so far is only *apparent* and *not real*. And no engineer will plume himself on the apparent success of his undertaking when he knows that the foundation is placed on shifting sand which he could not rely on. Success so far is only accidental and not quite deserved, and it would be well if the builders of the present system of godless education which they euphemistically style secular education—in ignorance of the perfect unity and harmony that pervades the whole—will possess their souls in patience until their system has stood the test of a real crisis in the affairs of men, which must sooner or later overtake a country, as it so often does individuals. Individuals are but units of a nation and what upsets an individual in a time of crisis must upset the nation also on a similar occasion. That the crisis is not yet come is the consolation of the detractors as it is the opportunity of the supporters to proclaim the success of the present system of public education.

To try now to grapple with the question in earnest. What is Religion and what is Ethics? "Religion" as defined by a German authority "means the conscious relation between man and God and the expression of that relation in human conduct." A finer definition of it will be by substituting *motive* for *conduct* in the above definition. "The Science of Ethics,"

according to Professor Huxley, "professes to furnish us with a reasoned rule of life ; to tell us what is right action and why it is so." The development of the ethical side of man is beautifully delineated by Professor Huxley. "Man, the animal, in fact, has worked his way to the headship of the sentient world and has become the superb animal which he is, in virtue of his success in the struggle for existence." "For his successful progress, as far as the savage state, man has been largely indebted to those qualities which he shares with the ape and the tiger ; his exceptional physical organisation ; his cunning, his sociability, his curiosity and his imitativeness ; his ruthless and ferocious destructiveness when his anger is roused by opposition." In proportion as man has passed from anarchy to social organisation and in proportion as civilization has grown in worth, these deeply ingrained serviceable qualities have become defects. Hitherto he has risen in the scale of progress by conquering the other animals of the creation ; and now he has to struggle with the animal in him to raise himself in the scale of civilization. He would be only too pleased to see 'the ape and tiger die,' as Professor Huxley felicitously puts it : "But they decline to suit his convenience ; and the unwelcome intrusion of these boon companions of his hot youth into the ranged existence of civil life adds pains and griefs, innumerable and immeasurably great, to those which the cosmic progress necessarily brings on the mere animal." The civilized man brands all these ape and tiger promptings with the name of sins and punishes many of the acts that flow from them as crimes, and "in extreme cases he does his best to put an end to the survival of the fittest of former days by axe and rope."

We have traced the progress of the ethical man so far, under the able guidance of an infallible authority in material science. But man is not satisfied. He longs to attain perfection. His struggle for existence, for the supply of his physical wants, dwindles into insignificance, compared with the pains and penalties that arise out of "the malady of thought." To the struggle for bare existence, succeeds the struggle to make existence intelligible and to bring the order of things into harmony with the moral sense of man. The latter struggle as the former is unending and "for the thinking few, becomes keener with every increase of knowledge and with every step towards the realization of a worthy ideal of life." Thus we

see that man, the 'savage—the superb animal—not content with his supremacy over the rest of the creation, pushes forward in the way of progress by developing an ethical side to his character, which involves killing 'the ape and tiger tendencies' in him; and, in this struggle he finds that he has need of the help of a higher intelligence just as in his earlier struggle he has succeeded by the higher intelligence which he possessed over the rest of the animal creation. Material science that has helped him so far in the conquest of the world is helpless in enabling him to conquer the animal in him—the little self—the tendencies of the ape and the tiger which has helped him so far as to achieve undisputed supremacy over the whole objective world. Here the well-developed ethical man finds himself on the borders of his conquered domains—the material plane, and sighs for more and even greater conquests. He is in sight of the "wicket gate" and the "narrow path" and he wants to lead his old armies into them, but alas! he finds it impossible. Hence-forward his old weapons and armies would be of no help to him. On the contrary they are his greatest hindrances and if he has the sense to see and the spirit of renunciation to give them up and lay down his arms and seek entrance in the humble spirit of love and reverence, laying aside entirely the domineering spirit which caused fear and violence, he finds his path of still further progress onward which though narrow is straight and leads him on and on until he is in sight of his Heavenly Father who made him after His own Image and who is ready with extended arms to receive and bless his prodigal son and make him His own for ever and ever, aye, through eternity, by absorbing him unto or making him one with Himself—a sight for Gods and men to witness "if they have eyes to see."

The path of man's progress by a development of his ethical side has taken us to the "wicket gate" and "narrow path" which leads him on and on straight to the presence of and absorption with God. Thus we find that man the animal, develop into the ethical man, for which he has to lay down the weapons that served him to achieve success so far. Similarly the ethical man in his onward progress finds himself at the end of that stage compelled to lay down that which he cherished most till then; and then he finds himself in another stage of progress, that of the spiritual man. At each stage man finds that the very weapons that served him to achieve success at one stage, turns at the next

stage of progress to be his greatest hindrances. Modern Science enables us to watch him through the first two stages of progress—the savage and the ethical state. And so far at least, there is no doubt that the very instruments of success in one stage turn out to be the instruments of failure and hindrance at the next stage. For we have it on the best and greatest authority that "Whatever difference of opinion may exist among experts, there is a general consensus that the ape and tiger method of the struggle for existence are not reconcilable with sound ethical principles."

Now a word to those who pin their faith to moral codes and text books for the improvement of the moral conduct of students. Let us first see how these ethical systems are framed. The supporters of secular education often make too much of intellectual culture. This however has been found not to answer the purpose. And this statement we make on the highest authority. Professor Huxley says "Even purely intellectual progress brings about its revenges. Problems settled in a rough and ready way by rude men, absorbed in action, demand renewed attention and show themselves to be still unread riddles when men have time to think. The beneficent demon, doubt, whose name is legion and who dwells amongst the tombs of old faiths, enters into mankind and thenceforth refuses to be cast out. Sacred customs, venerable domes of ancestral wisdom, hallowed by tradition and professing to hold good for all time, are put to the question, cultured reflection asks for their credentials; *judges them by his own standards*; finally, gathers those of which it approves into ethical systems, *in which the reasoning is rarely much more than a decent pretext for the adoption of forgone conclusions.*" The *Italics* are mine.

The conception of justice is one of the oldest and most important elements in such systems, and this idea of justice with the advancement of civilisation, "underwent a gradual sublimation from punishment and reward according to acts, to punishment and reward according to desert; or in other words, according to motive. Righteousness, that is, action from right motive, not only became synonymous with justice, but the positive constituent of innocence and the very heart of goodness." Such is the development of the idea of righteousness in the ethical man. And man from the earliest times of the Hindu sages, on to Christ Jesus and St. Paul down to our own time has found that

his notion of righteousness availeth him not in understanding God's Righteousness and his finding out this fact is the first and greatest act of wisdom which gives him entry into the Kingdom of God, by communion with Whose Holy Spirit, he learns to look at things with new eyes and perceive complete harmony reign where there was but constant war and strife when he saw things with his mortal eyes—no matter physical or intellectual. Such a great intellect like St. Paul's was blind to this until a touch of the Spirit deprived him of his mortal eyes while it opened his spiritual eyes. We are now standing on the threshold of the spiritual world—the subject of true religion which according to the Griffin School is forbidden ground to those who are charged as rulers of this vast continent with the moral and material well-being of three hundred and odd millions of population. I do not say that the Government should interfere with religious convictions of sects or individuals, but that the question of religious education should on that account be a tabooed subject for discussion by those who have the well-being of this vast population, is to me incomprehensible and to many will be intolerable. The remedy is not in the teaching of this religion or that religion dogmatically, but in so aiming to touch the soul as to awaken it—by what means or methods it is immaterial. If I give the go by to means and methods, it is because, in the hands of a truly religious teacher, one who has experienced and realised the truth in oneself, these difficulties will vanish as the mist before the rays of the rising sun. And if you cannot get such a teacher to teach the "mystery of Godliness" as it has been truly called, no amount of moral text-books and maxims and no teachings of ethical systems will answer the purpose and the educational system as at present pursued must stand condemned for ever as one based on insecure foundation which cannot be expected to stand the rising tide of human passions—the ape and tiger tendencies in man—which must as long as they remain with him keep him in the position of a "superb animal" and no more. One word more and I have done with this phase of the question.

"An orderly life so far as others are able to observe us," says Pally, "is now and then produced by prudential motives or by dint of habit; but without seriousness there can be no religious principle at the bottom, no course of conduct from religious motives; in a word there can be no religion." I make a present of

this quotation, with another from Washington, in which he says: "Let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion." This ought to give enough food for reflection to those who wish to approach the question in the right spirit and "go to the root of it" as the Lord Bishop of Madras hinted the other day. If there is general agreement so far the difficulty in the solution of the problem is more than half surmounted and the opportunity for surmounting the other half of the difficulty will naturally present itself as time and circumstances are ripe for action.

ANANDA SHRAMA,  
TRIPLICANE.

C. V. SWAMINATHA AIVAR.

## INDIAN DISABILITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA

REUTER recently telegraphed that Mr. Chamberlain replying to a question in the House of Commons, said that it was not desirable at present to make representations to Natal and the Cape in favor of the revision of the restrictions and grievance of the Indians. Mr. Chamberlain is also reported to have informed the House that Lord Milner had intimated that he hoped soon to send a dispatch dealing with the disabilities of Indians in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony.

The position of British Indian subjects in South Africa has been claiming the attention of the Imperial and the Indian Governments for some years; but hitherto it has been found impossible to solve the question of their status, as all the energies and resources of the Empire have been directed to the prosecution of a bloody and costly war. But with the near prospect of peace being restored in these portions of His Majesty's Dominions, the time is not far distant when Parliament will be asked to determine once for all the status of British Indian subjects in all the states of the Empire.

The real question at issue is thus stated by the London *Times*: "May the British Indians when they leave India have the same status before the law as other British subjects enjoy? May they or may they not go freely from one British possession to another and claim the rights of British subjects in allied states? The Indian Government and the Indians themselves believe that it is in South Africa that this question of their status must be determined. If they secure the position of British subjects in South Africa, it would be almost impossible to deny it to them elsewhere. If they fail to secure that position in South Africa it will be difficult for them to attain it elsewhere."

Another aspect of the question has been pointed out by the Indians, and this is, that no legislation that has for its avowed object the repulsion of India's surplus population from any part of the British dominions, should be permitted. Each Census shows that the Indian population is increasing by leaps and bounds; and an outlet must necessarily be found for the surplus

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population. And what can be more natural or desirable than that the British Colonies which have plenty of capital, and need on labour to develop them should find relief in that direction from India?

The 100,000 Indians in South Africa believe that their interests are safe in the hands of Lord Curzon, and they trust to him to fight for and obtain the recognition of their status. It is to be hoped also that all the Indian Journals, English and Native alike, will take up the question seriously and attempt to enlist the sympathy of the Government on behalf of their fellow subjects across the seas.

It remains now to enquire briefly the nature of the grievances of the British Indian subjects in South Africa. In speaking of South Africa we shall only refer to Cape Colony and Natal (which includes Zululand)—both of which enjoy responsible Government, to Transvaal, to the Orange River Colony and to Rhodesia.

As far as the Indians are concerned, however, Natal is the most important part of South Africa. A few particulars regarding Natal will not be out of place. Natal lies on the South East Coast of Africa, and is bounded on the North East by Zululand (which since 1897 forms part of the Colony), on the North by the Transvaal, by the Orange River Colony and Basutoland on the West, and by the sea board on the East. It was discovered on Christmas Day 1497 by Vasco de Gama, and was named by him *terra natalis*. The population of the Colony (including Zululand) consists of nearly one million inhabitants, of whom 60,000 are of European descent, 800,000 are Zulus, and the rest British Indian immigrants. Of these British Indians some are serving their indenture. A small portion, about 5,000, are independent immigrants and are engaged as traders. The larger portion of the Indians, however, are free Indians who having completed their term of indentured service, are now employed as clerks, shop-keepers, school masters, artisans, farmers and servants. The immigrants are drawn chiefly from the Madras and Bengal Presidencies, and to a less degree from the Presidency of Bombay also.

The Colony since 1893 has been self-governing. The executive is in the hands of a Cabinet of 6 members at the head of which is the Governor appointed by the Crown. The Cabinet course is drawn from the political party in power. The legisla-

ture is composed of a *Legislative Assembly* of 39 members who are elected for 4 years by voters having property qualification of £50 or paying £10 rent per annum, or having an income of £96 and of a *Legislative Council* of 12 members appointed for 10 years by the Governor. The franchise was granted by the Royal Charter of 1850 to every adult male possessing the first of the above qualifications, not being a native of South Africa. The Constitution Act of Natal, 1892, which granted responsible Government to Natal, defined also the respective rights of the Local Legislature and the Crown with regard to legislation. All local Acts require the assent of the Governor; and the Crown in certain cases has reserved to itself the right of disallowing any Act within two years after it has become law with the Governor's consent. There are yet some other Acts which can only become laws after having previously received the sanction of the Crown.

Natal is naturally a very fertile country, but its development was impeded owing to the want of labour, the native Zulu being far too indolent to work. In 1860 "when the progress and almost the existence of the Colony hung in the balance," the assisted immigration of British Indians was decided upon, the Colony making a grant of £10,000 towards the cost of importation of the immigrants; and a Protector of Immigrants was also appointed whose duty it was to look after the interests of the Indians. The Indians are chiefly employed as labourers in the Tea and Sugar industries, and as coolies on the Railway and in the Municipalities. The towns are entirely dependent on the Indians for the supply of vegetables.

As to the result of the immigration of the Indians one distinguished colonist has said—"Indian immigration brought prosperity, prices rose, people were no longer content to grow or sell produce for a song." Another eminent Natalian has testified that the Indians had made Natal "the Garden of South Africa."

The restrictive legislation affecting the Indians in Natal began with the year 1894 when the responsible Government abolished the grant of £10,000 referred to above. The attempts made in Natal and the other neighbouring states to lower the status of the British Indian practically date from this period. The various grievances of the Indians, based on class legislation, may be thus stated seriatim.

1. *Franchise.* Till 1893 all British Indian adult males who had property qualifications specified above possessed equally

with the Colonists full electoral rights. The first act of the responsible Government in Natal was to pass a Bill in 1894, which, while leaving the electoral rights of Asiatics untouched, provided that no further extension of the franchise would be made to them. The reason alleged for passing such a law, was that Asiatics were not accustomed to the franchise rights; but the real purpose of the Bill was to degrade the Indian to the level of the Kafir. Petitions to the local Parliament having been fruitless, the representations made to the Home Government resulted in the withdrawal of the Bill, and its replacement by one which excluded from the franchise such persons whose native countries did not possess elective representative institutions founded on the Parliamentary franchise. This Bill, obviously, had the same effect as its predecessor, in denying the right of citizenship to British Indians, as India did not possess representative institutions of the required character.

2. Till 1893 the Indian immigrants were required to serve only for a period of 5 years according to the terms of their indenture; after which term they were free to settle down in the Colony or to return to India. In that year the Colonial legislature passed an Act providing that all Indian immigrants who, on the expiry of their term of indenture, refused to bind themselves to serve for a further indefinite period should return to India.

3. Every coloured person is prohibited from being out at night after 9 o'clock without a pass. There is also a law which requires every Indian to produce his pass when required. This measure is ostensibly intended to detect deserters, but really operates to circumscribe the freedom of the Indian.

4. The Indians are prohibited from travelling by tramcars and first and second class Railway compartments, and from using the hotels and public baths.

The above restrictions are common to all the Colonies alike, but there are a few peculiar to certain of those states. In Zululand the gold mining laws make it criminal for an Indian to buy or possess gold from the mines. In Cape Colony the Indians, who amount to 10,000, are prohibited from walking on the foot paths and compelled to live in specified locations. The latter was the case in the Transvaal also. In Rhodesia the Indians have been refused trade licenses. In the Transvaal they were excluded from the operation of the clauses which give British subjects trading



and property rights. There were similar restrictions in the Orange River Colony also.

It is clear from what has been stated above that the legislation affecting the status of the 100,000 Indians in the different states of South Africa is purely class legislation based on jealousy of an alien race. The Colonists allege that if the Indians are granted full rights of citizenship they may ultimately swamp the European electors. In reply to this the Indians state that considering the property qualification there is no fear that the Indians will ever swamp the European voters. As a matter of fact there are not more than three or four hundred Indians who possess the franchise. The Indians allege that the source of all the restrictive legislation is the feeling that the Indian is more successful in competition and lives on less than the poorer portion of the white Colonists.

It is obvious that the position of the Indians in South Africa is degrading and unbearable, and that immediate steps should be taken by the Imperial Government to obtain, both in South Africa and the other Colonies of the Empire, the recognition of the status of the Indians as British subjects. We look for the day when a native of India can travel all the wide world over, enjoying in full the rights and status of a British citizen.

"HISTORICUS."

## THE SEVENTEENTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

Those who agree with Sir William Wedderburn in thinking the Indian National Congress to be "unmitigated good in its origin, objects, and its methods," the phenomenal success of its last session held in the Metropolis of the Indian Empire in the first year of the new century and of the new reign must have been peculiarly gratifying, coming as it did after perhaps the poorest and least successful session of the whole series, the Lahore Congress of 1900. In the splendid arrangements of the Calcutta Reception Committee, in the vast mass of people that wended their way to the beautiful pavilion in the Beadon Square to pour forth their hearts' blessings on a movement that opens a large vista of future glory and prosperity to their native land, in the large number of delegates that went to their post of duty at great sacrifice of time, labour and money, and in the wonderful success that attended the Reception Committee in the collection of funds for the Congress, was to be witnessed the undiminished and eager enthusiasm of the educated classes for the National Congress; while in the magnificent Presidential address of Mr. Dinshaw Eduljee Wacha, in the soul-stirring orations of W. C. Banerjee, Pheroseshah Mehta, Surendra Nath Banerjee, Lal Mohan Ghose and Kali Charan Banerjee, and in the high quality of most of the speeches of the other speakers was seen, for the thousandth time, the astonishing progress Indians have made alike in their grasp of the genius of the English language and in the principles of political economy, with special reference to their application to India. If it could be shown that in all the matters in which the Congress in its earlier years met with adverse criticism at the hands of the Anglo-Indian press and its other opponents, to answering which criticism past Presidents of the Congress thought it necessary to devote considerable portions of their addresses, the last Congress was all that could be desired, a strong, almost incontestable case will have been made out to show that it was exceptionally successful. As regards the charge of sedition that was frequently brought against it, this was laid low long ago; and to-day even the *Englishman* newspaper feels constrained to admit that "recent events have shown that the people

of India are attached to the rulers by bonds of loyalty that it would take a good deal to loosen. Even those who pretend to be somewhat sceptical as to the beneficence of British rule, agitate only by constitutional methods," continues your contemporary, "and are themselves the leaders of movements designed to bring the East into closer contact with the West. It short it can no longer be said with any degree of truth that we hold India by the sword." With regard to the charge of immoderation of tone, why, even the Jingo press of England had no alternative but to confess that the tone of Mr. Wacha's address as well as of the resolutions passed was almost unexceptionable. Another defect of the Congress movement, our critics used to say, 'was' that the aristocracy of the country studiously kept aloof from it, and it was pointed out that they being the natural leaders of society, their aloofness did not entitle the Congress to a hearing. But this year a territorial magnate, scion of an historic house. His Highness the Maharajah Jagadindra Nath Roy Bahadur of Nattore was Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered an address which breathed enthusiastic admiration for the Congress in every syllable, and gave even a more substantial proof of his sympathy by the princely contribution of Rs. 10,000 in aid of its funds. And among other leading members of the "old hereditary aristocracy," the Maharajah of Mymensingh, the Maharajah of Cutch Behar, the Maharajah of Cassimbazar, and Rajah Benoy Krishna Deb Bahadur, all showed more or less active sympathy with it. And the crowning indictment was made, our opponents thought, when the fact of Mussulman opposition was trotted forth in the orthodox manner year after year and the Congress was labelled a "Hindu Congress." We do not conceal from ourselves the melancholy fact that there is a considerable section of our Mahomedan brethren who have, for the reasons so admirably explained by Mr. R. M. Sayani in his Presidential address at the Calcutta Congress of 1896, always fought shy of the movement. Nor do we ignore the fact that some of even those who at one time belonged to our camp, like for instance Mr. Hamid Ali Khan of Lucknow and Mr. Sheer-fuddin of Patna, have lately declared themselves to be neutral in their attitude. But when out of a little over 1,000 delegates to the last Congress, more than two hundred belonged to the Islamic persuasion, bearing the same proportion to the total number that the Mahomedan population of India bears to the total population

of the country, it is hard to place much faith in the too often reiterated protestations of Mahomedan unfriendliness. In all respects, a new era in Congress annals appears to have begun with the last Congress, and it is for those who have stood by the movement through good report and through evil report, in sunshine and in storm, during the last sixteen years and advanced it to its present stage, to redouble their efforts and make it the potent instrument of still greater good in the political and industrial regeneration of our luckless land. I shall now proceed to deal with a few salient features of the Calcutta Session and see how far it effectually did its duty and wherein it failed and showed that there was room for improvement in its work.

If, as I have said, the seventeenth Congress was a remarkable one in several ways, in no respect was this distinguishing feature seen to better purpose than in the masterly address of its President. For long has the Congress been led by Mr. Wacha in its protests against the economic and financial blunders of the Government of India; and Mr. Wacha's knowledge of details, as was well said, is surpassed only by his zeal for the public good. At the very first Congress at Bombay in 1885, Mr. Wacha made an elaborate speech to prove that "the proposed increase in the Military expenditure of the Empire is unnecessary, and, regard being had to the revenues of the Empire and the existing circumstances of the country, excessive," and the succeeding year, he had charge of a resolution which declared that the Congress "regards with the deepest sympathy, and views with grave apprehension, the increasing poverty of vast numbers of the population of India." Ever since that date, there was no other Indian politician, always excepting Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, who has laboured harder or more unceasingly than Mr. Wacha to drive home this terrible fact of Indian poverty to the minds of our rulers or who has deeper convictions on this problem. And no wonder that in his Presidential address, the "Fawcett of India," as Mr. Wacha was aptly styled by some one, took a comprehensive survey of the whole situation and indicated the plague-spots in the administration with an ability, resource and statesmanship that are at once the wonder and admiration of the friends and the despair of the opponents, of the sacred cause the National Party have at heart. In the language of one of the most eminent Indians of the present generation, the principal complaint of thinking Indians has always

been that there is no responsible government for India at all. And Mr. Wacha struck the key-note of his address when he referred to this basal defect of British Indian Government. "What we have to ask is," he said, "whether there is any responsibility with any authority whatever in this serious matter? Or is it still the case, as was stated years ago, by John Bright in one of his memorable speeches, that in India it would seem that there are three kinds of responsibility, namely, 'the question of divided responsibility, of concealed responsibility, and of no responsibility whatever.' And it is to this irresponsible, and hence unnatural, system of our administration that we have ultimately to trace all our administrative, legislative, financial and economic woes. It is part of the Divine arrangement that where there is a privilege there ought to be a corresponding responsibility; and wherever this natural arrangement is upset and too much power is centred in the hands of an individual or body of individuals without his or their being held accountable for his or their actions to some superior authority, evil consequences have been and are bound to be the inevitable result. In India our lot has been to live under an irresponsible Government, and so long as we shall be content to live under this vicious form of administration without seriously endeavouring to get the whole system modified on rational lines, we have no right to complain if the system has ended in economic disaster. Does any body who is both honest and intelligent seriously contend that the administration is not irresponsible? To him I would reply in the lucid words of the late lamented Mr. George Yule. Referring to the differences of opinion that arose sometime ago in high places about the respective powers of the Secretary of State, his Council and the Government of India, he said that "the present position then is this: the Government of India has no power: the council in London has no power; the House of Commons has the power, but it refuses or neglects to exercise it." Or it amounts to this, that for mischief every one from a police constable upwards has immense powers, but to do good all high authorities plead inability or are unwilling. As for the House of Commons, as Mr. Yule himself put it in the very next sentence, "the 650 odd members who were to be the palladium of India's rights and liberties have thrown 'the great and solemn trust of an inscrutable Providence' back upon the hands of Providence to be looked after as Providence itself

thinks best." It is really not a situation with which educated Indian public opinion can be reconciled or which has the elements of stability in it. The Government of India is avowedly not responsible to the people of India, its responsibility to the Secretary of State and his Council is a mockery and a delusion with the existing constitution of that anachronistic body, the House of Commons is indifferent to Indian affairs, and the great body of the British electorate is hopelessly ignorant of the Indian problem. Which is then a matter for surprise? That the administration has failed and produced disastrous results so far as making the people rich is concerned? No; the matter for surprise is that it has been attended with even the modicum of success in its other branches, which must be mentioned to its credit. Speaking at Fowey more than four years ago (October 30, 1897), the Right Hon'ble Leonard Courtenay, whose sympathetic interest in the welfare of our countrymen as shown by his acceptance of the Chairmanship of the Indian Famine Union has rightly evoked our gratitude, thus spoke of this constitutional aspect of the whole question:—"For two years he had served on the Royal Commission which had been considering the financial position of India. In the course of a few months they would be arriving at some conclusion. But whatever that conclusion might be, it was no false anticipation to say that they would confirm the belief that India was an extremely poor country, and the difficulty of raising revenue to meet the expenditure was one pressing always upon the Indian Government, and at the present time pressing more severely than ever. . . . This opened up a larger question. *After all, what was this Government of India to whom we were bound to defer, even if we thought they were wrong? Who were these ten or a dozen gentlemen who governed India? Who appointed them? How were they trained? What were their special qualifications? How were these 300 millions of people ruled?* He did not intend to enter upon that question now, but it was a serious question, which would have to be very deeply considered. They could not very well have India governed by an Indian House of Commons, choosing its own Government, just as the British House of Commons chose the Government at home. Things were not ripe for that yet. Nor could India be governed by the British House of Commons as the United Kingdom was governed. The House of Commons would be incapable of ruling India in any direct fashion, and British India could not be left

to govern itself. And so British India remained a question which would occupy our attention for some time; but it would have to be considered and dealt with very carefully. *This bureau, this little set of people in a room, collected one scarcely knew how, but there one did not know why, having qualifications of which we had no surety, was not the final system of government for India.* The House of Commons never could do it, because it was already overburdened with work, and to undertake to govern India directly would infallibly break its back. But that great question would have to be considered; and, if at some future time it fell to his lot to have to address them on the question of the government of India and *the problem of how to bring that government into relation with modern life and secure some interpretation of native opinion and some authority for educated English opinion*, he was confident he should be rewarded with the same attention and the same indulgence they had given him that night." (The italics are all mine) "The problem of how to bring that government into relation with modern life and secure some interpretation of native opinion and some authority for educated English opinion" was very carefully considered by the Congress, by the Indian witnesses before the Welby Commission and by the authors of the Minority Report of that Commission; and they all unanimously arrived at the conclusion that this would be possible only if the following recommendations were accepted: (1) That the non-official members of the Viceroy's Council may be made more directly representative of the Indian people; and that they may have the right to move amendments and divide the Council upon the provisions of the Budget. (2) That a sufficient number of representative Indians of position and experience may be nominated to the Viceroy's and Provincial Executive Councils, and to the Council of the Secretary of State on the recommendation of the elected members of the Viceroy's and Local Legislative Councils. (3) That India should be given direct representation in Parliament at the rate of, say, one member for each Province. And (4) That each year a Select Committee of the House of Commons may be appointed to inquire into, and report upon, the financial condition of India.

It has been said in the foregoing passage that the existing irresponsible and hence unnatural form of administration has failed in at least one important, indeed the all important, branch, namely, the economic. Educated Indian Public opinion has

all along contended, and the contention has received the support of many eminent English statesmen and shrewd Anglo-Indian administrators themselves, that "England has inflicted the greatest material injury on India during the last one hundred and fifty years" (Mr. Dadabhai Naoraji before the Welby Commission). While educated Indians are and shall ever remain truly grateful to their English Masters for the unspeakable blessings they have conferred upon them on the intellectual and moral side, they at the same time do not ignore the distressing fact that their countrymen have been alarmingly impoverished by the system of rule pursued by them in India. In substance their position is this:—The land itself is immensely rich in her natural resources, possessing a most fertile soil and capable of bearing every variety of production, but the people are in a state of extreme destitution and suffering. The chief reasons for this are the drain of wealth from the country, the excessive Military and Civil expenditure, the exclusion of the sons of the soil from all share in the Government of their own country thus necessitating the employment of a costly foreign agency which carries away all the wealth of the country, the forced reduction of the country from a manufacturing to an agricultural one to subserve England's purposes, the heavy land assessments and sundry other taxes of a more or less oppressive character which do not leave to the people sufficient margin for their sustenance, and currency reforms which at one stroke have reduced the value of the silver savings of the people by nearly 45 per cent. And the remedies we suggest for the alleviation of this poverty are mainly these:—Minimise the drain to an irreducible limit if it cannot altogether be stopped, reduce public debt and public expenditure, devise some scheme to impart to the people higher scientific and industrial education, which would regenerate the country industrially and stop the commercial drain now going on, moderate land assessments, employ the sons of the soil more largely in the public services, extend irrigation, and restore the currency to its natural state. And the Congress prays (and it would be difficult to think of a more reasonable prayer) the Government to appoint an independent Commission of enquiry into the economic condition of the country if Government did not agree with the Congress in its diagnosis of India's economic malady and the remedies it prescribed, so that the Commission may enquire into,

and report upon the whole matter. And upon the recommendations of this body, Government may take such action as to it seems most proper. These were the matters that principally engaged the attention of the last Congress as might be seen from its Resolutions and from Mr. Wacha's address. But Government, both here and in England, has turned a deaf ear to this most innocent and reasonable request; and not only that, but from the speech of His Excellency the Viceroy and the statement of his Finance Minister on the occasion of the Budget debate in March last, as well as from the speech of the Secretary of State last August in the House of Commons, it is clear that officials sincerely believe in the growing prosperity of the people. Mr. Wacha examines the data on which they base their conclusions, and has no difficulty in proving them to be either incomplete or erroneous. "It is, however, a matter of regret," he says, "that on the one hand the Government and its apologists in the Press, both here and in England, resent the statement of the pessimists, and try to discredit the figures, which are really supplied by itself; on the other hand, it refuses to give publicity to all the details on which it founds its own deduction as to the improvement in the condition of the masses. It is not unnatural," continues Mr. Wacha, "if under such a condition, there is no popular confidence in official statistics, while popular pessimism grows apace and derives fresh emphasis from the actual economic phenomena to be witnessed before their very eyes. The Government should not, therefore, fight shy of the proposed enquiry, be the result what it may, for it is a serious question, vitally affecting the welfare of millions of people. If, on the one hand, it is found that the national income has increased, the present bogey of the pessimists will at once be laid low. The people will be rejoiced to learn that, in spite of calamitous visitations, they are progressing favourably. On the other hand, if it is ascertained that after all there is growing impoverishment, it would be well for the optimistic school, at whose head are the Secretary of State and the Viceroy, to drop their complacent optimism and strive to remedy the evil by stimulating agricultural and other industries." If Government will refuse to listen even to so moderate a request, in spite of the declaration of Lord Curzon himself that it would not be statesmanship to ignore the opinion of the educated classes, it would be difficult not to suspect that the rulers themselves believe in their heart of hearts that the

Pessimistic School is after all right and that the enquiry will only result in confirming all its statements. Should this conjecture be right, Government will be guilty of a most serious dereliction of duty which, having regard to the fact that it is a life and death question to a hundred million people with which it is thus sporting, will decidedly be unpardonable, and will amount to almost a crime. Surely, I cannot for the life of me understand this dread of enquiry when Government believes that the results of its administration are so bright.

I do not propose to deal even cursorily with all the resolutions passed by the last Congress. I shall only offer a few remarks on three of them, military expenditure, the separation of judicial and executive functions and Industrial and general education as possessing more than ordinary importance at the present moment. First as regards the reduction of military expenditure, it has times out of number been pointed out by friendly Englishmen no less than by patriotic and well informed Indians that the one besetting sin of Indian administration is its excessive costliness in all departments, and nowhere more so than in the military branch. Those who regulate their income by their expenditure instead of following the same course of regulating the latter by the former, must come to grief some day or other. This rule is applicable as much to Governments as to individuals, and even the Government of India is no exception to this immutable law. What is our principal complaint against Government? It is that it has imposed enormous burdens on the people which it is absolutely beyond their power to bear. It has gone on constantly raising the land tax and has also imposed other taxes which press heavily on the agricultural and other poorer classes. Several taxes which when levied were declared to be only temporary taxes, have been permanently incorporated into the fiscal system of the country, and the day seems to be as far off as ever when the people will be given the much needed relief by reduction of taxes. Even such a necessary of life as salt has been taxed to the tune of 2,000 per cent. of its cost price, and bushels of official promises that the earliest opportunity would be taken to reduce it to its level at which it stood in Lord Ripon's time have not been followed by even a grain of performance. And as if even this were not enough, Government has meddled with the natural currency of the country in the face of its own declarations of ten or twenty years back that there would

be no justification for interfering with the automatic currency of a country with which the people have been familiar for ages, and this interference has resulted, even on the admission of a responsible administrator like Sir Antony MacDonnell (see his evidence before the Fowler Currency Committee in 1898), in a covert increase of taxation to the extent of nearly 45 per cent. Now, whence the necessity for all this over-taxation? Whence comes it that despite the over-taxation, Government is under the eternal necessity of increasing its public debt? How comes it that provincial Governments, in whose hands lies all responsibility for the internal administration of the country, are constantly starved and that the Imperial wolf is ever on the look out to devour the provincial sheep? We maintain, we have always maintained, that if the Government of India desires to see the people under its sway flourishing and the vast material resources of the country developed for the benefit of the natives of the country and not exploited by foreign capitalists, not only is it essential that it must take less from the people, especially the rural population, but it is equally necessary that it must spend more for the improvement of its administration; for instance, irrigation and education must be better attended to, the police must be made more adequate and efficient, industrial and scientific education must not be left severely alone as it is now done. It has been made a reproach against the Congress that it puts forward this inconsistent set of proposals. But if the officials paused for a moment and pondered over our proposals for the reduction of Home charges and of the Military and Civil Expenditure, they would have found that after all Congress politicians were not the idiots they were made to look by these 'heaven-born' civilians, and that the reductions in public expenditure they proposed would make it the easiest thing for the Government of India to simultaneously reduce its revenue and increase its expenditure in the directions pointed out above. Coming now to my special point about the reduction of military expenditure, I say that whatever pleas officials might have advanced before against the proposal of the Congress, they cannot now with any show of reason resist that proposal as they were able to send away about 20,000 troops to serve in South Africa and China without the peace of the country being disturbed. The present strength of 74,000 British troops is far more than the needs of India require, and they

serve only as an Imperial reserve in India. Even the Simla Army Commission said in its report that to repel the invasion of Russia or of Russia assisted by Afghanistan, it would not be necessary to send to the front more than 50,000 or 60,000 soldiers. And when owing to the Panjdeh scare Lord Dufferin's Government wanted to increase the army, Sir Auckland Colvin and Mr. (now Sir Courtenay) Ilbert opposed the proposed increase, although ineffectually. Our contention is that 50,000 troops are quite adequate to protect the country from external invasion as well as to keep internal peace, and that India ought not to be made to pay for more if she is justly treated by England. If His Majesty's Government desires to locate all the 74,000 troops in India, by all means let it do so, we shall not object, only let the cost be paid by the English tax-payer and not be debited to India. If England desires that these troops should be in India for the maintenance of her Asiatic Empire, why should the wealthy country escape from the payment of her just dues and the poorer country be made to pay owing to her subject position? What sort of Imperialism this is, I fail to divine. The Congress was therefore naturally of opinion "that inasmuch as large bodies of British troops have, with perfect safety and without imperilling the peace of the country, been withdrawn for service outside the statutory limits of British India," "the Indian tax-payer should be granted some relief out of the British Exchequer towards the cost of maintaining in India so large a force of European Soldiers." As the Congress Resolution well put it, "the claims of financial justice to India demand the transfer of the cost of a portion of British troops from the Indian to the British Exchequer." It is said that the Liberal party as a whole, and Sir William Harcourt and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman in particular, are with us in this matter. I trust they will find it convenient to lend the weight of their great authority to our good friend, Mr. Caine, in his endeavours to get justice done to India in this matter and that the great Liberal party, the party of Justice and Righteousness, will establish another claim upon our gratitude for the much that it has already done and the more that we expect it to do, for the benefit of suffering and starving India.

The separation of Judicial and Executive Functions cannot much longer be postponed if our Government is at all anxious that it should not weaken its hold upon the loyalty and attach-

ment of the Indian people, for justice is the mainstay of British rule in India and the purity of British justice imperatively demands that the unholy combination should cease at the earliest possible date. Possessing a somewhat intimate knowledge of Mofussil life, I can with perfect confidence state that this combination is not merely a sentimental grievance of the educated classes who proceed on mere theories and desire to transplant into India all Western ideas and Western institutions with reference to the altered conditions of Indian life, but that the vast body of ignorant people whose misfortune it is that they are obliged to frequently resort to the Criminal courts, whether as complainants or accused, are grievously suffering from the evil consequences of this mischievous and irrational system. They and not the educated classes are the daily victims of it, and the large sums they have to part with, what with a not too honest police and not over-paid and not too independent subordinate magistracy, evils intensified by the latter's forced compliance with the wishes of the former,—the necessary consequence of the District Officer being both the principal magisterial and police authority in his own person—add much to their poverty and degradation. Indeed, the hardships inflicted and the consequent discontent caused by the system are of so serious a character that Mr. Herbert J. Reynolds, ever a friend of the Indians and still taking a lively interest in their welfare in his years of retirement, did not overstate the case when he wrote ("India," January 1894) that "no Russian invasion, no military mutiny, no financial crisis, would so endanger our hold upon India as a general mistrust of our judicial integrity," caused by the only too frequent scandalous failures of justice due to the fusion of the two functions. These failures of justice are the rule and not the exception, and well might this be so; for, as Mr. Reynold's himself put it in a subsequent article ("India," November 1896), what is there "to show that this is one of those exceptional cases in which it is possible to gather grapes from thorns and figs from thistles?" The Government of India seems to fancy that its security lies in the perpetuation of a system productive of the most immense mischief, so much mischief indeed that it at times "becomes impossible for honest folk to live in the mofussil" as the *Indian Mirror* said sometime back; but it is labouring under one of the most ridiculous and most dangerous

delusions man ever laboured under. It is all very well for the Government of Bengal to have reported against the separation and to have cited a retired Inspector-General of Police in support of its short-sighted recommendation. But neither the recommendation itself nor the high authority upon whom the great Government fell back to support it, possesses a greater value in the eyes of knowing people than if William Yates Reilly, condemned Mr. Pennell and supported his condemnation by quoting the authority of Osman Ali Daroga in its favour. No doubt we have been told by the high priest of modern Jingoism, Rudyard Kipling, that the ten commandments are not binding on an Englishman on this side of Aden; but is it an indispensable article of faith of Anglo-India that the prosecutor and the judge shall be one and the same officer? His Excellency Lord Curzon cannot signalise his administration better than by improving the judicial machinery of the country and removing the anomalous combination of Magisterial and Police duties. If His Lordship will confer this lasting boon upon India, his name will for ever be associated by the people with the cherished and revered names of the greatest of Anglo-Indian statesmen,—Bentinck, Canning, and Ripon.

I have left myself little room for any lengthy discussion of the question of education,—industrial and general. It is a great pity that neither of these two subjects was given the prominence their importance called for in the programme of the Congress. With regard to the former, it seems to have been felt by the leaders of the movement that the present cry for industrial education is only so much opposition to the spread of higher education and of political agitation, and that there is the danger of Congress politicians unconsciously playing into the hands of the enemies of the country—for the enemies of higher education and political agitation are enemies of the country—if they would swell the chorus of industrial education. Much as one may sympathise with this view of the matter and may even feel that there is a substratum of truth underlying it; still it is difficult to see how our attitude can be misconstrued and misrepresented by any honest man when we take care to advocate industrial *and* general education and not the *substitution* of industrial for general education, and when we further add that what we want is the spread of *higher scientific* and industrial education, which presupposes the extension of university education first, more than the

training of artisans in manual industries. Mr. Wacha himself took care to emphasise this aspect of the question in his Presidential address. Said he: "Technical education which shall result in large and profitable industrial development signifies higher education, specially of sciences. . . . It is idle to talk of mere small industries in carpentry and brick-making and so forth. If there is to be an industrial revival of a practical character which shall change the entire surface of this country, you have first to lay the foundation of teaching in the applied Sciences. You cannot have the cart before the horse, higher education must precede industrial development. But let alone higher education. Where is even mass education in the humbler sort of industries? When not even five per cent. of the population is literate, do you expect that there can be any industrial development without education, even assuming that capital will be forthcoming?" When our views on the subject were so accurately expressed by the President himself, I do not see why the leaders should have hesitated to permit a separate resolution being passed on the subject, clearly distinguishing what it is that we want from what we emphatically do not want. If the Congress did not, in the opinion of its warmest supporters, do its duty boldly in this matter, it did not also escape this blame in the matter of the attention it paid to the subject of general education. The progress of the land so entirely depends upon the spread of education that its indifference to this subject, not merely at the last session but at previous sessions also, is very regrettable. Beyond expressing a wish that Indians must be appointed as members of the University Commission along with Englishmen, the Congress did not make any proposals on the subject. I know the subject was rushed through in the Subjects Committee for want of time. This has always been one of the objections to the election of a large and cumbrous Subjects Committee by whom resolutions could not be well thought out and formulated, and the difficulty was not absent last time too although Messrs. Bonerjee and Mehta's presence considerably facilitated business. At two previous sittings, the Congress had made two proposals on the subject of University Reform which it would have done well to reiterate this time in view of the appointment of the University Commission as they are eminently wise suggestions well deserving of careful consideration of the Commission. The two proposals were (1) that made

at the Calcutta Congress of 1896 that, "the time having come when greater facilities are imperatively required for higher education and the proper development of the Indian intellect than what are at present offered by examinations alone," "the Acts of Incorporation of the Universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay should be amended so as to provide for the introduction of teaching functions and for a wider scope of learning, and so as to suit generally the requirements of the present day;" and (2) that passed at the Lahore Congress of 1900 "that it is desirable in the interest of sound education to confer the privilege of electing Fellows upon the graduates of Indian Universities where it does not exist, and of extending it where it does exist." To these two proposals the Congress might have added a third one, that generally Government should confer self-government on Universities and interfere as little as possible with their management. And lastly, no occasion ought to have been allowed by the Congress to pass by without its demanding an ever-increasing expenditure of the State Funds on all kinds of education, — Higher, Secondary, Primary and Technical. At least 94 per cent. of our population are still unable even to read and write. That then the State must continue to devote to the purposes of education not more than one per cent. of its revenues, which comes to only 7 pies or thereabouts per head, while even advanced Japan spends as much as 20 per cent. of its revenues on this branch of administration, is highly discreditable, almost scandalous. It is to be devoutly hoped that hereafter the Congress would devote more of its time and attention to the consideration of this subject.

I now desire to offer a few, very few remarks on the provision the Calcutta Congress made for carrying on the work of the British Committee and on what it failed to do for popularising the cause among the vast population in India itself who do not yet know much of Congress work and in whom a right conception of their duties and rights as citizens is yet to be created. For some considerable time past, much acrimonious controversy was going on in the columns of the Indian press on the right methods of work in England, and the differences of opinion amongst our friends in England tended not a little to prolong this controversy. At the meetings of the Congress Subjects Committee both at Lucknow and Lahore, as well as at the Meetings of the Indian Congress Committee at Delhi and Allahabad, the subject was carefully discussed. In these discussions it came out that



while many were decidedly in favour of loyally co-operating with Sir W. Wedderburn and Messrs. Hume and Naoroji and voting the large sums of money needed for the continuance of "India," almost an equally large number were found to totally disagree with them and agree with Mr. Caine that it would be a needless waste of money to continue that paper. At Lucknow it was all but decided that from 1930 "India" must either be discontinued altogether or converted into a monthly as it was before 1898, but Mr. Dutt, the President, interfered, and induced the Congress to continue it as it was doing excellent service. I very well remember that he said that the paper exerted a certain measure of influence over the counsels of both the India Office and the Government of India, that the Liberal Press would cease to take as much interest in Indian matters as it now did if "India" were discontinued, and altogether that we would be undoing much of what we had done at considerable self-sacrifice for all these years if that paper were not supported. This, to my mind at any rate, disposes of the question that Mr. Dutt sided with Mr. Caine and desired the abolition of the paper. But, while this course of action was decided upon at Lucknow, the meeting of the Indian Congress Committee at Allahabad deliberated again upon the question and came to the conclusion that the Congress should have nothing to do with the paper. Then Mr. Naoroji interfered. He undertook to be personally responsible for the payment of all expenses of the British Committee and "India" for this year and sent round a circular to all Congress leaders to support him in his decision that the existing arrangement must not be disturbed. The Resolution of the Congress was the outcome of this circular, and I am convinced from what Mr. Bonnerjee and others in the know said, that it was the wisest course the Congress could pursue. Even among the gentlemen present at Allahabad, two such important men as Mr. Wacha and Mr. Mudholkar willingly acquiesced in the Calcutta Resolution. In having induced the Congress to take such a view of the whole matter, Messrs. Bonnerjee and Mehta, its two most honoured and most trusted leaders, did a service to the country the nature and magnitude of which cannot be exaggerated and for which they deserve the grateful recognition of all their patriotic countrymen. While I sincerely congratulate the Calcutta Congress on what it did in this direction, I at the same time feel it my duty

to find fault with it for what it failed to do in the other equally important direction, namely, arrangement for work in India. The India Congress Committee was designed to do this work, and although it failed to do it during the two years of its existence, it cannot but still be a matter for regret that the Committee was abolished, and abolished too, in the high-handed and arbitrary manner in which it was done. The (I do not hesitate to use the adjective) unconstitutional course adopted in this matter at the instance of Messrs Bonnerjee and Mehta justly gave rise to serious discontent among prominent Congress leaders. It is even feared that Mr. Har Kissen Lal and his following in the Punjab will secede from the Congress on account of this. I do believe that any such suicidal step will be taken by them. Still the matter is serious, and it will be well for all concerned if Messrs Bonnerjee and Mehta will, like the late Mr. Ranade, persuade themselves to be more sympathetic and respectful to their numerous following if only for the progress of the cause for which they have willingly and cheerfully undergone, during the long period of a quarter of a century, heavier self-sacrifice than any others that can be named, and which has deservedly won for those intellectual Goliaths the love, the respect and the admiration of countless numbers of their countrymen. The success of our work in England largely depends upon the success of our work in India. The superstructure will not last if the foundation is not durable. The difficult question of our methods of work in England having been solved, at least for a long time to come, it will be the next duty of Messrs Bonnerjee and Mehta and our other leaders, less known to fame but not less patriotic, to devise a suitable and practicable plan of campaign for the achievement of Congress triumphs in this country. Long live the Congress and may Heavens shower down their choicest blessings on India's "Non-official Parliament."

C. Y. CHINTAMANI.

# REGENERATION OF INDIA AND FEMALE EDUCATION.

THE greatness of a country depends on its good government, and the soundness of its social institutions. We in India have not much to complain about the British Government which has blessed us with lasting peace and security, English Education, and facilities of communication in the shape of the Railway, the Post, the Telegraph and the Telephone. Immense have been the benefits conferred by British Rule on India. While feeling thankful for all these, we shall be sadly wanting in our duty if we fail to mention that English Education as imparted in India has not been without its evils. Its tendency has been to slowly disintegrate Indian society, sap the foundations of religion, undermine social institutions and deprave manners and customs. I remember vividly how in my early school days I had to learn that Christianity was the only true religion, and that Hinduism, Mahommedanism, and Buddhism were religious errors; how we were taught that we were a weak and effeminate race; how we had to get up that the English people were very honest, but that we were as a nation liars and perjurers. Look at the result. We have lost every shred of patriotism, all individuality, all sense of shame, and in the fond hope that we could 'become great by aping' the lion and donning his skin, we are day by day adopting English fashions and English manners. We have arrived at that stage of abject degradation, that a European in high office has simply to hint that our females are ignorant and superstitious, that their seclusion is injurious to their health, that their mode of dress is half savage, and that English Education for the females, and the substitution of English manners and customs are the only remedies to get rid of these obnoxious superstitions, manners, and customs, and we worship him for his advice, form ourselves into societies all over the country for the propagation of this gospel, and approach Government for legislation on the lines. Maine in his 'Village Communities' says of Indian society, "that no society in the world is so much at the mercy of the classes whom it regards as entitled by their intellectual or religious cultivation to dictate their opinions to others, and a contagion of ideas, spread

ing at varying rates of progress, is gradually bringing these classes under the dominion of foreign modes of thought." Again he says "that it is absurd to deny that the disintegration of Eastern usage and thought is attributable to British dominion." Supported by such testimony there is no fear that the above reflections will be attributed to fanaticism, while there is reason to hope they will command more than a passing notice from prominent Indians. But for the strong counteracting influence exercised by the conservatism of women and their deeply ingrained prejudice against innovation, India would long ago have presented to the world the sorry spectacle of a country inhabited by apes in lion's clothes imitating all his fashions, manners and customs but devoid of his instincts or patriotism.

It is we admit the natural right of every individual, and of every nation to find fault with others, because the ways of the latter are not in accord with theirs. *A fortiori*, it is not only the natural right of Englishmen to condemn our language, religious institutions, manners, and customs, but their acquired right as well, as conquerors, which gives them the liberty to try by persuasion, influence, and power to alter the ideals of the subject races. Abbe Du Bois in his book on Hindu manners, customs and ceremonies, translated and published by Mr. H. Beauchamp, says: "many persons study so imperfectly the spirit and character of the different nations that inhabit the earth, and the influence of climate on their manners, customs, predilections and usages; that they are astonished to find how widely such nations differ from each other. Trammelled by the prejudices of their own surroundings, such persons think nothing well regulated that is not included in the polity and government of their own country. They would like to see all nations of the earth placed on precisely the same footing as themselves. Everything which differs from their own customs they consider either uncivilized or ridiculous. Now although man's nature is pretty much the same all the world over, it is subject to so many differentiations caused by soil, climate, food, religion, education and other circumstances, peculiar to different countries, that the system of civilization adopted by one people would plunge another into a state of barbarism and cause its complete downfall." If Englishmen are sincere in their professions as regards the amelioration of the condition of Indian women, the proper course is not to proceed arbitrarily to stigmatise Indian institutions and customs, and prescribe off

hand radical reform on English lines as the remedy to kill or cure. It depends more on chance than on skill, whether a medicine prescribed by a doctor without diagnosing the complaint, relieves the patient or not. Like him they should first study the origin of the condemned institutions, their development, their hold on society, their applicability to its conditions, their success or failure judging from results, and their appreciation by society. That Englishmen are not competent to make this thorough investigation will be clear from the following remarks of Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General who abolished Sutee in 1829: "The result of my own observation during my residence in India is that the Europeans generally know little or nothing of the customs and manners of the Hindus. We are all acquainted with some prominent marks and facts which all who run may read; but the manner of thinking, their domestic habits and ceremonies, in which circumstances a knowledge of the people consists, is, I fear, in great part wanting in us. We understand very imperfectly their language. We cannot see them in their houses and with their families." Devoid of this knowledge, nobody is competent to denounce our society upon the slippery evidence of travellers' tales, the perverted testimony of renegades, or the partial reports of pseudo-reformers who are anxious to build a reputation on the ashes of their society's departed glory. But unfortunately for India, everything that has been said and written about Hindu society has been based upon such scanty and one-sided reports, with the result that all attempts hitherto made towards regeneration have either been misdirected, or have proved futile.

To give the public a specimen of how such a serious subject as the amelioration of Indian women is treated lightly by English writers, their attention is invited to Mrs. Chapman's interesting book on some distinguished Indian Women. Mrs. Chapman is presumably the wife of an Anglo-Indian official of high rank, and her elegant volume is ushered into the world under the distinguished auspices of a Vicerine who has done much to supply female medical aid to Indian women. In the eyes of the educated Indian, the above circumstances are ample to entitle her opinion to the highest respect, although they are conscious that her generalizations have been drawn from the lives of four Indian women who became converts, from the life of Dr. Sorabji who became a martyr to the cause English Higher Education for

Indian females by a premature death, from the fables of travellers and missionaries, and from the conversations which she had with a few educated Bengalee ladies, and are consequently distorted, imperfect, and unreliable.

When we look into the matter minutely we find that what has been spoken and written on this vexed question, has emanated from Englishmen, and a few Indian snobs who in their blind admiration of everything English fancied certain evils, and thought that the only cure lay in absolute imitation. The redress of any grievance should be sought by the aggrieved, or by an accredited agent. Have Indian women complained of their lot to those gratuitous advocates? Are they dissatisfied with their lot? Do they thirst for Western knowledge and Western freedom for their salvation? These questions have to be answered by an emphatic negative. We do not complain of those countrymen of ours who consider blind imitation of everything English as the panacea for all evils, for their's is a weakness which makes them foemen unworthy of our steel, and we pity them. We are concerned only with our English critics who under a mistaken conception of the manners and customs obtaining amongst the numerous castes who inhabit India, and ignorant of the status of women in society, taking advantage of a few instances that have come to their notice, making capital of the exaggerations and misrepresentations of the few enthusiasts, and comparing notes with their own condition, as well as taking into consideration the privileges enjoyed by them, devote their energies to a cause which does not exist, and to the redress of grievances which are but phantoms of their own imagination. While sincerely thanking them for their philanthropic efforts, and giving expression to the gratitude we feel for supplying female medical aid to our women, we appeal to them to desist from their endeavours for anglicising our women, and giving them any taste of English freedom. We have from time immemorial, long before England emerged from barbarism, been a religious, meek, and gentle race, and we have been able to preserve our characteristics and institutions in spite of invasions and conquests. Perhaps our English critics are not aware that the generality of Indian women do not view with approval the extent of liberty enjoyed by their English sisters, especially among the aristocracy, and they are of opinion, that their women of the middle classes who form the bulk of society do not enjoy any more than they.

It is not their fault that they consider English education very essential to social perfection. Nor are they to blame for attempting to detect flaws in the Indian social fabric by looking through oblique lenses, and making absurd comparisons between the English higher and the Indian lower classes.

We shall for the edification of our critics lay before them successive phases of ancient Hindu society as applied to females, from the description given in our *Śrūtis* and *Smritis*. From Dutt's civilization in ancient India, we find that during the Vedic Period, the first epoch of which we have any record (B.C. 2,000 to B.C. 1,400) "there were cultured ladies among women; that there were no unhealthy restrictions among them; no attempt to keep them uneducated, secluded, or debarred from their legitimate place in society. There was no religious obligation that every girl must be married, and by leading single life they did not forfeit their share of the patrimony." They had a voice in the selection of their husbands. Widow marriage was permitted. The custom of Sutte arose according to the author from changing the word *agre* into *agni* in a passage in the *Rig Veda* (X, 18,7) referring to a procession of women at a funeral ceremony.

During the Vedic period (B.C. 1400 to B.C. 1000) Dutt says: "the entire isolation of the Hindu Aryans for thousands of years led to social institutions with hard and fast rules which gradually contracted the liberties and the free energies of the people. Then arose caste distinctions. . . . First the priestly class formed themselves into a caste, then in the days of the Kosalas and Videhas the ruling race was formed." The rest of the Aryans formed themselves into Vysias, and the conquered aborigines into the Sudra caste. "Beyond reserving some privileges for priests and some for warriors, caste never divided and disunited the Aryan people. . . . Priests, warriors and citizens felt they were one nation and one race; they received the same religious instructions from the same schools, drank together, intermarried and intermixed in all respects. The Hindus during this period had attained a high degree of refinement and civilization and had developed minute rules to regulate their domestic and social duties. . . . The courts of enlightened kings like those of the Videhas, the Kasis, and the Kuru Panchalas were the principal seats of learning. Priests were encouraged to found schools. There were Parishads for the cultivation of learning answering to the universities of Europe. Private schools mana-

ged by priests also existed. Society was in a very happy state. "Women attended great assemblies on state occasions; they openly frequented public places; they often distinguished themselves in science, and in the learning of their times; and they even had their legitimate influence on politics and administration. Although they never mixed so freely in the society of men as in Europe yet absolute seclusion and restraint were not Hindu customs." It is only where Mahomedan influence prevailed that these came into play. "Women were more honored in ancient India; more perhaps than any other ancient nation on the face of the globe." Widow marriage was sanctioned, early marriages and child marriages were unknown. Faithfulness and dutiful affection towards the husband have always been a remarkable characteristics of the Indian women."

During the Rationalistic period (B.C. 1000 to B.C. 320) subdivisions of castes arose, while in the Buddhistic period (B.C. 320 to A.D. 500) women continued to occupy the high status in society; widow marriage began to be condemned, though child widows were allowed to marry.

Manu (III, 55-57) says "Women must be honored and adorned by their fathers, brothers, husbands, and brothers-in-law who desire their own welfare. Where women are honored there the gods are pleased; but where they are not, no sacred rite yields reward. Where female relations yield in grief the family soon wholly perishes, but that family where they are not unhappy ever prospers." According to him in childhood a female must be subject to her father; in youth to her husband; when her lord is dead, to her sons. Such was the condition of ancient Hindu society and the status of Hindu women, and such the sagacious and salutary rules which preserved these intact, when England as a nation was unheard of in India, nor existed as such anywhere on the face of the earth. The education of women, their high status in society, and the privileges they enjoyed were not the outcome of English example or of English education, much less of European contact. Whoever be the overlords of India, her regeneration in spite of the inroads made in her constitution by foreign influences rests with her sons.

It is a mistake to suppose that, because Indian women have not mastered a foreign language, nor are pushful enough to seek office and mix in politics, or do not attend balls, receptions, and lecture rooms, they are kept in bondage by their husbands, or that

their modesty and bashfulness are due to cruelty and oppression. Wife beating husbands and husband beating wives abound in every country, but they form the exception, and not the rule, to draw generalisations from. The number of adultery cases in which high class women figure as delinquents are frequent in Europe, and drunkenness among women is general, while they are almost unknown in India. Perfection of a society should be judged chiefly by the extent to which crime prevails, while as regards the status of women forming part and parcel of it, the extent to which immorality prevails ought to give a fair standard. Judged therefore from these standpoints, Indian women are by no means inferior to their English sisters in their status in society, and while the former have nothing to learn from the advanced English woman the latter has much to study from her Indian sister in modesty and good conduct.

Our critics for the purpose of establishing the down-trodden condition of Indian women, cite Suttee, prohibition of widow marriage and child marriage as crimes darkening the horizon of Indian society, and illustrative of the unequal treatment of women within its pale, as no such stringent canons exist binding the conduct of men. These are no doubt crimes in a materialistic age when love, honor, and respect among human beings, as well as their goodness and badness, are adjudged by the extent of their wealth, but in the olden days which gave inception to these customs, they were determined by spiritual wealth. The sacred inviolable tie which bound man and woman as husband and wife was true love and not lucre; husband and wife were held to be one in two, and the one cared not to survive the other. By association with the husband from childhood, he is enabled to bring up his wife to be a loving partner, educate and teach her in his ways of thinking, so that when they come of age, they understand each other so well that the delicate woman becomes inextricably connected in life, passions, and desires with the strong man just as a tiny creeper seeks the protection and shelter of a hardy tree by twining round it and partaking of some of its characteristics, becomes one with it as it were in course of time, so much so that separation from the tree becomes extinction of the creeper. According to the Christian conception of creation, the woman was formed out of the man's rib. This signifies that the woman's existence is so bound up with man's, that she cannot possibly survive

him. Thus while the Christian doctrine of the position of woman in relation to man does not at all vary from ours, it is idiotic to suppose that those customs of ours based on it are cruel and barbarous. On the contrary it combats that the people of the present age have considerably deteriorated in wisdom and are unable to understand the real significance of those customs as propounded by the ancient law-givers, while their rank materialism has perverted them, and distanced them from the attainment of that supreme bliss, and identification with the Supreme Being, which we all without distinction of caste or creed aspire to.

It is extremely foolish to imagine that our ancient law-givers, the renowned sages of antiquity, were idiots who were ignorant of the consequences of what they were doing. They did not make stern and inflexible laws, and put them in cast iron moulds to be preserved and obeyed till Doomsday. On the other hand they made the provisions elastic, and capable of being interpreted according to the spirit of the times. The rules laid down by them for the conduct of widows ought to convince all rational beings that they did not prescribe Suttee, or did not make it compulsory. It was never compulsory in Southern India, while in Northern India, among the ruling classes, the temporary flight of unwilling widows was countenanced, and they were allowed to return after a time without the risk of religious punishments, or social disabilities. Early marriage, voluntary suttee and scrupulous adherence to the rules of conduct laid down in the case of widows for preserving their chastity, and living lives sacred to the memory of their deceased husbands, these on careful consideration will be found to be, in India where women are generally more fruitful than in any country in the world, after all, necessary safeguards for enforcement of female chastity, natural restrictions on the overgrowth of population, in preference to the artificial. To the materially disposed widow, the doors of matrimony are open according to the Smritis, and its opponents are the degenerate bigotted priests of the day, whose orthodoxy and varice make them blind to the general sanction accorded by the ancient sages in conformity with the spirit of the times. They conveniently forget that it is their duty to enforce the law equally on the widow as well as on the Brahmin, but so long as Brahmins, have violated and trampled all Vedic precepts and injunctions, by entering all walks of life from the lowest menial servant to the highest office in the state, and neglecting to

perform prayers and penances at stated times, they should think twice before venturing to be so punctilious as regards the marriage of widows. The violators of laws are not the proper persons to enforce their obedience upon others.

The two citadels which have baffled the efforts of reformers are the institution of caste, and the customs and usages of India, which have from their origin been reared on firm religious bases, and imperishably guarded by religious tenets and restrictions. Of these, the former is not peculiar to India, for there were caste distinctions when the Roman Empire fell to pieces owing to the feebleness of the people and the power of warriors and priests. Caste distinctions also abound in all civilized communities for the division of labor, and restrictions exist between each other, though not to the same extent as in India, the religious element being absent in others, while it is predominant here. Besides these there are so many religious denominations in Europe, such for instance as Roman Catholics, Protestants, Presbyterians, High Churchmen, Low Churchmen, Lutherans, Quakers, and a host of others answering to so many Indian castes. According to Maine, customs and usages arose in India from common social necessities, but their observance was enforced by means of religion; while in Europe, they partook of the nature of commands of a particular kind addressed by political superiors or sovereigns to political inferiors or subjects. Shakespeare hath it that nice customs curtsy to great kings, so that these changed according to the peculiar tastes or idiosyncracies of sovereign or political superiors.

English education has so killed independent Indian thought that educated Indians now blindly join Englishmen in condemning the institution of caste. Before venturing to pronounce an opinion one way or the other upon the merits of their condemnation, let us see what Abbe Du Bois, an accepted authority on Indian manners and customs, has to say on caste. He says: "I believe caste division to be in many respects the chef-d'œuvre, the happiest effort of Hindu legislation. I am persuaded that it is simply and solely due to the distribution of the people into castes that India did not lapse into a state of barbarism, and that she preserved and perfected the arts and sciences of civilization whilst most other nations of the earth remained in a state of barbarism. I do not consider caste to be free from many great drawbacks; but I believe that the resulting advantages, in the case of a nation

constituted like the Hindus, more than outweigh the resulting evils. . . . . Caste assigns to each individual his own profession or calling, and the handing down of this system from father to son, from generation to generation, makes it impossible for any of his descendants to change the condition of life which the law assigns to him for any other. Such an institution was probably the only means that the most clear-sighted prudence could devise for maintaining a state of civilization amongst a people endowed with the peculiar characteristics of the Hindus. There is not one of their ancient usages, not one of their observances, which has not some religious principal or object attached to it. Everything indeed is governed by superstition and has religion for its motive. This plan of dividing people into castes is not confined to the lawgivers of India. Moses did the same. The caste division existed amongst the Egyptians who held all professions to be honourable and that was the difference. Amongst Arabs and Tartars caste distinctions exist. Cecrops did the same in Athens and Solon upheld it. Numa Pompilius could devise no better way of putting an end to the racial hatred between the Sabines and Romans than by the caste system. . . . Caste is a guarantee for justice, a defender of its honour and an enforcer of duty as in a patriarchal system. The severe punishments for adultery, for seduction of girls or widows are vindications of the caste system. The Temple of Conjeevaram was built as a penalty by a Brahmin who had illicit intercourse with a low caste Pariah woman. . . . It is caste authority, which by means of its wise rules and prerogatives preserves good order, suppresses vice and saves Hindus from sinking into a state of barbarism. It is by caste rules that the licentiousness of the Princes and the aristocracy are checked. It is also a check against abuses which the despotic rulers of the country are too apt to indulge in. It preserves purity of descent." Intelligent observers have not failed to notice the subtle influences of English education for undermining the caste system, and educated India has already begun to show its hostility to its restrictions, by relaxation in its observances. Had it not been for the counteracting influence of the conservatism of women exercised on the men, caste would have disappeared from India long ago. Du. Bois is of opinion that the restrictions placed on women in Indian society are wholesome and imperatively necessary. Note what he says: "The natural modesty of Hindu women, the way in which they are brought up, their ordinary chaste and circumspect demean-

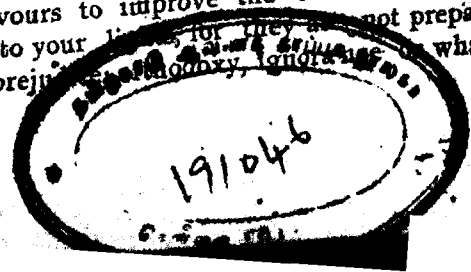
our, the calmness of their passions: all these go a great way towards providing as it were strong barriers against the attacks of the licentious, who, whatever may be said to the contrary by ill-informed writers, do not succeed in winning over women of the better class so easily as in many other countries where the lawful union of the two sexes is not beset with so many obstacles. Besides even if we refuse to believe that young widows possess in themselves sufficient strength of will to resist seduction, there are many other obstacles beyond their own control, which also serve as so many bulwarks to their modesty. Chief among such obstacles must be reckoned the diligent watchfulness exercised over them by their parents; the severity of the covenances which forbid any kind of familiar intercourse between men and women; the very heavy punishments which follow even the most trivial lapses; and finally, the mere disgrace, which in India, above all countries of the world, entails the most tremendous penalties on the person detected in an indiscretion."

Having proved that the condition of Indian women is neither dark nor degenerate, neither downtrodden nor pitiable, that caste is a very useful institution in India as elsewhere, that the manners and usages are not such as are improvised by influential people to suit their convenience or taste from time to time, but sprung from the common necessities of society, corrected by experience and wisdom and preserved and enforced by religious ordinances, let us next proceed to determine if English education is the only remedy for the regeneration of Indian women and if English customs and manners are essential to the emancipation of Indian women, if as the reformers erroneously think slavery exists among them. English women fancy that they have an inherent right to receive the same sort of education, and to enter the same walks of life as the men, while Indian women are content to be faithful and devoted partners of their husbands in joy and sorrow, to receive as much education as befit them to be useful members in society and in the domestic circle, and to devote their leisure to amusements, sweet converse, and religion. Certainly, the puny yet graceful form, the tiny limbs, and the delicate make of the woman, were never intended by nature for masculine exertion, or heroic endurance, or for the rough and tough work of the world. Herbert Spencer in his study of Sociology says: "the first set of differences between men and women is that which results from a some-

what earlier arrest of individual evolution in women than in men, necessitated by the reservation of vital power to meet the cost of reproduction. Whereas in man individual exertion continues until the physiological cost of self-maintenance very nearly balances what nutrition supplies in woman; an arrest of individual development takes place while there is yet a considerable margin of nutrition: otherwise there could be no offspring. Hence the fact that girls come earlier to maturity than boys. Hence the chief contrasts in bodily form, the masculine figure being distinguished from the feminine by the greater relative sizes of the parts which carry on external actions and entail physiological cost—the limbs and those thoracic viscera which their activity immediately taxes." Women are not therefore physiologically fit for masculine exertion.

The climate and natural features of a country play a prominent part in the choice of national institutions, mode of dress, amusements and exercises, and what is adapted to a temperate climate will be found uncongenial in a hot country like India. It is not surprising that the invigorating climate, animal food, intoxicating drinks, and a slow development should produce among English women a morbid craving for the enjoyment of equal rights with men, but that is no reason why their frail sisters of the East who live upon vegetable diet, and attain maturity rather early, also should have the same aspirations, and since they have not, they should be considered to be kept in bondage. The above considerations ought to induce genuine critics, foreign philanthropists and over-zealous reformers, to pause before attempting to force their nostrums upon others.

To those genuine Englishmen and Englishwomen who out of regard for Indian women foist evils and hardships on society and prescribe their own remedies regardless of their drawbacks, and we have to say, stay friends, mend yourself before you venture to find fault with us, for you are worse off than ourselves. But to those of our countrymen who from natural weakness unconsciously follow every current of reform, and to the few who out of a desire for personal distinction attempt at any cost to please Englishmen by blind aping, we offer our sincere advice, namely: it is high time to put a stop to your selfish endeavours to improve the condition of Indian women according to your lights, for they are not prepared to follow you, call it prejudice or ignorance, but what you



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like. You are iconoclasts who seek to build a false reputation upon the unmerited and undignified aspersions of your wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters. We do not hold that a nation's greatness consists in blind imitation, and while we shall content ourselves with making necessary improvements, we leave you to seek solace by making proselytes of your own kith and kin, as radical reform like charity, had better begin at home, and unlike it end there.

After what has been said above, it is in vain to predict that the present system of female education which is almost entirely based on the system of male education will lead to any beneficial results. Education being the science, by which we learn how best to conduct ourselves in life, or to prepare us for complete living, national education ought to follow rigidly the lines which we choose to pursue in life. The present system of Indian education is defective, inasmuch as it does not make ample provision for training men in every walk of life. It simply overstocks the brain with scant information on a variety of subjects, and leads one who assiduously applies himself to it, often to the brink of the grave, and not unfrequently into it. Within certain allotted times one has to cram up many subjects, and pass examinations, but of these subjects, a good many are found next to useless when he begins the actual battle of life. The final examination which a once sturdy youth, after undergoing successfully the ordeals of the school, the College, and the University, has to pass, is by a medical man to ascertain if he has sufficient vitality left to reap the benefits of education. The overstrain is found hard to bear by the robustly constituted male. How much more ought the delicate female to suffer from the enervating effects of the same overstrain, for much the same course of study is prescribed for her. Of this system of female education Herbert Spencer says "but a few years ago she was at school, where her memory was crammed with words, names, dates, and her reflective faculties scarcely in the slightest degree exercised, where not one idea was given her respecting the methods of dealing with the opening mind of childhood; and where her discipline did not in the least fit her for thinking out methods of her own. The intervening years have been passed in practising music, in fancy work, in novel-reading and in party-going: no thought having yet been given to the grave responsibilities of maternity; and scarcely any of that solid intellectual

culture obtained which would be some preparation for such responsibilities." Dr. Arabelka Keenealy in an article which she published some years ago in the *National Magazine*, upon "the talent of motherhood, is it endangered by education?" "warns women, lest in the keen excitement of their new independence, the rush and activity of their new interests, they shall be forgetful of that grave trust, the welfare of their children, and through them of the progress of the race." She says:—"I met the other morning some 50 or 60 girls trooping out of a High School and observing these with attention through my physiological spectacles as it were, I stood aghast at the picture of womanhood projected. The girls ranged in age from 12 to 16, and the sallow skin, nerveless faces, sexless look, lustreless or spectacled eyes and heavy anæmic lips of the greater number—a small proportion being bright-eyed "eager neurotics, told a pitiable story of constitutions being wrecked between two forces. On the one hand nature struggling to develop a healthy efficient womanhood; on the other hand over-education exhausting the nerve power and demagnetising the blood by long close hours of study and arduous application." Just at the most trying epoch of her existence, "when the future of her constitution trembles in the balance, the woman child is taxed to the utmost and generally with the worst possible results. It is in the conservation of character that woman retains her inherent talent of motherhood; in that education which develops and cultivates her natural faculties, instead of substituting for these masculine or to speak more truly neuter attributes artificially formed by the immaturity and dwarfing of her womanhood." With such competent testimony on the effects of English Higher Education on women, he is no patriot, nor sincere reformer, who would shrink from his imperative duty of advocating a system of education for females other than masculine. It is no good writing newspaper articles, making declamatory speeches, beating the breast, and crying over house-tops upon the necessity of female education for the regeneration of India. What is wanted is, practical proof of the sincerity of intentions, and real earnest work. The first step necessary is to carve out a system of education which will meet all requirements and which can be completed without enervating the body or overstuffing the brain within the limited period at the disposal of the Indian girl, it being a well established fact that she attains maturity at an early age. It was said by some great personage that



a man may be as great a man, and as good a man, and as wise a man knowing only his language, and the wisdom in it, as the man who knows all the Latin and Greek books that were ever written. In India men are bound to study English, because that is the official language, and the language in which they are able to converse and transact business with the governing class. There being no such necessity for the women, it is not only want of patriotism and folly, but downright madness, to render female education difficult by imparting it in a foreign tongue, but on the other hand we will be able to improve our own by doing it in the vernacular. The initial difficulty in carrying into effect such a scheme would lie in the absence of suitable text books, but thank God! the difficulty is not insurmountable. It should be got over by the reformers, who instead of busying themselves with tall talk should apply vigorously to the making of text-books. It is no doubt easy task for them to say, we have no text-books in the vernacular, so let us educate our females in the English Language where there is an abundance of them. This is just as good as saying, because we have not the wherewithal to live, let us make use of our neighbour's who has plenty. That is no doubt one kind of wisdom, but not the honest wisdom of a patriot who would deem it an honor to improve his mother-tongue by translations and adaptations from others, rather than suffer the degradation and disgrace of changing it, not because it is difficult to master, or is unmusical to the ear, but that he is too lazy and unwilling to devote his time and energy to supply its deficiencies by steady application and sincere devotion. Sanscrit deserves to be made as in ancient times the national language of India for educational purposes. It is the storehouse of sound wisdom, of the most abstruse philosophy, of subtle metaphysics, of profound religion, of all the exact sciences, of the most melodious verse. There is no science of which it does not treat, no theme with which it does not deal. It is the parent of languages, and a parent too who commands the respect and admiration of the civilised world. Long before Europe merged out of seething barbarism, India was enjoying the full zenith of civilisation, but if she is not to-day, what she was then in the forefront holding aloft the torchlight of civilisation and the banner of progress, her degenerate sons are to blame and not the language with which their ancestors conquered the known world in knowledge and civilisation. Rich in the possession of such a price-

less legacy, why go-a-begging for a language to impart education to your women. You, who ought to be the teachers, have shamelessly suffered yourselves to be taught by European Pandits in the interpretation of your *Śrūtis* and *Smritis*, while learned Sastries are pining away in secluded hamlets for want of encouragement; you have allowed the mysterious truths of your religion to be propounded according to their lights by Olcotts and Besants whom you adored and worshipped as Mahatmas, while your real teachers of profound wisdom are rotting away by the banks of sacred rivers in poverty and neglect; and you are not ashamed of your degeneration, and abject degradation, nor yet satisfied you are now anxious to give up your real treasure in exchange for a counterfeit, even at the sacrifice of the contented lives of your wives, mothers, and daughters, to turn them adrift into sentimental, frivolous, ambitious and discontented women, fit no longer to be loving and devoted wives, fond, tender mothers, careful, economical housewives, or as affectionate blooming daughters, all equally contented with their happy lot.

• That the tendency of Western education is materialistic is a fact which needs no demonstration; that the short period of girlhood in this tropical country is not sufficient even to acquire a smattering knowledge in a foreign tongue is a truth which admits of no controversy. Why then seek you to disturb the Indian female from her safe moorings and to expose her to the high winds, the surging billows, and the lashing foam, of a boundless ocean.

Time is no insignificant factor in the settlement of a system of education for Indian females. The only unbroken period for the education of the girl is until she attains maturity which happens rather early in this tropical climate; then between monthly returns, pregnancy, delivery, nursing of children and other domestic duties she has little time to devote to education.

Next comes the question of means, for supposing a girl has the will to continue her studies after attaining maturity, and does so by remaining single, unless she is in affluent circumstances, her studies will be interrupted by domestic duties, attention to which will give her little leisure for anything else. There may however be solitary exceptions where a girl in humble circumstances will find herself unhindered by such difficulties owing to the paucity of members in the family, with a dotign mother or

sister who is anxious to help by relieving her from household work. But such solitary exceptions are not to be taken advantage of to be made the basis of any system of national education. The errors generally committed by the advocates of English education for Indian women lie in supposing (1) that English education is the only remedy for national regeneration; (2) that the women have the same period at their disposal for education as the men; (3) that those who resort to it are all rich, and therefore able to command servants for their household work; (4) that the women have the same strong constitution as the men. In the case of a mere verbal discussion, it does not matter much if the premises and conclusions are far wide of the mark, but where the result arrived at concerns the welfare and happiness of nearly half the population of India, it behoves all those concerned to pause and seriously reflect before putting it into practice.

We are already looked down as a degenerate race for neglecting to avail ourselves of the blessings conferred on us by our revered ancestors who laboured manfully and successfully in the cause of civilisation and bequeathed to us a priceless legacy, and failing to prove by following in their worthy footsteps that we are their worthy descendants. True it is, that we have already lost much precious time, and neglected to preserve if not to embellish the rich heritage; we have proclaimed to the world the truth of the Darwinian theory of evolution by aping successfully the ways of Englishmen in some of their manners and fashions, but we have yet to prove what more becomes us, that we are the descendants of a noble race, possessing in us a spark of that patriotism which animated them from the cradle to the grave. But better late than never. Let us all gird up our loins and work sincerely and zealously for the regeneration of our country, not upon the lines indicated by our English friends, but on the imperishable foundations laid by our noble ancestors, and prove to Englishmen that English education is neither the panacea for Indian social evils, nor the means to effect the amelioration of Indian women. We should strenuously endeavour for a renaissance and not reform, to restore the ancient glories of Aryavarttha. Let us preserve caste in its original simplicity, shorn of its superstitious habits and orthodox tinsel trappings, as a civil institution, an instrument of progress, an elixir for the restoration and consolidation of national unity. It has been our bulwork against foreign

aggression and national extinction. Let us sink all minor differences and unite, for union alone will give us strength. As in the case of individuals, there is a tide in the affairs of nations which taken at the flood would lead them to fortune. From the zenith of greatness we have fallen to the nadir of degeneration. Let us now endeavour to reach the zenith again and maintain the proud position once occupied by our ancestors. That is regeneration pure, simple, real and noble, and nothing else.

G. T. M.

## RAJA RAJA CHOLA.

NE of the oldest and grandest of the shrines erected in Southern India for the worship of the *Linga* or phallic symbols is the great temple at Tanjore. It is a fine specimen of Dravidian architecture, remarkable alike for the chaste simplicity of its style, and the stately plan on which it has been constructed. The spacious courtyard of the temple measures about 500 feet in length and 200 feet in breadth; and the central tower which rises like a pyramid of graceful proportions, surmounted by a beautiful cupola, is almost 200 feet high. In front of the porch is a gigantic image of a bull, carved out of a single block of stone 16 feet long by 12 feet high and 7 feet across. (1) Although it was actually built about nine centuries ago, it appears to this day, as new and perfect as if it had been completed hardly nine years ago. Neither in the great tower, nor in the massive gateways and turrets which line the quadrangle surrounding it, is there a single stone broken or out of its place. So carefully has it been attended to by the royal dynasties who successively ruled at Tanjore, that the alternate seasons of rain and sunshine for nine hundred years have left little or no trace of their destructive effects on the building, and it bids fair to remain intact for many centuries to come, as a permanent monument of the piety and prowess of its founder Rajaraja Chola, *alias* Ko-raja-kesari-varmman.

A record of the name and achievements of the founder and of the many donations to the temple made by him, and by different members of his family, is found in the inscriptions which are engraved on the base of the central tower, and on many of the pillars and walls of the outer buildings. The inscriptions, most of which were engraved during the reign of Raja-raja-deva, are still perfectly legible. Very few native scholars are however able to read them, as the Tamil characters of that age are somewhat different from the characters of modern Tamil; and consequently, most of the Tamil pandits have no idea whatever of the mine of information, antiquarian and historical, that lies

(1) Mr. Fergusson's *Indian and Eastern Architecture* pp. 343-5.

## RAJA-RAJA CHOLA.

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concealed in these archaic inscriptions. (2) They commence as follows with a Sanscrit verse :—(Sanskrit). Health and wealth ! This (is) the record of the grant of Raja-raja-Raja-kesari-varmman, which is honored by the rows of diadems of all princes. (Tamil) on the twentieth day of the twenty sixth year (of the reign) of Ko-raja-kesari-varmman *alias* Sri Raja-raja-deva who to make it known (to all) that the goddess of the great earth had, like the goddess of wealth, become his consort—quelled the rebellion at Kāndalur Sālai, and by his valiant and victorious army, conquered Vengai-nadu, Gangai-padi, Tadikai-padi, Nulamba-padi, the western Malai-nadu, Kollam Kalingam, and applauded by the eight directions, (*i.e.*, all surrounding nations) Ila-mandafam, and the seven and a half lacs of Irattap-padi; who deprived the Pandyas of their splendour, and has so distinguished himself that he is worthy of worship every-where, (he) the Udaiyār Sri-Raja-raja-deva, while seated in the eastern bath-room in the palace of Iru-mudi-Chola having bestowed (the usual) gifts, was pleased to command “ Let all the gifts made by us, the gifts made by our elder sister, the gifts made by our wives, and the gifts made by other donors to the Lord of the sacred stone temple erected by us at Tanjavur in the Tanjavur Kurram in the Pandya-kulasini-vala-nadu, be engraved on stone on the sacred central tower.”

It is to this laudable desire on the part of the Chola king to leave a permanent record of the donations to temples that we owe much of the information we now possess of the Chola history for at least three centuries from the time of Raja-raja; for his successors on the Chola throne followed his example, and the grants made during their reign, between the tenth and thirteenth centuries of the Christian era, were engraved on the stone walls of most of the ancient temples in Tamilakam. These lithic records are dated in the regnal years of the king, and in mentioning the name and titles of the king, the leading events of his reign or his martial exploits are also briefly described. It appears from these inscriptions that the Saka era, which was current in the Telugu and Canarese countries was not then in use in the Tamil-land. The exact year of accession of Rajaraja Chola

(2) Those who take an interest in the history of Southern India, but are unable to read the original inscriptions on the temples, may study with advantage the text and translation of the inscriptions, which have been edited with great care and ability by Dr. Hultzsch, the Government Epigraphist. See *South Indian Inscriptions*. Vol. II.

could not therefore be determined until the discovery of a Canarese inscription of his reign in the Mysore Province, in which, both the Saka year and the year of the king's reign were given. From the Canarese inscription it has been ascertained that Rajaraja's reign commenced in the year 984-85 A. D. (3) Calculating from this year, it follows that the King's order, directing that a record of his gifts be engraved on the temple, was issued in the year 1010-11 A. D., shortly before which the construction of the temple appears to have been completed.

Of the ancestors of Rajaraja very little is known from the inscriptions on temples. We learn however from the copper-plates which contain the grant of the village of Anaimangalam to the Buddhist Vihara at Negapatam, (4) that he was the son of Parantaka II, and great grandson of Parantaka I or Vira-Narayana, who defeated the Pandya and Sinhalese armies, and built the Kanaka-Sabha (Golden Hall) at Chidambaram. In describing the genealogy of the Cholas, the *Kolingattu-Parani* mentions him after the Chola king who vanquished the Pandya and Sinhalese forces, and states that he captured Udakai in the Uthia (or Chera) kingdom. (5) The *Vikrama-Cholan-Ula* similarly alludes to him, after the Chola who built the Kanaka-Sābha, and praises him for having cut off the heads of eighteen princes, and conquered Malai-nadu, in retaliation for the insult offered to his envoy. (6) He is referred to in the *Kulottunga-Cholan-Ula* and *Rajaraja-Cholan-Ula* (7) also as the king who destroyed Udakai. It is evident therefore that Rajaraja commenced his career of conquests by chastising the princes at Udakai, in the Chera kingdom, who had insulted his envoy.

Up to the 9th year of his reign, he is mentioned in the inscriptions simply as Rajarajakesari-varmman, and none of his conquests are alluded to. During this period that is, from 984 to 993 A. D., he appears to have been consolidating his power, as the Chola Kingdom had just then thrown off the yoke of the Rukhtrakutas, the last king of which line had been defeated by the Western Chalukya Tailappa. In inscriptions dated from the 10th to the 12th year of his reign, the epithet "who quelled the rebellion at Kandalur-Salai" is prefixed to his name. Subse-

(3) Mr. Rice's Epigraphia Carnatica No. 140. Kanarese inscription at Bahmet.

(4) Archaeological Survey of Southern India. Vol. IV. p. 216.

(5) *Kolingattu-parani*, Canto viii, verse 24.

(6) *Vikrama-Cholan-Ula*. See Indian Antiquary Vol. xxii, p. 142.

(7) These poems have not yet been published in print.

## RASA-RAJA CHOLA.

quent inscriptions beginning with the words "*Tiru makal palay peru nilach chelviyum*" are found not only in Tanjore, but also in many of the ancient temples in other places. They furnish a complete list of the conquests made by the King up to the date of each inscription, and clearly show the gradual expansion of the Chola dominions during his eventful reign. When he came to the throne he inherited only the Chola and Konga kingdoms. The former comprised very nearly the modern Tanjore and Trichinopoly Districts, and the latter the Coimbatore District. His elder sister Kuntavai having married the Pallava King Vandyadeva, who was most probably a weak prince, and entirely subservient to Rajaraja, the latter's authority extended over the territories of the Pallava king also, that is, the whole of the country now known as the Chingleput, North Arcot and South Arcot Districts. In the 10th year of his reign, he put down the rebellion at Salai. Before the end of the 14th year, he conquered Vengai-Nadu (the Nellore, Kistna and Godavari Districts) Gai-padi, Nulamba-padi Tadi-kai-padi (the Mysore Province) and Kudamalai-Nadu (Coorg), and defeated the Chelias (Pandyas). Within the next four years his armies over-ran Kollam (Malabar) and Kalingam (the Vizagapatam and Ganjam Districts), and invaded Lanka (Ceylon). In the 21st year Satyasraya II. the Western Chalukya King was defeated by him, and Irattapadi, or a portion of it at least (the Cuddapah, Kurnool, Bellary and Anantapur Districts) was annexed to his dominions: and before the 29th year, the 12,000 islands in the sea (the Laccadives and Maldives) were brought under his sway. When he died in the 29th or 30th year of his reign, his empire included almost the whole of the country now known as the Madras Presidency, the Provinces of Coorg and Mysore, and the Northern portion of Ceylon.

In all the inscriptions in which his conquests are detailed, due praise is given to the valour and efficiency of his army, which appears to have been so well equipped and organised that it never met with any reverse in all its campaigns. Separate regiments of body-guards, foot soldiers and archers are named in the inscriptions as follow:—

Royal Body Guards of the Keralāntaka Gate.

Royal Body Guards of the Inner Gate.

Keralāntaka's Chosen Troops.

Jananātha's Chosen Troops.

Singalântaka's Chosen Troops

Pandita Chola's chosen Archers. (8)

If Rajarâja was great in War, he was not the less so in peace : for he had the genius to organise Governments in an eminent degree, and most of the kingdoms conquered by him remained integral parts of the Chola Empire during the reign of many of his successors. Under his strong rule, the conquered countries, as well as the Chola Kingdom, appear to have enjoyed perfect peace and security of property. Judging from the minute measurement of rent-free and rent-paying lands, as recorded in the inscriptions at Tanjore, there is every reason to believe that the lands under cultivation throughout his Empire were carefully surveyed and assessed during his sovereignty. A complete account of the number of weavers, goldsmiths, blacksmiths and other artisans appears to have been also maintained : and professional taxes levied accordingly. He embellished his capital city Tanjore by the erection of various buildings, and the grand temple which bears his name. His ceaseless activity and zealous work for the public good left such a deep impression on the minds of his tributary princes and chiefs, that they were not slow to follow his example, and vied with each other in promoting the welfare of the Empire. His wonderful tact and ability as the founder of an Empire were most visible in the spirit of unity which he infused into his subjects, although they were divided by the languages they spoke and the religions they professed. The achievements of his army no doubt compelled the union of many races ; but unless the King had constantly kept it in his view, to conciliate the conquered races, by granting them their due share in civil and military employment, he could not have long succeeded in holding them together as the subjects of one Empire.

Whatever he undertook to do, he did thoroughly, and to the best of his ability. This trait of his character is best shown by the endowments he made to the Ragarâjeswara temple. No one who reads the long list of villages and lands, of images and utensils of gold and of costly jewels presented to the temple, which is inscribed on its walls, can fail to admire the solicitude of the King to provide for every want of the temple on a most lavish scale. Superb diadems and ear-rings made of gold and set with the finest diamonds and rubies ; priceless necklaces of

(8) Dr. Hultzsch's South Indian Inscriptions Vol. II. p. 98 and ff.

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lustrous pearls and bright coral beads, bracelets, arm-rings, girdles, anklets and toe-rings, all of gold, set with precious stones and various other ornaments, too numerous to mention in detail were supplied to adorn the idols. Likewise, dishes, cups, plates, bowls, pitchers, salvers, kettles, water-pots, fly-whisks and betel-leaf boxes, wrought in pure gold were furnished for the daily service. Even the trumpets and parasols were made of gold; and although every kind of ornament and utensil, made of the most costly materials had been supplied, the pious king was not satisfied until he had showered at the feet of the god flowers made of gold! A complete staff of servants and officials was appointed for the temple, such as goldsmiths, carpenters, musicians, dancing girls, astrologers, accountants and treasurers; and lands were granted for their maintenance. Sheep, cows and buffaloes were given to supply milk and ghee: grants of money were made for the purchase of articles required for the daily service: and whole villages were assigned to furnish annually the rice required for the sacred offerings.

Rajārāja appears to have had several wives, the names of five of whom are mentioned in the inscriptions. Lokamahadevi was the chief queen: and the names of the others are Soramahadevi, Trailokyamahadevi, Panchavanmahadevi and Abimanavalli. The first four were apparently princesses by birth, as the title Mahadevi is attached to their names. Panchavanmahadevi was most probably the daughter of a Pandyan prince, Panchavan being a hereditary name of the Pandyas. Of his children, only two are alluded to in inscriptions: his son Rajendra Chola, who succeeded him on the throne, and a daughter Kuntavai who married Vimalāditya the Eastern Chalukya king.

Many curious facts may be noted from the inscriptions regarding the habits and customs, the political and social condition, and the religious beliefs and ceremonies of the Tamil people in the early part of the eleventh century: but, as it will be out of place to dwell on them at any length in this article, I shall briefly state some of the salient facts which may interest the general reader.

Education was at a very low ebb at this period, as may be seen from the many incorrect expressions used in the inscriptions. No literary work which can be confidently assigned to Rajārāja's reign has been quoted in later works, or handed down to posterity. There is a blank in Tamil literature, from about

A. D. 950 to 1050, which should, I think, be attributed to the conquest of the Chola kingdom, by the Rashtrakutas, during the time of the immediate predecessors of Rajaraja. Chola accountants had not however lost their knowledge of the exact measurement of land or the valuation of revenue. The system of fractional notation in *mā*, *kāni* and *mundiri* or fractions  $1/20$ ,  $1/80$  and  $1/320$  peculiar to Southern India, was in vogue; the unit of land measurement being a *veli* which is equal to about 5 English acres.

The property in land vested in the village assembly: and all unclaimed land within the limits of each village belonged to them, and could be appropriated by them to any special use. The village assembly was responsible to the king for the total amount of tax due from the village, which was paid in kind or in coin. Farmers who failed to pay the land tax forfeited their holdings, and the village assembly then sold the defaulter's farms to others who applied for them. Building sites, burial grounds, and all lands belonging to temples and convents were exempt from tax.

Among the camp servants or followers, the Right Hand servants are specially mentioned in inscriptions: and it is evident therefore that the distinction of Right Hand and Left Hand castes existed among the Tamils as early as the reign of Rajaraja Chola. Washermen, toddy-drawers *Kammālar* (blacksmiths, goldsmiths and carpenters) and *Pariahs* (drummers) resided in hamlets outside the towns; and it was considered a pollution for others to touch any individual of the above mentioned castes. (9) All higher castes resided in towns. It appears therefore that the Tamils did not follow the Aryan system of caste: for, according to that system, *Kammālar*, that is blacksmiths, carpenters and goldsmiths would have been treated as Vaisyas, and not as a low caste whom the higher castes could not touch without pollution. Brahmins learned in the four Vedas received grants of land from pious kings, and resided on the lands allotted to them. Whole villages were sometimes granted to Vedic Brahmins, and were henceforth known as Chatur-veda-mangalam. They were distinguished by the donor's name as follow:—

|               |                       |
|---------------|-----------------------|
| Gandaraditya  | Chatur-veda-mangalam. |
| Jananatha     | do                    |
| Vira-Narayana | do                    |

(9) Dr. Hultzsch's South Indian Inscriptions Vol II. p. 43 and ff.

Arunchikai Chatur-veda-mangalam.

Parantaka do do

Kuntavai do do

Rajaraja Chola professed the Saiva religion: and temples dedicated to Shiva were far more numerous in the Tamil land than those of Vishnu. But the masses appear to have continued the worship of their primitive Dravidian deities and every village had its temple of Pidari and Ayyanâr, who were doubtless the prototypes of Parvati and Siva. There were also scattered communities who still adhered to Buddhism or Jainism. A famous Buddhist shrine at Naga-paddinam (Negapatam) still attracted pilgrims from distant lands. Jain monasteries and convents were also in existence, though the number of Jain monks and nuns does not appear to have been considerable. The court religion being Saivism, it was, of course, in evidence everywhere. Rajaraja appears to have favored the sect of Saivas, who adopted the *Linga* as the emblem of Siva. His immediate predecessors had been worshippers of the *Linga*, and one of them Kumara Kulottunga Chola is praised as *Jangamaraja* Kulottunga. (10) Rajaraja was a devout Saiva, and although he assumed many titles, such as Arumoli (one whose words are precious) Rajasraya (the asylum of kings), Jayankonda-Chola (the Chola conqueror) and Mummudi-Chola (the Chola who wore three crowns, i.e., those of the Chera, Chola and Pandya), none was more appropriate or more truly expressive of his high purpose and sincere piety than the epithet Siva-pâda-Sekhara (He whose crown is the feet of Siva)!

V. KANAKASABHAI.

(10) Oddakkootar's kulottunga-cholak-kovai. Stanzas. 2, 25, 29, 40, 239, 328, 343, 365.

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SALT-TAX.

IN the early days, there was much discussion as regards the soundness of the policy of taxing salt which is, as a necessary of life, in importance next only to air and water. In India, the consumption of salt is also greater in proportion to other articles of diet than in any other portion of the world. The exemption of necessities from duty must, however, be contingent on the power of obtaining the amount required for the necessities of the State from other objects. Salt, which is rightly free in England, has to be taxed in India owing to the absence of other resources. The really productive objects of taxation are not quite the same in any two countries. The tastes and habits of each community have to be carefully observed and taken into account and general principles of taxation have to be applied to the varying circumstances of each particular nation in such a way as to realize the ends of a sound and prudent policy. In 1869, the Duke of Argyle, Secretary of State for India, expressed himself on this subject in the following terms:—"On all grounds of general principle, salt is a perfectly legitimate subject of taxation. It is impossible to reach the masses of the people by direct taxes; if they are to contribute at all to the expenditure of the State, it must be through taxes levied upon some articles of universal consumption. If such taxes are fairly adjusted, a large revenue can thus be raised, not only with less consciousness on the part of the people but with less real hardship on them than in any other way whatever. There is no other article in India answering this description upon which any tax is levied. It appears to be the only one which at present in that country can occupy the



place which is held in our fiscal system by the great articles of consumption from which a large part of the imperial revenue is derived. I am of opinion that the salt-tax in India must continue to be regarded as a legitimate important branch of the public revenue. It is the duty, however, of the Government to see that such taxes are not so heavy as to bear unjustly on the poor by amounting to a large percentage on their necessary expenditure." Salt being thus a legitimate subject of taxation, the question arises what is the policy which should regulate the level of the taxation. This policy, as finally laid down by Government, is—that the revenue should be raised by a low rate of duty and unrestricted consumption instead of by a high rate of duty and restricted consumption. The measures taken for the enhancement of the duty in January 1888 are a violent departure from this policy. The enhanced duty of Rs. 2-8-0 per maund goes beyond the limit at which it tends to check consumption. The Indian National Congress has never asked for the abolition of the salt-tax; but what it has been protesting against year after year is the enhancement of the duty made in 1888. In calling attention at the last budget meeting to the paramount necessity of reducing this duty, the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has simply voiced the feeling of the entire nation, and it is a matter for intense regret and disappointment that so just a proposal—a proposal which has received support from the Hon'ble Messrs. Smeaton and Syed Belgrami too—should not have commended itself to a statesman of such large views and generous sympathies as Lord Curzon and that His Lordship should have lost the opportunity of removing an unjust addition to the burdens of the poor. After all, the reduction of the duty of 8 annas per maund would have entailed a loss of no more than 178 lakhs of rupees, and the financial condition of the Imperial treasury has so far improved as to justify this remission. When are we to expect the redemption of the promises regarding the reduction of this duty, if not in a year in which the budget shows an unprecedented surplus of 7 crores of rupees. A portion of the amount that has to be remitted will be only a temporary sacrifice, since it could easily be made up by increased consumption.

During the last thirty years, two opposite fiscal systems have been tried in this country. During the first seven years (1870-71 to 1876-77) the system followed was that of levying "high duties on a restricted consumption." The results were

"stationary, even declining, consumption, and almost inelastic revenues." The demand was everywhere kept down by high duties, and consequently high prices and a very low level of consumption prevailed. In North India, with a population of upwards of 95 millions, the consumption was not only at a stand-still, but showed an actual decline of 12 per cent. Nor was the annual increase in the other provinces, except in Bombay, by any means proportionate even to increase of population. With reference to the inquiries instituted by the Government of India in 1872 regarding the pressure of taxation, the Government of Madras reported "the salt-tax has probably in this Presidency been raised to the highest point at which it will not injuriously affect consumption. The greater facilities for carriage afforded by the extension of railways have, doubtless, tended and must continue to reduce the tax to the inland consumer, but consumption is nevertheless not increasing proportionately with the increase of wealth and population. The tax, however, being an indirect one, is not likely to be the subject of complaint unless enhanced to a prohibitive rate, but it is deserving of serious consideration whether it is not now so high as to be a financial mistake in this Presidency." At this time the Government monopoly price was only Rs. 2 per maund or 11 annas less than the present price.

In 1877-78, Lord Lytton's Government abandoned this policy, and inaugurated a new one, namely, that of "levying a low rate of duty on unrestricted consumption." The change of system was carried out, at its first tentative stage, only in North India and Bengal. In Bombay and Madras, however, the duties were increased. The demand rapidly expanded under the stimulus of the fiscal relief, and where the supply was adequate, there was a commensurate expansion of consumption. In North India, where for 7 long years it had shown no tendency to rise, it increased 50 per cent. in 5 years, having advanced from 4,568,000 to 6,838,000 maunds. In Bengal the increase of consumption was not in proportion to the reduction of the duty, owing mainly to the insufficiency of supply. Financially also, the partial adoption of this change of system was no less successful, the gross revenue showing an increase of 14.5 per cent. in 5 years as against 4 per cent. of the previous period of 7 years. Encouraged by the results of the policy adopted in 1877-78, the Government of Lord Ripon carried it a step further and reduced the duties

all round to a uniform rate of Rs. 2 per maund in 1882. The duty levied at this period is as follows:—A duty of Rs. 2-8 is levied all over British India, except on salt imported by sea into, or manufactured in, Bengal and on salt consumed in the trans-Indus districts of the Punjab and in Burma. In Bengal the tax is Rs. 2-14 a maund. In the trans-Indus districts of the Punjab salt is consumed, which is produced at the Kohat mines and on which a duty varying from Rs. 2-8-0 to 4 annas a maund is levied. In Burma, the duty is only 3 annas a maund. Lord Ripon explained the reasons for the reduction of the duty in the following terms:—

“I think that the large reduction we propose in the salt-tax is very desirable, both upon general grounds and upon financial grounds. My Hon'ble friend, Major Baring (now Lord Cromer) has dealt with the financial portion of the question, and I can add nothing to what he has said in that respect; but I desire to express the difficulty which I feel in adopting the view which has been put forward by some of my hon'ble friends in the course of this discussion, that this tax upon salt—which is a tax upon a necessary of life: which is a tax of many hundred per cent. upon the natural price of the article: which is paid, as I believe, I am justified in saying, for or on behalf of every person in this country, of all the many millions gathered under the sceptre of our Queen-Empress—is not a tax which is felt by those who pay it: is not a tax which it is desirable to reduce apart from the financial considerations which lead to its reduction, in order to confer a benefit upon the great mass of the population of this country. My hon'ble friend Raja Siva Prasad has stated his opinion that this salt duty is felt by the people, that it does press upon them, and that they will obtain considerable relief by the reduction now proposed. I confess that I find it very difficult to suppose that that is not the case, and that a tax of this kind, paid by men whose annual income is as low or nearly as low, as the figure mentioned by my hon'ble friend Major Baring, does not press heavily upon those who are least able to contribute to the necessities of the Government.”

“Then there is another point which presses with me very much in respect to this salt-tax, and that is, the effect it has on agriculture. We all know that the consumption of salt is very necessary for cattle, and in the papers to which my hon'ble friend Major Baring referred; and very remarkable papers they are, in connection with this subject—namely, the reports from Rajpoot-

ana with respect to the result of the recent salt arrangements in that part of the world—particular attention is drawn to the fact that in many cases, while the consumption of salt by the people themselves is not diminished, the amount of salt given to the cattle has diminished greatly. It is, no doubt, contrary to public policy to maintain at a high rate a tax which has a practical tendency to discourage and interfere with the progress and advancement of agriculture. Then, again, it must be borne in mind that, as my hon'ble friend Major Baring said, this tax, when lowered in other parts of India a few years ago, was raised in Bombay and Madras, and the quotation he has made from a very able newspaper on the Bombay side shows that the people of that part of the world have not forgotten that fact, and that they are of opinion that the tax raised against them has pressed upon them heavily, and that they will undoubtedly rejoice in a reduction which will bring down the tax nearly to what it was before it was raised a few years ago.

“Now it seems to me that, with respect to this salt-tax we are in this position. If the salt-tax does not press upon the people—if it is a tax which they do not feel at all and do not object to pay, then it does form, without doubt, the best possible financial resource you can have, and the lower you can bring it down, the greater is the security to the people of India against other forms of taxation. If, on the other hand, the salt-tax does press upon the poorer classes of the country, then surely it is only right and just that the Government should give those—the poorest classes—a share of the prosperity which the country is enjoying at the present time, even although it may at some future period of financial difficulty and disaster be necessary to re-impose the duty temporarily, in order that we may recoup ourselves for the loss which such a condition of affairs would impose upon us. But, then, my hon'ble friend says that all experience shows that this reduction does not reach the people. I can really add nothing to what my hon'ble friend Major Baring said upon that subject. I cannot say what may be the experience of this country. I can only say that the experience of all other countries is precisely the other way, and I am altogether unconvinced that large reduction of taxation will not ultimately reach the consumer, and will not be found here, as everywhere, to benefit the consumer at large.”

With the reduction of the duty, demand rose everywhere, but

supply was more or less unequal to it. During the three years (1882-83 to 1884-85) the conditions were better than in the next two years (1885-86 and 1886-87) and increase of consumption proportionately higher. In the first three years, Bengal shows an increase of 14 per cent. as against 8.4 per cent. during the previous five years. Madras exhibits a still better increase, 23 per cent. in 3 years against the decrease of 2 per cent. during the previous 5 years which was due to the enhancement of the duty in 1878-79—an increase all the more remarkable when it is remembered that consumption of salt in that Province had been absolutely at a stand-still, even with a tendency to occasional decline, during the 14 years previous (1868-69 to 1882-83). It may be noted here that it has been calculated that the quantity of salt required by a labouring man in the Madras Presidency is double the quantity required by a labouring man in Northern India, part of whose diet consists of wheat. The equalisation of the salt duties throughout India has really had the effect of enhancing the duty on salt to persons who require salt to a large extent and of diminishing it to persons who require salt to a much smaller extent. While there was an increase of consumption in Bengal and Madras in these three years, North India and Bombay show somewhat meagre results. In the next two years, we have some small decrease of consumption in most of the Provinces except Madras, which also showed but a slight increase. The results for the whole period (1882-83 to 1886-87) were (1) consumption increasing on the whole but not in proportion to the reduction of duty (Bombay 23 per cent., Madras 10 per cent. Bengal 7 per cent., North India 2 per cent.) and (2) financially the revenues rose from £6,177,785 to £6,538,600 or 5 per cent. in 5 years. Diminished imports and declining local manufacture (as in Bengal in 1885-86 and 1886-87), the failure of supply from Government salt works, exhausted stocks, unusual wastages (as in Bombay in 1886-87), insufficient local supplies under the new excise system (as in Madras)—these have been among the leading features of the salt supply during this period on the one hand, while on the other hand we have a rise of demand everywhere and complaints of inadequate supply even from Madras, where consumption rose higher than elsewhere. The rate of duty has no doubt a very important effect on the total consumption, but it is not the sole cause which determines the final result, and

its operation has to be judged in relation to other causes simultaneously at work—such as cost of transport, extent of supply in relation to demand, increase of population.

Instead of carrying a step further the work begun by Lord Lytton and continued by Lord Ripon, and effecting a reform in the management of the salt works under State supervision with a view to secure an extended supply to meet an expanding demand and thereby improving the chances of increase of salt revenue, the Government of Lord Dufferin actually raised the duty from Rs. 2 to Rs. 2-8-0 per maund in Continental India and from 3 annas to 1 rupee per maund in Burma by a Notification issued on the 19th January 1888 on the strength of the statutory powers vested in the Executive Government by the Legislature under the provisions of the Salt Act, 1882. This notification added at a single stroke no less than 1½ crores of rupees to the annual revenues. The year in which the salt duty was reduced to Rs. 2 all round to the relief of the poorer classes was also the year in which the above Act was passed. Thus, we find that while on the one hand the Executive Government decides, in the exercise of its discretion, to levy the duty at only Rs. 2 per maund, the Legislature fixes the maximum amount of duty at Rs. 3 and leaves it to the Executive Government to impose any rate of duty not exceeding the maximum. It is a question whether in any country where a separate Legislative and Executive authority is constituted by law, such reserve powers of discretionary taxation are in fact ever conferred on the Executive authority by the legislature. This is not, however, the only instance in which the Indian legislature has surrendered its powers to the Executive authority. It might be necessary for the Government to use such a reserve power "in the presence of any overwhelming necessity, such as that of a great war, or a great famine," as remarked by Lord Dufferin in the debate in connection with the License Tax Amendment Bill, 1886. But, admittedly, there was no such emergency at the time when the notification raising the duty was issued. The only reason urged by Sir James Westland, the Finance Minister, in justification of this measure was, that it was required to meet a deficit caused partly (1) by adverse exchange, and (2) mainly by the Burmese demand for extraordinary special expenditure. Sir James said:—"It is with the greatest reluctance that the Government finds itself obliged to have recourse to the salt duty... Considering the improvement in all means of communica-

tion and the generally improved condition of the people, we may reasonably hope that the burden of a duty of Rs. 2-8-0 will not now have any effect in restricting the rate at which the consumption is increasing." This is, however, opposed not only to the views held by his distinguished predecessors but also to the evidence of recorded facts and figures. In his Financial statement for 1877-78, Sir J. Strachey said: "When salt is cheap and abundant the consumption is much larger than when it is dear and when the supply is restricted." Major Baring also held the same view. In his speech on the License Tax Amendment Bill, 1886, Sir Auckland Colvin observed:—"For example, we might have replaced, in part or in whole, the reduction of the duty on salt which was made by the preceding Government, but to have done this would, in the first place, have been to increase the burdens of the poorest classes of the community; it would have checked the consumption of salt which has risen from 24,498,000 maunds in the period from 1st March 1881 to January 31st, 1882, to 27,792,000 maunds in the period from 1st March 1884 to 31st January 1885." The figures showing the consumption of salt from 1881-82, are given below:

| Year.   | Total consumption of salt in millions of maunds. |
|---------|--------------------------------------------------|
| 1881-82 | 28-37                                            |
| 1882-83 | 29-79                                            |
| 1883-84 | 30-65                                            |
| 1884-85 | 33-00                                            |
| 1885-86 | 31-69                                            |
| 1886-87 | 33-72                                            |
| 1887-88 | 33-063                                           |
| 1888-89 | 31-351                                           |
| 1889-90 | 33-046                                           |
| 1890-91 | 33-280                                           |
| 1891-92 | 34-429                                           |
| 1892-93 | 35-057                                           |
| 1893-94 | 33-628                                           |
| 1894-95 | 34-150                                           |
| 1895-96 | 34-685                                           |
| 1896-97 | 34-062                                           |
| 1897-98 | 34-524                                           |
| 1898-99 | 35-26                                            |
| 1899-00 | 35-05                                            |
| 1900-01 | 35-72                                            |

During the five years succeeding the reduction of the duty, the increase in consumption was 5.35 million maunds or 18 per cent. During the 4 years since 1887-88, when the duty was enhanced, a steady decline in consumption took place, though the population of Upper Burma was added to the number of consumers since 1886. There was but a slight advance during the subsequent years. During the 14 years since 1886-87 the consumption has increased from 33.72 to 35.72 million maunds, *i.e.*, just 2 million maunds or less than 6 per cent. The consumption has not kept pace even with the growth of population and shows no development whatever, such as is exhibited during the five years which followed the reduction of the duty in 1882-83. During the administration of Lord Lawrence, very careful enquiries were made into the general consumption of salt throughout India, and it was ascertained (*vide* Report of East India Finance Committee, vol. 1 page 148, Sir C. Beadon's evidence) that on an average the consumption was 12 lbs. per head. Now the consumption has gone down to 9.72 lb.—equal to a diminution in consumption per head of 7.16 per cent. Mr. Pedder, one of the ablest officers of the Bombay Government, stated in a special report on the subject, 1871 (para 103)—"I have formed the conclusion that 14 lbs is the probable actual consumption in the Bombay Presidency." In the Manual of the administration of the Madras Presidency, it is stated "the rate of consumption is believed to vary from 13.22 lb. per head in the Northern districts of the Presidency to 17.78 lb. per head on the Western Coast." Indeed, the consumption per head has fallen below the average of 10 lbs per annum. That average is considered every where, but in India, to be quite inadequate, especially as nothing is allowed in the computation for the consumption of cattle, hundreds of thousands of which annually lose condition for want of salt and die off in consequence on the smallest failure of pasturage, and thus cripple to a serious extent the means which mainly contribute to the production of our national wealth. The figures of salt revenue from 1881-82 to 1900-01 are as under:—

| Year.   | Revenue in Crores. |
|---------|--------------------|
| 1881—82 | 7.375              |
| 1882—83 | 6.177              |
| 1883—84 | 6.145              |
| 1884—85 | 6.507              |
| 1885—86 | 6.345              |
| 1886—87 | 6.657              |
| 1887—88 | 6.970              |
| 1888—89 | 7.675              |
| 1889—90 | 8.187              |
| 1890—91 | 8.523              |
| 1891—92 | 8.636              |
| 1892—93 | 8.656              |
| 1893—94 | 8.228              |
| 1894—95 | 8.645              |
| 1895—96 | 8.801              |
| 1896—97 | 8.421              |
| 1897—98 | 8.594              |
| 1898—99 | 9.099              |
| 1899—00 | 8.775              |
| 1900—01 | 8.950              |

When the duty was lowered in 1882 under the Ripon administration, the revenue sacrificed was 1.198 crores. During the next four years, the consumption extended under the lower duty, and with it the revenue rose by full 48 lakhs. If the consumption had continued to expand as before and risen during the next thirteen years, there would have accrued to the state at the old rate of duty an increase of revenue of over two crores of rupees—equal to the amount of additional revenue which has been actually obtained under the enhanced duty. But this was not to be. The duty was raised in spite of the unanimous protests of the people and the additional revenue has been secured, but with this difference that the country's consumption has been brought down in the fiscal process. Such a diminution in the consumption of a prime necessary of life, invests it with a most serious aspect, compared with which mere financial considerations lose much of their value. It is upon the poorer classes that the pressure most exclusively falls—for it is they and not the richer classes who eat less salt when it is dear and heavily taxed. The diet of the poorer classes is also such that they have to use a much larger quantity of salt than the richer classes who use considerable quantity of sugar and of vegetables containing salt. The

poorer a man, the heavier is the incidence of the salt-tax. Taking 40 millions, according to Sir William Hunter's calculation as the number of those who "pass through life on insufficient food" and adding another forty millions from the lower middle classes as the number of those who have to curtail their expenditure on necessities with every rise in their prices, we get a total of 80 millions, or nearly one-third of the total population of India. Mr. Thorburn says that for more than seventy millions of the sufferers it is too late for any change of system to be beneficial. The Hon'ble Mr. Smeaton estimates that the inferior tenantry and agricultural labourers number together about 50 millions or one-sixth of the entire population of India. It was in the interest of this "submerged tenantry and field labourers" that the duty had been reduced in 1882. The author of the Forty Years' Progress of the Madras Presidency says that "the tax, taking the consumption per head in this Presidency at 6 lb. per annum, amounts to from 2½ to 5 per cent. of the income of a poor family, which is barely sufficient in many cases for subsistence." Sir Richard Temple estimates the incidence at 3 per cent. on average incomes, while Sir Edward Law thinks that it does not exceed one per cent. of the income, which income he estimates at Rs. 45 per annum. This is 50 per cent. more than Lord Curzon's estimate. It is to be remembered that even the 30 Rupees, as estimated by Lord Curzon, is only the average for the whole population including the rich and the poor. A proper calculation will shew that the daily income per head of the indigent classes is one anna not two annas—on the basis of which Sir Edward Law calculates the incidence. Further, no allowance is made by Sir Edward Law for differences in the food and regimen of the people of the different provinces of the empire, which differences are so enormous as to vitiate the reasoning founded on the total for the country as a whole, independently of local variations. Eight annas may appear trifling to most of us; but they mean a great deal to the poorest. In the words of Sir Eveyu Baring: "Eight annas to the ryot means the purchase of either 3 yards of cloth or a little *lota*." Again, no single tax can be rightly appreciated without reference to the financial system of which it forms a part—a system under which the public burdens are most unfairly and unequally distributed, the richer few, who profited most

by British Administration, paid least, while the poorer millions, who profitted least, paid most. As observed by Lord Ripon, the higher duty delays cheap improvement in agriculture, the better rearing of cattle and many other similar industries where salt is largely used. If salt has to be taxed in this country, there is certainly no warrant for pitching the duty at such a high level as to inflict a serious hardship and suffering on the poorest and most helpless millions of the country.

The poor Indian salt taxpayer has also the plighted word of Government that he is to get the benefit of the first improvement in the finances of the country. In his despatch to the Government of India, dated 12th April 1888, paras. 15-16 Lord Cross wrote as follows :

"I do not propose to comment at length on any of the measures adopted by your Government except the general increase in the duty on salt. While I do not dispute the conclusion of your Government that such an increase was, under existing circumstances, unavoidable, I am strongly of opinion that it should be looked upon as temporary and that no effort should be spared to reduce the general duty as speedily as possible to the former rate." His Lordship further urged on the attention of the Government of India the following weighty considerations on the point :— "I will not dwell on the great regret with which I should at any time regard the imposition of additional burdens on the poorest of the population, through the taxation of a necessary of life; but apart from all general considerations of what is in such respects right and equitable, there are, as your Excellency is aware, in the case of the salt duty in India weighty reasons for keeping it at as low a rate as possible. The policy enunciated by the Government in 1877 was to give to the people throughout India the means of obtaining an unlimited supply of Salt at a very cheap rate; it being held that the interests of the people and of the public revenue were identical, and that the proper system was to levy a low duty on an unrestricted consumption. The success of that policy hitherto has been remarkable; while the duty has been greatly reduced, the consumption through this and other causes has largely increased. The revenue is larger now than it was before the reforms commenced in 1877, and I see no reason to doubt that the consumption will continue to increase, if it be not checked by the enhancement of the tax." Speak-

ing again at a public meeting in England on the 28th February 1889, Lord Cross took occasion to repeat his view that "he was convinced that the earliest occasion should be taken to abrogate the increase in the salt tax." In March of the same year, Sir David Barbour, speaking in the Viceregal Council with special reference to a proposal for the abolition of the Income-tax, observed :—"I think it would be an injustice so gross, as to amount to a scandal if the Government were to take off the Income-tax while retaining the Salt duty at its present figure." In 1890, Sir J. Gorst in his speech on the Indian Budget in the House of Commons remarked : "the tax (on salt) was no doubt a tax which ought to be removed and would be removed as soon as it should be financially possible to do so." Similarly, Lord George Hamilton, in his Indian Budget statement in the House of Commons (September 4, 1895) emphasized the necessity for reducing the salt duty as early as possible, pointing out that no other tax pressed so heavily on the Indian people. His Lordship said :—"The only additional taxation from 1882, which has been imposed upon India, is that in connection with the customs duty of last year. I have looked through the proceeds of the various taxes which have been imposed and I am bound to say there is only one tax which does seem to press more heavily on the Indian people. That is the salt tax which was raised in 1888. The consumption of salt seems to be an unfailing gauge as to the condition of the ryots throughout the country. The increase in the consumption of salt went on up to 1892-93, and then there was a falling off of 4 per cent. In 1894-95, there was a recovery of 2 per cent. and so far as statistics are available at the present moment, there are symptoms that the recovery is continuous. At the same time I shall watch the salt tax, which seems to have reached the maximum limit, with the view, if possible, of taking an early opportunity of reducing it." The dismal history of the recent famines bears mournful testimony to the acute and widespread growing poverty all over the country and the abrogation of the increase in the salt tax will be a most welcome measure of relief. One of the grounds on which the duty was raised was the loss by exchange. Instead of exchange deficits, we have now exchange surpluses! And the special circumstances which necessitated the raising of

the duty have practically ceased to exist. To keep on taxes in order to secure too large a surplus is unjustifiable and opposed to sound financial principles. The new departure made in 1888 was extremely unjust, as a measure of statesmanship it was extremely impolitic, and its consequences have been simply disastrous. Both financial conditions and the justice of the case demand that the enhanced duty should be remitted at the earliest opportunity. In the felicitous words of Lord Dufferin, "Justice is the inhabitant neither of the East or the West. She admits no geographical limits to her supremacy, her throne is on high, and sooner or later, in spite of prejudice or custom, she never fails to vindicate her title to the respect and veneration of mankind." It is in the name of justice that we appeal to Lord Curzon to rectify the grave mistake made in 1888, and we fervently hope that His Lordship will see his way to do so before he lays down his high office.

GANJAM VENKATARATNAM,  
(Formerly Member of the Legislative Council.)

### THE PRESENT ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE AGRICULTURAL POPULATION IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

WHAT the Central Provinces suffered most grievously during the last two famines is well known. It will be my endeavour in this note to give some facts and figures showing what progress the people there have been able to make since 1899 to regain their former prosperity.

The Province may be said to have touched the low water mark of adversity during the agriculture year 1899-1900. Cultivation had shrunk to a little over 14½ millions of acres and one has to carry his examination of agricultural statistics more than twenty years back to find a parallel for this state of things. During the first 15 years of this period, the progress was continuous, the cultivation having by 1894 reached about 16½ millions of acres. But under the stress of the calamities of the six subsequent years was lost what had been gained during the previous 15 years. During 1900-1901, the year following the famine, advances on favourable terms were made under the Agriculturists' Loans Act to the extent of 36 lakhs of rupees, and the gifts from the noble Charity Fund of that year to the broken-down peasantry amounted to about 27 lakhs. But in spite of his liberal help, the people could place under crop only about 180,000 acres more than in the famine year. The cropped area was still less by 560,000 acres as compared with 1898-99, the year immediately preceding the famine. As the season was favourable for sowing, this small recovery must have been due to exhaustion of resources, loss of plough-cattle, over two lakhs of them having died during the famine, and the difficulty of procuring seed owing to depletion of old stocks. In spite of what has been characterised as "excessive relief" during the famine, the greatest deterioration is seen in the Chhatisgarh Division, where the cropped area was actually less by 490,000 acres than the area in the famine year, even though Raipur and Bilaspur got the largest share both of *Takavi* and charitable grants. The season was on the whole suitable for the kharif crops and, except in the Chhatisgarh, a larger area was placed under them than in the year preceding. But the explanation of



this expansion lies in the need for a quick renewal of the food-supply after an acute famine and in the comparative cheapness of the kharif seeds rather than in any improvement in the condition of the people. And what further detracts from the value of this expansion is that in some districts it was brought about by the displacement of valuable rabi by inferior kharif crops. The area placed under rice, the principal kharif was, however, still ten lakhs of acres less than the normal. The area placed under the rabi crops showed an advance of 974,000 acres, though it fell short of the area in 1898-99 by 878,000 acres. Unfortunately, however, owing to the absence of rain during the sowing time and excessive untimely rain during the winter months, the outturn was, on the whole, below the average. There was a fairly good crop in some of the Northern districts, but a bad failure in the Southern and Eastern districts.

An important index by which to judge of the condition of the people is the trade of the year; and the returns for the year ending the 31st March, 1901, do not point to any appreciable progress towards recovery. Excluding railway plant and rolling-stock and coal, the out-put of State Mines, the value of exports in a normal year may be put down at five crores and-a-half of rupees. Of this about 70 per cent. is represented by agricultural produce. Thus the prosperity of the province is bound up with the prosperity of agriculture. Taking first the most valuable crop, wheat, whereas the exports used to average 80 lakhs of maunds before the Province entered upon its cycle of lean years, during 1900-1901 they amounted to only 416,000 maunds, or a little over a fifth of the normal. Exports of rice, the most important of the kharif crops, used to be about 30 lakhs of maunds, but during the past year they barely reached 400,000 maunds. The only article which shows favourably, is cotton. Of late the season, though bad for other crops, has been rather favourable for cotton, and, as moreover cotton seed is cheap, there has been a large expansion of the cotton area. The exports amounted to a little over 7 lakhs of maunds, or double the quantity exported in previous normal years. But cotton is important only in three and in parts of a fourth district out of the 18 districts constituting the province. In contrast with the low ebb to which the exports of agriculture produce fell, there was an enormous development in the export of hide,—four times the normal. But this bespeaks not prosperity but the reverse. Evidently, the disastrous effect of the drought on cattle was in

operation during 1900-1901. Another article which shows an increase is metal. Manganese has of late been discovered in some places and an English Company has been exporting it largely. But part of the increase is unfortunately due to the sale of their household vessels by the distressed people. The exports of manufacture of brass and copper used to average 2,500 maunds, but during 1900-1901 it rose to 15,000 maunds, or 16 times the normal, showing thereby that the people were still hard-pressed to meet their current necessities. The imports point to a similar conclusion. There was a considerable expansion in the volume of import trade, but this was because food-grains had to be purchased in large quantities to make up for the deficiency in the local production. In its prosperous days, the Province used to spend only about 5½ lakhs of rupees on imported food-grains and used to make about 255 lakhs by exporting its surplus produce, thus leaving a net balance to its credit of 250 lakhs. But in 1900-1901, imported food-grains cost the Province 281 lakhs of rupees, while it could export only about 60 lakhs of rupees worth, leaving a balance to its debit of about 221 lakhs. Combining these figures, the loss to the Province under the head of food-grains during the past year may in comparison with previous years of prosperity be set down at  $250 + 221 = 471$  lakhs, or nearly five crores of rupees. As agriculture constitutes the immediate means of support of almost the whole population, and as their well-being consequently depends on their ability to make money by sale of the produce of their land after meeting their own needs, it is clear they were not able to make any head-way against the depressing effects of past bad years during 1900-1901.

Coming to the year about to close, complete statistics will not be available for some time to come; but in the meantime crop forecasts and return of rail-borne traffic may be consulted, and they do not seem to warrant the hope that any substantial progress is likely to be a feature of the year. The cotton report shows that the area placed under it is slightly below that of the last year, but owing to want of rain since the close of the monsoon in September, the yield has been estimated to range from 56 to 93 per cent. of the average and to be about 83 per cent. of the last year's outturn. The outturn of til is estimated to be 66 per cent. of the normal. As regards kharif crops generally, the weekly reports during October, which is a critical month, is somewhat disappointing reading. The report



of 8th October says, "the autumn crops, which are in good condition at present, require a good and early fall of rain to prevent deterioration." On the 15th of October the report reads, "hot winds are injuring the crops, which are deteriorating for want of rain." "There were some scattered showers in the 3rd week of October and they did good where they fell. But we read again on the 29th of October, "the absence of rain has caused some damage to late rice on unirrigated fields in all rice-growing districts, while the other kharif crops, especially jwar, are withering on light soil." On the 12th of November we read, "the weather has been generally clear with no rain..... Rice is deteriorating in Sambalpur and insects are doing considerable damage almost throughout the provinces." Under these circumstances, it is unlikely that the yield has attained the average; certainly it could not have been good enough to enable past losses to be made up. Of the rabi crops, the second forecast issued a few days ago, shows the area sown with wheat to be about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  million acres, which, though larger by 13 per cent. than the area cropped last year, is still only a little more than half the normal of the ante-famine period. The crop was sown under favourable circumstances, but the clear dry weather which followed sowing rendered germination defective and encouraged insects, which damaged the seedlings. Again, owing to the absence of both dew and rain during November and December, the crop suffered from want of moisture. In the Province, as a whole, the outturn is estimated to be 84 per cent. of a normal crop. The area sown with linseed is estimated to be about 550,000 acres as against the normal area of one million. The provincial outturn works out to about 54 per cent. of the normal.

The rail-borne traffic returns also do not bespeak much progress. During the year ending the 30th September, 1901, the export of wheat amounted only to 540,000 maunds, which is barely a third of the quantity in the corresponding period in the years which intervened between the two famines. This quantity is only 7 per cent. of the normal of the ante-famine period. The export of rice during the same period amounted to 568,300 maunds, which is only 17 per cent. of the normal. During the quarter ending 28th December, 1901, the export of wheat was 125,000 maunds and that of rice 182,000 maunds, which are both about half the quantities exported during the corresponding

period in 1898. It would thus appear that the conditions making for recovery have hitherto been less favourable than after the first famine.

B. K. BOSE.

26-3-02.

## DRAWING-ROOM DIPLOMACY.

THE ambition of distinguishing themselves in the political arena has been assiduously cultivated by the wives and daughters of some of the greatest European diplomatists; there was often as much State business transacted in the saloon as in the Cabinet. Amongst these petticoated negotiators are well remembered the Baroness Lieven, the Princess Esterhazy, and the Duchess de Dino, who flourished in Paris, in Vienna, in St. Petersburg, in London as well as in the minor capitals, if not with full powers, decidedly they had full assurance to mediate in all continental problems. Statecraft never met with such efficient expositors; they could have given lessons to Machiavelli and directed Mazarin.

No one could doubt their capacity for delicate negotiations, their aptitude for embarrassing questions, their talent for involved complications, and their genius for the subtlest intrigue.

The wife of a noble lord, possessed of high military and civil rank, who had served the state in some important offices and aspired to a more eminent position than he had yet filled, occupied a mansion in a fashionable part of Town, and strove to recommend herself in this manner. We will call her Lady A.

Lady A. had lived in Russia, that hot-bed of bureaucracy—had lived in Austria, that nursery of statecraft—there she had seen both with feminine pride and envy the influence of certain of her own sex, who, it was reported, had been entrusted with particular political missions from the principal European sovereigns. She saw these agents throwing Ambassadors extraordinary into the background and quite extinguishing secretaries at legations. Lady A., on her return to England, resolved on playing the same game. She studied the most important political questions of the time and patronized all the clever rising functionaries flattering the more experienced into communicativeness. In this way she got instruction.

On Lady A's arrival in London she did her utmost to render her house a place of reunion for celebrities, and brilliant

guests passed in and out of her door. It was a kind of general House of Call for Cabinet makers of Tory principles. Young orators, rising statesmen, and pretenders of every calibre found there welcome and encouragement.

Of the many strong points Lady A. fancied that she possessed, the one she most highly estimated was her diplomacy which gift she cultivated perpetually. She was always having conferences with English politicians, as well as foreigners of good political repute in their own country.

There was a large apartment expressly set apart by her for their reception, and to give a greater air of diplomatic mystery to her interviews and to secure the utmost privacy, in the centre of which she caused a chamber to be made of glass containing only two fauteuils, and a small writing table. Walls may have ears, but these crystal partitions here shut out effectively all sound from inquisitive outsiders. Here Lady A. carried on a very lively if not very profitable diplomatic business.

Diplomacy is a game of skill but it is not the player who holds the best cards that always wins. At a Congress it is a round game; when the pretensions of the Pontiff are to be considered it is "Pope Joan"—when the interests of trade are discussed, it is "Commerce." Court cards have generally a preponderating value.

Whist is the game selected when two diplomatists meet to play against each other. It is commonly called "double dummy" with the hand of each player concealed, and the hand of each partner displayed. The mind is led from the known to the unknown by a kind of inductive philosophy. The player must shape his play to neutralize his adversary's hand which he knows as perfectly as if spread out on the baize and to take advantage of its weakness. If he forgets, he blunders; if he blunders, he is lost. The opponents can see into each other clearly, and each is on the qui vive to profit by the other's errors. Such is "double dummy" as diplomatically played.

There arrived in England as Ambassador from the Court of Versailles to that of St. James's, a man whose diplomatic reputation was second to none. The diplomatists of Europe experienced that his clear-sighted moderation while considering exclusively French interests never lost sight of those of Europe. The astute Metternich admitted his skill and the ready witted Esterhazy held it in deep respect—the Duke of Wellington as in

former days was under the spell of his personal charms and the keenest employes of the most intriguing Government respected him as a master of their craft. His marvellous experiences were enough to gain for him the fame of a charmed life and the possession of a supernatural intellect. He was invariably a winner, if he could not count honours he was sure to win by cards and the odd trick was certain to be his own.

Brought up by his great-grandmother, the Princesse de Chalais, his best beloved relative, with the intent of following a military career, he received while staying with her at the Chateau de Perigord a fall which maimed his right foot and which was neglected till a cure became hopeless. In spite of this he grew up a man of lofty stature, broad shoulders and powerful frame, he walked with the aid of a stick only in later years. But the question of arms was quite out of the question, so greatly against his will, his family decided that he should enter the Priesthood and he was accordingly sent to the Seminary of S. Sub-pice.

Lady A. had met this celebrated man at Vienna playing with consummate skill at the round game there got up for the Congress of European powers—she had met him in Paris when he was the host of the Emperor Alexander of Russia while the French Capital was held by the allies, when it was probable he had been allowed to look at the Imperial hand and to suggest the Imperial play—and she had met him at other places sometimes having the deal, sometimes shuffling till he got it. He had lately turned up a King of Hearts, at least of French hearts, whom they later on declared to be a knave. The real fact was the card had been so much thumbed through falling into dirty hands that its true colour was difficult to pronounce.

Lady A. having learnt of the arrival in London of this Ambassador, forwarded to the embassy a cordial invitation and having directed the hall porter that she was not at home to any one else, she took her accustomed seat in the glass room. She was dressed as ever with great care as if perpetually sitting for her portrait. She did not agree that "Beauty when unadorned is adorned the most," consequently her dress was always elaborately fine and set off with the costliest ornaments. Many of her sex might envy her clear complexion, rounded form, and her stately figure, but some critics might carp at her display of diamonds for a morning toilette, but Lady A. had finely shaped white hands with

taper fingers, well shaped ears and well shaped throat which merited these decorations.

Lady A. for the present sat quiet and self-absorbed thinking of the subject uppermost in her mind—the visitor she was expecting. Like her mirror, she seemed to be exercising no other powers than those of reflection. Her confidence in herself was great in the difficult game she was about to play and that with an unrivalled player, and she thought she held capital cards which she was sure to play admirably and be mistress of the situation.

While thus cogitating the outer door of the large apartment was thrown open and the groom of the chambers announced in a sonorous voice—

"His Excellency, Prince Talleyrand."

And there entered the saloon a stout old man with long white hair, halting perceptibly in his gait; while his broad chest, his massive chin half buried in the folds of an enormous neckcloth and his wide shoulders, showed the strength that once belonged to his stooping, shambling, ungainly figure.

It was full time for decay to manifest itself. It was between fifty and sixty years since as the Abbe de Perigord, he witnessed the Coronation of Louis XVI at Rheims in June 1735, and the ceremony left in his mind a recollection of the noble bearing of the young King, the grace of the Queen and the presence of three women the Duchesses de Luynes and Fitzjames and the Countess de Laval whose friendship he won and retained; it was fifty-two years since he held the ecclesiastical rank of Bishop of Autun; it was nearly forty years since he had ceased to be a prelate, and became an ambassador to the Court of England. It was twenty-three years since he had been raised by Napoleon to the dignity of Prince of Benevento, it was eighteen years since he had represented Louis XVIII at the Congress of Vienna, and now this marvellous old man had come to represent his master "the King of the Barricades" at the Court of St. James's.

"Good can be done and mischief prevented at all times. That is the reason why in my opinion, one ought, if one loves his country, to serve it under any form of Government it may adopt."

He treated with the French King mostly through Madame Adelaide, his sister. Through her he declared strongly in favour

of Prince Leopold's election to the Belgian throne. His justification of his action of 1830 was a paraphrase of Napoleon's saying "I found the French crown lying on the ground and I took it up." His perception that the dominant factor of the future was, not the policy of cabinets, but the economic welfare of the masses placed him two generations in advance of his age, and his legacy to the world was peace. Gregory XVI called Talleyrand's death-bed reconciliation with the Church, the most gratifying event of his Pontificate.

Looking at his mild and stolid physiognomy, who could believe that he had survived two sanguinary revolutions—had been the friend of Mirabeau and the colleague of Fouché, and the chief supporter of the Republic, the Empire, the restored Monarchy—of a second republic and a second restoration.

The reader must imagine Lady A. and her illustrious guest seated on the *fautouils* opposite each other, he, turning his peering eyes listlessly here and there apparently noticing nothing whatever, yet taking in at a glance the glass room in which he found himself and the purpose for which it was set up. Involuntarily he closed his thick lips, sunk his chin into his cravat and gazed with an air of simplicity into the face of his hostess.

Lady A. cleared her throat, she was going to speak—that is to play and for a great stake. Her adversary divined something was coming. On the shrivelled parchment that represented his face, a set of wrinkles followed each other and a fitful smile came out of the corners of his twinkling eyes and hovered about the curve of his heavy mouth.

"Prince," said Lady A. in a stage whisper, "now do tell me what you think of the Balance of Power?"

He suddenly looked thoughtful and presently slightly perplexed.

"The Balance of Power," he repeated deliberately—"what should I think about it? Pardon I do not take the interest in such things I did when I was young and more fond of amusement.

Lady A. opened her blue eyes very wide.

"The stage is a delightful gratification," continued her companion, "especially with your Shakespeare and your Sheridan."

"Shakespeare and Sheridan!" exclaimed her ladyship in amazement.

"Ah! I knew Monsieur Sheridan when I was here with Chauvelin, and since," observed the old man.

The lady looked at him attentively, but the face before her was not much more expressive than that of a large cod-fish. "What can your Excellency mean?" she enquired.

"Pardon! the Balance of Power. Did you not ask my opinion?" he demanded in his turn.

"Certainly, Prince."

"Then my lady, I say I see your favourite comedian last night at the Theatre Royal, from my box, where I go with my suite. I see him in the role of an Irishman. It is droll that Teddy the Tier—his acting was good. I noticed him a little unsteady perhaps what you call rollicking. But, pardon! I cannot say I saw him off his balance."

Lady A. looked confounded, then thinking the equivoque to be accidental laughed in a mellow pleasant way though slightly mingled with mortification.

"It is a mistake," she said; "a misconception of my meaning. I alluded to the necessity that exists for maintaining amongst the principal European states an equilibrium that shall prevent mischievous rivalries and dangerous complications."

"Ah!" cried the veteran diplomatist, as the wrinkles of his forehead mounted from his eyebrows to the roots of his silvery hair.

"Pozzo di Borgo told me," resumed her ladyship, putting on a confidential air—

"Monsieur di Borgo!" repeated he in a low voice, pinching his chin with his disengaged hand, and then sinking it into his voluminous cravat.

"Yes, Prince, Pozzo di Borgo told me—and your Excellency must allow that he is likely to be well informed as to the ideas of his Imperial master, my friend, the Autocrat of all the Russias—"

"Ah!" exclaimed the Ambassador, scratching the point of his nose with his finger.

"That he is certain there never will be peace in Europe till the great Powers are so equal in point of material strength that there shall remain nothing more for them to desire, and nothing for them to dread."

"Good!"

"And Palmella—"

"Monsieur le Comte, Palmella!" repeated the diplomatist,

and the wrinkles of his face followed each other like waves from his eyes to his chin.

"Exactly the Count assured me that a Holy Alliance, to be durable, could only exist amongst sovereigns, when there would be no superiority of any kind throughout the Continent and Peninsula."

"Good!"

"On the contrary, Metternich informed me—"

"Prince Metternich—Oho!" cried the old man, peering curiously out of his dull eyes.

"Informed me that it was necessary for the security of Europe, that Austria should dominate both in Germany and Italy."

"Ah!"

"Now what is your Excellency's opinion?"

Lady A. thought it would be an easy game to obtain information from Prince Talleyrand, but she soon found difficulties she had not calculated upon.

"Pardon, my lady," replied Prince Talleyrand, the wrinkled parchment smiling all over, as if from restrained hilarity, "I cannot presume to speak in opposition to the illustrious authorities you have been so amiable as to name. As a matter of course I agree with them all."

"But their sentiments are conflicting" cried the lady.

"So are mine," cried the Prince, and he again pinched his chin.

"Their ideas cannot be made to coincide."

"Nor can mine." Then scratching his nose once more, he added significantly, "As one of your popular writers had observed 'much may be said on both sides;' but as this has been already admirably expressed by your ladyship's friends, why should I weary you with my tedious repetitions? I agree with everybody. There is nothing new to advance."

Her ladyship felt that she had lost a trick and saw that to go on with the game she must now *finesse*. She then began a very confidential conversation about the younger Burbons, throwing out delicate feelers to know the secret machinery that had displaced one branch and left the other flourishing in its stead. It is scarcely possible to describe how the wrinkles travelled up and down, and how sighs and exclamations followed each other, as the great diplomatist became aware of his hostess's meaning.

Having heard her exhaust this particular point, interspersed with confidential opinions from various influential sources, his venerable face and heavy features suddenly lighted up apparently with some unusually strong feeling.

"Ah!" he exclaimed with subdued enthusiasm, "how you English ladies astonish me! I am amazed at the wonderful inclination I observe in you for the consideration of the most difficult questions. Mothers and wives forget their nurseries, forget their husbands, indeed, not unfrequently forget themselves, to enter into inquiries of some profound policy that the wisest men find it almost impossible to comprehend. Really you must excuse me; I am quite unprepared to discuss such delicate subjects. But if you like, I will venture to offer some suggestions as to the best method of administering to your charming little family manna and magnesia, castor oil—whatever you please!"

The veteran again scratched his nose, and sunk his chin into his cravat, with an air of mingled simplicity and interest defying all description.

Lady A. paused—seemed puzzled—then, with true feminine perseverance continued the game; but lost every card as a matter of course. She need not have averred like the French King, after the conflict at Pavia, that all was lost except honour, for hers had never been in jeopardy; but when the Prince rose from the unequal contest, he left her ladyship with the unwelcome conviction that she was not quite the skilful player she had thought herself to be.

CHARLES WILKINS.

## KING ASOKA OF MAGADHA.

IN the didactic books of the history of the world India takes only a modest rank. Martiallly, it has but little affected the adjoining nations, and as a power has scarcely ever crossed its confines with an armed band and with political designs. India has been more a land of thought than of action, of pensive meditation than cheery energy. Delight in the past has not developed, and has induced none to compose a history glorifying the achievements of his sires. The Hindus are strangers to national sentiments. India possesses no compact homogeneous nationality. Only a potent hand has welded into a temporary conglomeration the motley elements divided by language and descent. Consequently we know next to nothing of historic names and personages who controlled the destiny of the lands, and little of the general factors which entered into its development thousands of years ago. Only recently has the European, assisted by the natives, instituted researches, and with the help of numerous inscriptions and finds of coins begun to lay the basis of a historical account of the country.

So it happens that we are so poor in positive data about the most ancient and edifying periods of the internal unfolding of India. Just the epoch which brought Buddhism to maturity and which by consequence appertains to the most fertile ages of Indian intellectual life lacks authentic historical documents; and it was with difficulty that the years of the birth and demise of the originator of that stupendous movement were finally settled. Moreover the name which, next to that of Buddha, must be deemed the most renowned in that epoch, the name of Asoka, owes its reputation not to the splendour of martial exploits, but to the service he rendered to the cause of Buddhism, to its advancement and propagation. His fame has penetrated far beyond the frontiers of Hindustan. Wherever Budha is mentioned conjointly with his the name of Asoka is eulogized "as that of the mightiest patron and protector that Buddhism has ever witnessed." Asoka, of the house of Mayuras, reigned in the third century

before Christianity. He was a grandson of Chandragupta, the Sandrokottos of the Greeks, who, sprung from a plebeian or at least an obscure lineage, had founded a powerful empire embracing the borders of Northern India. It is characteristic of the Hindu mind that it has not preserved even of this event in their past any reliable intimation. We are indebted for all we know of the fortunes of Asoka, from Indian sources to later chronicles, a medley of history and romance, which vouchsafe no authentic information. All the more therefore are valuable the incidents of his life which he has himself bequeathed to posterity. He was actuated with zeal for the propagation of virtuous principles and righteous conduct, and had inscriptions put up in several places of his vast dominions, inscriptions which have been for the most part preserved and which afford us a glimpse into the mind of the remarkable personage. We meet with them in Westernmost India, in the valley of Kabul and along Northern India as far as Dhauli and Jangada in the east, and even so far down Meridional India. Most recently fragments of a new recension have been discovered. These inscriptions, long familiar to the learned world, constitute a portion of the most precious assets of Indian philology. They show for the first time the use of writing in India; they determine the structure of some of the dialects of the peninsula; and appeal through the sentiment they proclaim to a wider circle of the cultured. True, they embody no new or unknown dogma, but they are noteworthy as an important contribution to the elucidation of the characteristics of Buddhism at the period of its efflorescence, and as the monuments of an enlightened genius who sat on the throne of Hindustan about the middle of the third century before our era.

The inscriptions are some of them on columns, some cut into rocks. Two of these columns, lofty monoliths 14 meters high, are to be found at present among the ruins of the ancient metropolis of Delhi. They were transported thither in the 14th century by Sultan Feruz Shah from the vicinity of Mirat and Khirabad where they were first discovered. He endeavoured to learn the import of the inscriptions, but the Brahmans to whom he applied could throw no light; only a few not unwelcome flatterers declared it to be a prophecy referring to Feruz Shah himself. As with the Brahmans so also it happened with the European savants who first confronted the pillars. The alphabet was strange, and the author unknown; nor did

they know anything of the age and language of the composition. Some held the character to be Greek, others saw therein numerical symbols and figures of warlike weapons. Lieutenant Wilford was imposed upon by a Pandit and believed he had found in the inscriptions a narrative of the roamings of the sons of Pandu in the forest. Then came a young Englishman Prinsep by name, who had patiently studied Indian characters, the inscriptions of the Gupta dynasty, and the bilingual legends on the coins of Indo-Scythian Kings. The mystery of these hieroglyphics revealed itself to his vision. With the employment of the most delicate fulcrum, by dint of a brilliant faculty of combination, he was enabled to resuscitate the curious signs of two thousand years ago and to decipher their meaning. Hocrule has described in detail the history of this discovery and the antecedent circumstances in the Centenary Review of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. <sup>1</sup>

Prinsep perceived that the four inscriptions before him on the pillars of Allahabad, Mathiah, &c., were identical with each other, "that each radical letter was subject to five principle inflections corresponding with the vowel marks of the well known Gupta inscription" and he draws up a table of all the symbols with their inflections.

The Gupta alphabet helped to explain a few of them; J. Stevenson identified others; significant was the name Agathokhs which Lassen had recognized on a Bactrian coin. All of a series of brief inscriptions, which could not be fragments of a larger text and which were apparently either short epitaphs or votive tablets, invariably terminated with two certain letters. He observed that they were preceded by a symbol, the value of which he had long before determined to be 'S', and conjectured after the analogy of legends on coins that it must be a "sign of the genitive case singular being the *ssa* of Pali, of the *sya* of Sanskrit. He was convinced that the sense of each of the short sentences must be "from so and so the gift" and presently made out the word *danam* (donum) and the component letters *d* and *n* which had resisted all previous efforts at deciphering. Because of his intimate knowledge of the old alphabets he was in a position immediately on a second scrutiny to name the majority of the remaining letters. "In a few minutes," he says "I was in possession of

<sup>1</sup> Calcutta 1885. My presentment is taken from it.

the entire alphabet and verified, it by applying it to the Delhi column." This marked the first decisive step. Prinsep cleared the ground too for reading the alphabet, running leftward, in the Shahabazgarh edict. Since then unremitting efforts have been made to interpret the inscriptions, and scholars such as Burnes, Cunningham, Burgess, Buhler, Kern, Senart and others have extended our horizon far beyond Prinsep's times, in many cases confirming our knowledge as finally certain.

When Prinsep had deciphered the inscription he stood face to face with a fresh enigma. Who was the author of this rock-cut literature? He calls himself Piyadasi, the favourite of the gods. But who was this Piyadasi? And G. Turnour pointed out from Ceylonese sources that Piyadasi was but another appellation of Asoka, a grandson of Chandragupta of the Maurya dynasty. More light was forthcoming from the edicts themselves. Prinsep recognized therein the names of neighbouring rulers to whom the king had sent evangelists of his faith. They have been proved to coincide with the names of Greek princes who reigned about the middle of the third century B. C., with Antiochus (II, Theos of Syria), Magas of Kyrene, Ptolemæus Philadelphos of Egypt and others. \* Hence it must be in the same century that our Piyadasi held sway. And the conclusion, which subsequent details corroborated, was drawn that the author of our inscriptions was the celebrated Asoka of Magadha, and a grandson of Chandragupta. Asoka had the inscriptions engraved in different years after his ascending the throne. They were designed to promulgate the meek practice of his religion and to make his moral dogmas universally accessible. He does not aim at spreading certain articles of his creed; he exercises, as Senart observes, practical Buddhism. We see in him a prince imbued with tolerance towards the followers of alien persuasions and exerting himself to educate his subjects to a similar temperament. His active benevolence comprehended not his people only but also his neighbours. His solicitude is not restricted to humanity; it is extended equally to the brute creation. Once he undertook a conquering expedition into the South, but touched at the sight of the sanguinary horrors of war he was forced to withdraw. The country was all over inhabited by Brahmans and ascetics who inculcated adoration of the gods, obedience to preceptor, proper demeanour

\* See note by Tr. Ma, Bk. p. 84.

towards friends, kinsmen, servants and slaves. Their efficacy is destroyed, the tenderest ties are dissolved. He resolves to be ambitious of no more conquests, except by the instrumentality of law. Henceforth Asoka prohibited alike the slaughter and sacrifice of animals. All over his own and adjoining territories he caused to be planted medicinal herbs, umbrageous trees, wells to be sunk along highways, and hospitals erected for man and beast.

But more than this observance of immemorial Indian custom our attention is claimed by the considerate treatment he accorded to the various religious tendencies prevailing in his empire. The edict referring to it is not unjustly extolled. It is couched in terms of which no modern prince need be ashamed.

He desires that all sects dwell unmolested unimportuned in his empire; for it was incumbent on all to curb sensual appetites and to preserve the purity of the soul. Every one shall be considerate towards professors of other creeds. None shall praise himself or decry another. "The encomium of one's own sect or the opprobrium of alien sects," runs one of the rock inscriptions, "shall not be offered without grounds, and when it is warranted it shall be temperate. Because whoso perpetually pronounces his sect holy and inveighs against all strangers out of devotion to his own fraternity, he injures his own sect beyond all measure. Harmony alone avails." \* External ceremonial and rites count for nothing with Asoka. The discharging of obligations alone brings rich fruits and as the essence of all duties he exalts becoming conduct towards servants and bondsmen, respect to persons worthy of reverence, indulgence to the animal world, and liberality to Brahmans and ascetics. "The people," he says, "perform all manner of rituals from which they expect felicity—in misfortune, at nuptials, births and before travelling. Now man shall doubtless resort to remedies; but these remedies remain infructuous, while the following, namely, the remedy of the fulfillment of duties verily bears rich fruit." The king incessantly reverts to this precept. And in one place he goes so far as to own that he repeats himself in his ordinances, but that that happens because of the "sweetness" of the doctrine and to the end that people might take to the precept.

To act up to the injunctions in the abstract is not all. A

\* The translation follows Buhler.

religious life which takes into account only the form to the exclusion of the substance is not worth much. Genuine advancement of religious thoughts would be represented by the ingauged

terchange of personal impressions, by the growth of the inner man. To do good is indubitably hard, harder for the high than the low. Asoka has fathomed the causes which ever make man neglect to work for his salvation. "Man," he says "regards but his good works, reflecting: *this good work have I done*; but he never gives a thought to his evil deeds. Forsooth, man finds it difficult to make such a test. Man should behold the consequences and say unto himself: such passions as irascibility, cruelty, pride, jealousy are those which are called sinful, through them I shall bring myself to ruin."

The king leads the way himself setting a good example. He straightway announces that there is no work of greater consequence to him than universal weal. He dedicates himself unceasingly to his avocation, and is ever ready to acquit himself of public duties. From time to time he makes a tour through his domains, giving audience to Brahmans and anchorites, to aged and other inhabitants of the provinces; distributing gold and exhorting them to do their duty. To accelerate the execution of his mandates he establishes a council, a sort of consistory, which he places above all the departments of his empire. The consistory superintended the progress of religious usages. Asoka emphatically impressed on his officials the fundamentals of his polity, which we might term social policy. As a man entrusts his child to the care of an able instructress, so he appointed supreme functionaries to whom was committed the welfare of his people. He exhorts them to be conciliatory in their demeanour towards all. They shall watch over the different religious communities, control the employment of pious bequests, compose and settle dissensions, and see that none be unjustly incarcerated or put to death. Quinquennially the officials must go forth on tour and besides their other functions instruct the people in ethics, discourse to them of obedience to parents and preceptor and tolerance to the adherents of faiths other than their own.

In a high degree characteristic of the sovereign is the consideration shown to his neighbours. The King wishes—it is set forth in the order issued to the authority at Samapa which best reflects Asoka's intentions—that his neighbours should have nothing to apprehend from him, but that they be reassured and



made to realize "how like unto a father is the monarch to us." He despatched missionaries to other autocracies that all nations might follow his doctrines, and his tenets were made known to all alien creeds. The apostles were directed to proceed on with the gospel so long as they \* found means of sustenance.

It is curious that in these edicts the minimum mention is made of what we are accustomed to look upon as the most essential part of Buddhism. None of the vital questions touching Nirvana and metempsychosis comes up to be enquired into at all. Possibly Asoka deemed them unessential to the supreme task of the moral up-bringing of his subjects, or too abstruse to appeal to a very wide circle. At more places than one the un-Buddhistic aspiration after a life to come prominently manifests itself;—a future existence for which he longs as a reward both for himself and for such as yield adherence to his ordinances. It may be too that the antithesis obtaining between the several religious schools had compelled the politic Asoka wisely to pass over the question which under the circumstances would have engendered bad blood and prompted reciprocal antipathy. Indian rulers were wont to bestow presents upon heretics. And Asoka endeavoured to win over all including the Brahmans, despite the fact that obviously a wide gulf was fixed between their tenets and Asoka's, according to which latter every one is capable of attaining final deliverance. Only one passage which alludes to those who were erstwhile the real divinities of India, but are now dethroned, can be viewed as levelled against the Brahmans.

Asoka's toleration was probably not a mere outcome of his religious temperament. As Koppen remarks, it may have been the result of political considerations. A somewhat cosmopolitan attitude was better adapted to his purposes of fusing the vast regions of his realm into unity than the rigid schismatism of Brahmanhood.

The history of the Buddhist Church records several councils convoked, to purify and consolidate the dogmas. Under the suzerainty of Asoka was convened the Council of Patna, with which tradition connects the deputing of missionaries. We possess the address the king delivered in greeting the assembled monks.† It is preserved to us on a fragment of a rock now in the museum of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta. It is the one solitary inscription which mentions Buddha's name. Asoka tes-

[\* See *Mss.* bk. p. 86.]

[† See *Mss.* bk p. 86.]

tifies to his veneration of Buddha, his law and his order, specifies the titles of some Buddhist writings and fervently commends their assiduous study to friars and nuns, to the hierarchy and the laity. Scholars have attempted, and happily, to identify the scriptures, which Asoka particularly urged on their attention, notwithstanding the discrepancies of titles with the extant Pitakas<sup>1</sup>. In the main the canon was fixed in Asoka's time and before him, and Oldenberg assigns, amid general concurrence, the major portion of it to a † period much anterior to Asoka. Presumably Asoka was conversant with the text of the sacred lore; and in the exhortation made to his subjects occasional phrases from it are interweaved. Buhler and Neumann were the first to point out the similarity of different sentences in the inscription to the corresponding expression in the sacred canon<sup>2</sup>. Nor are such direct or indirect citations to be wondered at. Hultzsch has indicated how a portion of a verse is quoted on the Stupa, containing passages from the jatkas, which tallies with our texts<sup>3</sup>. Elsewhere verses embodying views emanating from Buddha have been brought to light. And so we may indulge the hope that we shall succeed in tracing more citations in the engravings to their originals. Such is the broad outline of the figure of the Indian Sovereign as delineated in his own sculptured edicts. They are silent concerning the prince as a man, and legend has it that prior to his conversion to Buddhism, which happened some years after his coming to the throne, he was a ruthless tyrant. We are unable to scrutinise the background of the tradition in the light of historic verity. And we do not know for certain what faith he professed before he became a proselyte to Buddhism. Some suppose him to have been an adherent of Jainism. What he strove for in the spring tide of his sovereignty he has, without doubt, spoken out; and the naive wisdom of his words sounds more beneficent than the vaunting inscriptions of the Great Kings or the turgid documents of the later dynasts of India.

G. K. S. NARIMAN.

<sup>1</sup> Oldenberg, *Vinaya Pitaka* I, p. XL. Neumann, *Die Reden Gotamo Buddha's* (*Majjhima Nikaya* I, 324, 567).

<sup>2</sup> Rhys Davids, *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 1896, p. 99; *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1898, p. 639 5 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, vol. 42, p. 68. *Wiener Zelt. für Kunde d. morgenlandes* vol. p. 148 seq.

<sup>4</sup> *Indian Antiquary* vol. 21, p. 225 seq 4 C. Bendall, *Actes du XIème congrès international des Orientalistes*.  
Loide, Brill 1895, Th. II, 157.  
H. Baynes, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* vol. 10, 243.

dons (both what is) agreeable and (what is) disagreeable, he is dear to me.

(5) He who is alike to friend and foe, as also in honour and dishonour, who is alike in cold and heat, pleasure and pain, who is free from attachments, to whom praise and blame are alike, who is taciturn, and contented with anything whatever (that comes), who is homeless, and of a steady mind, and full of devotion, that man is dear to me.

(6) But those devotees who imbued with faith, and (regarding) me as their highest (goal) resort to this holy (means for attaining) immortality, as stated, they are extremely dear to me.

Obedience, patience, benevolence, purity, humility, alienation from the 'world' and the 'flesh,' described by a writer as the striking features of the Christian ideal of conduct, are not less truly but in their own way, also, the leading elements in the Hindu ideal of holiness.

The absence in both the above descriptions of any theological virtue or artificial duty is not a little conspicuous.

In fact, religion according to these two ideals could, except for the mention of loyalty and love to God, be hardly distinguished from religion proclaimed in the edicts of Asoka, the Indian Marcus Aurelius, to be kindness, charity, truth and purity. The explanation is not far to seek: the sermon in the field of Kurukshetra, the sermon in Benares by Buddha, and the sermon on the mount embody alike a protest more or less thoroughgoing against the grinding lifeless ritualism reigning in their day.

The Jews like the Hindus had a written code of the duties of man revealed by God.

The Hebrew code became in time 'a complicated system of quasi sanitary abstinences and ceremonial purifications. Christ announced that he came not to destroy the law but to fulfil it, and quietly turned the stream of moral life from its accustomed bed of external duties to the new one of inward purity. Thus the ritual fell into disuse.

In India, the Karmakanda or Veda as known to the Gita was the old Testament of the Hindus and the Upanishads or the after-Veda, the new Testament. The Gita has been held to be among the youngest members of the Upanishads by reason of its style and language, versification and avowed attitude to the ceremonials of the Veda.

The Hindu old Testament was a system of endless sacrifices

## THE BEATITUDE OF THE BIBLE AND THE GITA.

THE "blessed ones" of the sermon on the mount by Christ and the "dear ones" of that other sermon in the field of battle by Krishna, show a remarkable family likeness and invite comparison. They have been described thus:

1. Blessed are the poor in spirit for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.
2. Blessed are they that mourn for they shall be comforted.
3. Blessed are the weak for they shall inherit the earth.
4. Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness for they shall be filled.
5. Blessed are the merciful for they shall obtain mercy.
6. Blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see God.
7. Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be called the children of God.
8. Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.
9. Blessed are ye when men shall revile you and persecute you and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake.

And again in the 12th chapter of the Gita as translated by Telang, you read:

(1) That devotee of mine who hates no being, who is friendly and compassionate, who is free from egoism, and from (the idea that this or that is) mine, to whom happiness and misery are alike, who is forgiving, contented, constantly devoted, self-restrained and firm in his determinations and whose mind and understanding is devoted to me, he is dear to me.

(2) He through whom the world is not agitated and who is not agitated by the world, who is free from joy and anger and agitation he too is dear to me.

(3) That devotee of mine who is unconcerned, pure, assiduous, impartial, free from distress, who abandons all actions (for fruit), he is dear to me.

(4) He who is full of devotion to me, who feels no joy and no aversion, who does not grieve and does not desire, who aban-

with elaborate rules. The offerings which bought a tenure in Swarga varying in duration according to their number and character constituted a regulated barter of this world's goods for those of the next, and the vedic sacrificer reminded one of the business-like tradesman with an eye to his profits.

Add to this, the belief that every Karma, sacrificial or not, breeds by the necessity of its nature, a certain result which may be represented in terms of pleasure or pain in the world to come. "One cannot see the forest for the trees," they say; it so happened that to the vedic sacrificer, with the self-sufficient mechanism of Karma, God became but the 5th wheel to a carriage. By a strange irony of fate, the pre-eminent believer in the inspired word of God, was bracketed—with how much justice, it may be doubted—with the veriest defier of the Supreme being.

Pleasures were his undisguised summum bonum and the pleasures of the other world were but the pleasures of this, "writ large." The Jewish religion, it has been observed, says nothing or next to nothing about the immortality of the soul or its approach to the throne of God; neither, it may be said, was prominent in the Karmakanda, which supposed a new theatre of life for the soul which seemed but an extension of the old and granted a more or less limited tenure and never a deathless one.

In the words of Max Muller "Lastly came the Upanishads, and what is their object? To show the utter uselessness, nay the mischievousness of all ritual performances; to condemn every sacrificial act, which has for its motive a desire or hope of reward; to deny, if not the existence, at least the exceptional and exalted character of the devas and to teach that there is no hope of salvation and deliverance except by the individual self recognising the true and universal self and tending rest there where alone rest can be found."

Such also was the teaching of the Gita.

What place then do the sacrifices occupy in the scheme of life?

Performance of sacrifices and for the same reason all acts ever so good and the doing of duties ever so natural would be a hindrance and no help to the attainment of the summum bonum. The goal has been declared to be peace and not pleasure, the means therefore, not self-seeking sacrifices and good deeds for fruit but self-realisation.

For any acts sacrificial or not, to be of help to the soul's

salvation they must be deprecated, purged from all taint of a desire or hope of reward, near or remote, gross or subtle, here or hereafter.

So practised, they will yield inward purity, the necessary stepping to the vision of God in himself.

Thus sacrificial acts and duties of life are commended as exercises for the soul to enable it to attain absolute selfishness. One must sterilise the acts one does, from producing any consequence to oneself by completely detaching one's mind from any desire therefor.

Duty for duty's sake is thus the ideal preached.

In the Gita and the new Testament, inward purity has been exalted as we have seen, at the expense of mere external duties.

It will be our task next to compare the summum bonum—the motive for righteous conduct and the sanction of moral law according to the Gita and the new Testament.

With the last first:

To the Jew as well as the Christian, morality is the "positive law of a theocratic community sanctioned by divine promises and threatenings."

The Hindu appeals no less to his scriptures, but with this difference, that the enlightened sage who realises that the divinity is himself can have no external will to look to. Self-realisation being his ideal, true knowledge or wisdom would seem the only sanction of his conduct.

The motive principle of a Christian's conduct is love. Love to God and love to his children is the spring of his action. On the other hand, the gratification of natural inclination or the hope of being approved of God, or even the utmost unselfish desire for final emancipation would, to the Hindu sage, be improper motives to conduct however righteous. The only principle that should guide him is that duty should be done for duty's sake.

In the 18th chapter of the Gita, it is stated of gift that "that gift is good which is given because it ought to be given to one who can do no service in return."

This view of duty recalls to mind Kant's "Categorical imperative." It is said of him that in his anxiety to avoid any pleasurable feeling for himself in the gratification that his help to his sister might cause, he would make his remittances of money under a pseudonym. This is sterilising the act against any germ of selfishness, with a vengeance.

To conform to the will of God is the summum bonum of the Christian; so doing he obtains the "promised land" or "the kingdom of heaven" or love of God.

In the Beatitudes, there are not wanting rewards of a less heavenly kind: the meek will inherit the earth.

To recollect himself, to know that he is God, and that he is therefore all things is the summum bonum of the Hindu sage.

We shall pass on to consider the particulars of duty and what light their respective differences of doctrine throw on them.

It has been observed that "the history of morals is a history of changes that take place not so much in the conception of right and wrong as in the proportionate place and prominence we assign to different virtues and vices," and often where the same virtues are commended with equal zeal the conditions of the state of mind represented by the virtue or the reasons for commending it, may differ.

'Obedience' is a virtue that naturally results from adherence to a code of conduct ordained by God. The sway of conduct by such a code is a common feature to both the religions, but its influence in Hinduism is confined to those who are progressing towards wisdom. Of him who has attained wisdom, the most characteristic attribute repeatedly mentioned by the Upanishads is "fearlessness."

"He is not agitated by the world" we read in verse 2 above quoted from the Gita.

The stoic who views goodness of conduct as the realisation of reason is prone to exalt "self-determination and independence" rather; the Indian Gymnosophist and the stoic are admitted to have known no fear; the former is not without representatives even at the present day.

"Patience" means suffering and its special form in Christianity is best brought out by the Christian phrase "long suffering." It does not preclude a full realisation of pain and sorrow. "Blessed are they that mourn" illustrates the same point.

The Hindu saint is more like the "passionless sage" of stoicism: the objects that excite fear, joy and pain are matters of utter indifference to the real self, and they do not produce upon them the effects that they do on others. Worship of sorrow is said to be the essence of Christianity and "the man of sorrows" is adored as God. But it can be safely affirmed that sorrows and sorrowing are not sanctified in the same manner in the Gita.

"Freedom from distress" and the oft repeated admonition of indifference to pain, pleasure, grief and joy in the Gita indicate a different state of mind.

They touch the saint no more than particles of water wet the wings of a dove.

"Benevolence" was markedly prominent as may be seen in the tendency of the early fathers to hold their property in common. Charity in this form received a special impetus from the express commandment of the Master that wealth should be shunned as spiritual stumbling block. The sphere of kindness was, however, manifestly circumscribed by the absence of any positive injunction with reference to the animal creation.

The reasons for the treatment of another even as oneself were obviously that he himself and that other are alike the children of God.

The relation of the individual to his fellow creature is brought one degree closer in the Gita. The saint is described as "Sarvabhutatman" as identifying himself with his fellow being; and this identification did not stop with the human family.

"I love my neighbour," says the Vedantist, because "I am he." Krishna names the sacrificer as one who hates Him in his own body and in those of others meaning that he causes trouble to himself as well as to the animals he sacrifices.

The attainment of *Purity of heart* alone justifies the soul's sharing of the joys and trials of a worldly life, according to the Gita. The world's experiences are to be welcomed as the raw material, from which to distil purity of heart; it is also the centre of the moral life of a true Christian. Humility is another of the peculiarly Christian virtues. It is the result of a sense of utter unworthiness before God.

The corresponding virtue is named "freedom from Egoism" in the 1st verse from the Gita; freedom from the feeling that this or that is mine is a complementary idea.

Egoism into which "Ahankara" in the original is rendered, represents first and foremost the idea that the individual considers himself the doer of actions, and calls his own, the qualities which give birth to actions, whereas in fact, activity is not a function of the soul but of nature and qualities including the body senses, and even Ahankara the principle of self-consciousness.

ness that discriminates subject from object and teaches the wrong use of "my" are phases of material nature.

All the world and its goods are nought to the sage, as to the stoic and the more extreme cynic. Pleasure and pain, called the sovereign masters of the universe, have no power over him. Actions undertaken for pleasure or avoidance of pain have no meaning for him. He disowns actions as his and disclaims the ordinary human impulses for action which may be summed up in the word "Egoism." In the words of the poet 'each who seems a separate whole should move his rounds and fusing all the skirts of self, be the One without a second again.

Freed souls have worked for others' good and do not contaminate themselves, nor forfeit their freedom.

Thus freedom from egoism and the feeling that a thing is mine puts to flight arrogance and vanity and pride and all the family.

Very different are the antecedent conditions of humility according to the two systems.

Alienation from the world and the flesh is the last of the features of Christianity enumerated by Sidgwick.

They have been almost refined away since the Reformation, as Protestantism has freely allowed itself to be percolated by the ideas of the modern industrial civilisation.

These ruled Christianity in its primitive days and rule still the elder sect though with none of their ancient vigour.

It is made a reproach to monasticism in Europe that it drew some of the choicest souls from society and immured them and deprived society by their celibate vows, of the rich heritage of refined characters.

Monasticism never flourished on the same scale, under Hinduism; and in this land it had its full sway under Buddhism. To the Hindu, alienation from the world was declared by the Smritis as the last Asrama, the last act of his play on the stage of the world. It always succeeded and rarely superseded the performance by every man of civic and domestic duties.

Every prince of the Royal line of Raghus was a *muni* in his old age. It came to all and to none or to very few was it the be all and end all of life.

Hindu ideas were never marked for tenderness to the flesh, but the Gita sets its face against torture to the body or expresses

hostility to it, by declaring such an attitude as hostility to him who lives in the body.

It is announced in the Gita that he can never attain true devotion that starves his body any more than he who stuffs it to superfluity.

It may be noticed that the "dear one" of the Gita is required in the 3rd verse to be assiduous that is, as Telang has it, ready to do duty as it arises and only to abandon actions with selfish objects. One more point before we leave the subject.

Christ in the last verse apprehends disquiet to his followers and exalts constancy through trials for his sake. Krishna in the last verse commends his teaching, but his recognition of all worship as worship of himself and all things great and good as his own reveal an all comprehensive spirit.

NARASARAOPET,  
15th February, 1902.

A. SRINIVASAN.

## HISTORY AND LITERATURE.

THE subject of this short paper is rather vague and it is therefore my duty at the outset to define the limits of the enquiry I propose to make in the following pages. The very title suggests an idea that there seems to be some connection between history as ordinarily understood and literature. I shall, in the first place, try to define the nature and function of history and then inquire if the writing of such history is capable of giving that pleasurable instruction which primarily is the function of all literature. Then I shall deal briefly with the various forms of literary art which have been shaped by history and from which better than from so-called histories, a great deal of history can be learnt. Lastly, I shall attempt to review the various contributions which history, professedly as such, has made to literature.

What then is history? It is not the mere chronicling of events; it is not a mere medley of facts and dates. Some people are apt to mistake these for true history. These facts and dates but furnish the materials for writing history. Facts are the true metal in which the historian is a worker. Real history consists in drawing inferences and conclusions. History, if it is to soothe and console mankind, must teach lessons in an impressive manner. Events in the past have to be analysed, the causes underneath the surface which have resulted in these events have to be carefully sought after, and lessons pregnant with meaning have to be elicited. This learning of lasting truths—whether it be in the domain of religious morality or politics—is absolutely essential to mankind, if it is to continue in its onward march of progress.

Nothing can be more patent to the eyes of a student of history than the fact that mankind is in a more progressive condition now than formerly. History is the record of this progress—the sacred cup which is brimful of lessons. As Macaulay puts it, “no past event has any intrinsic importance. The knowledge of it is valuable only as it leads us to form just calculations with respect to the future.” A history, therefore, which does not even pretend to help us in forming these ‘just calcula-

tions with respect to the future’ does not deserve to be included among those great books which, in Professor Mahaffy’s words, form the “literature of history.”

One of the great functions of history—a very useful and often neglected one—is the detection of a general, all-embracing and unifying movement underneath the mask of particular, apparently unconnected events. One example may perhaps lend more clearness to what I mean. In the reign of Elizabeth we notice such wholly unconnected facts as the growth of literature, the establishment of a national religion, the defeat of a fleet gathered together by the mightiest empire of the time, the enacting of what is ordinarily understood to be the first poor law in England and the foundation of the East India Company. What all-embracing unifying movement do these diverse events testify to? It was that spirit of national patriotism which had been for centuries gathering strength in the struggle against Papal and monarchic interference with the liberties of the English people and which found its most powerful exponent in Shakespeare. Elizabeth herself was cognisant of this great national movement and, as only a wise ruler can do, gave it free play in all departments of life. But she always controlled the outburst of national feeling by curbing the speed of the too restive horses—the fanatical victims of this ‘glowing national pride.’ It is this general awakening of national pride and Elizabeth’s careful fostering of it that must account for the zeal displayed by the England of the latter half of the sixteenth century in the many-sided activities of life.

Another great function of history is the depicting of the character of personages who have played conspicuous parts in the past. This function sometimes has run into excessive veneration as in hero-worship or into excessive deprecation as in some of Macaulay’s historical essays. Persons who take part in practical politics usually judge the character of historic personages according to the bias of their own minds. Their estimates are therefore not impartial and have to be taken with certain reservations. But the greatest service that history can perform is to set men thinking of other men. And in performing this service it is but necessary that the historian should furnish just estimates of the characters of men in past ages in order that we might understand their merits as well as their weaknesses.

Thus we see that history—which comes from a root mean-

ing to 'know'—is not the mere knowing, or more properly the remembering, of lifeless facts and figures. It is the perfect comprehending of men in past ages so that we might be able to see how far we have advanced beyond our ancestors and in what way we might continue the advance still further.

Is history then compatible with literature? In the first place, I should like to make it clear that I am dealing with history in relation to the general mass of readers. History is not merely intended for the specialist; it must, if it is to be useful at all, reach the general public. All compilations, therefore, of original research which are not fused into the form of art are valueless to the general reader, being of use only to the special student of history. They can become true and genuine history only by being written in artistic and flowing language. As Frederic Harrison puts it, "It is the public which history must reach, modify and instruct, if it is to rise to the level of humane science and be more than pedantic antiquarianism."

Froude, while dealing with the scientific method applied to history, says, "The most perfect English history which exists is to be found in the historical plays of Shakespeare." This saying, though very much exaggerated, nevertheless contains a great deal of truth. It recognises the distinction between mere compilation and real history. Though in its exaggerated form it might destroy the distinction between poetry and history—between the ideal presentation of human passions and the scientific description of real events—it yet contains the important truth that history is the artistic presentation of humanity in a certain phase of society. It also implies the idea that history to be useful must be popular and should be written in a form of literature which is not merely capable of being easily understood but is also able to interest the general mass of lay readers—readers, that is, other than extremists of the scientific school.

It is often said that the historian's business is merely to give a faithful account of actual events and not to pause in the midst of his narrative, reflect and philosophise. This notion is the result of failing to grasp the distinction between a compilation and a real history. History can never be destitute of theories. Great movements like the Reformation and the Revolution must be treated with a certain amount of philosophising. But we must not attempt to learn philosophy solely from history. It is only

incidentally that a historian can take the opportunity of imparting philosophical instruction. There is a certain amount of truth in the saying "History is philosophy teaching by examples." But one must not take it too literally. The imparting of philosophical instruction ought not to be the primary aim of the historian. History generally loses in vividness by trying to philosophise too much. Occasional excursions into the domain of philosophy are capable of being written in fine and gorgeous language and are capable of giving that form of pleasure which can be looked for only from true literature.

Again, the historian "must distinguish what is local from what is universal; what is transitory from what is eternal, to discriminate between exceptions and rules; to trace the operation of disturbing causes; to separate those general principles which are always true and everywhere applicable from the accidental circumstances with which, in every community, they are confounded by the most philosophical mind." It is not enough for us to know that the Reformation was in Germany the result of Luther's burning of the Pope's bull in 1520; that in England it was the direct outcome of Catherine's divorce. We must also understand that the Reformation was an expression, in the domain of religion, of that national movement in modern Europe which was directed against the universal supremacy claimed by Pope and Emperor, that it was largely a revolt of the Teutonic peoples against the religious shackles imposed on them by the Latin Pope. Or take the English Revolution of 1688. Instead of being merely informed that James II. abdicated, that William III. was quietly installed as King in his place and that thus the English Revolution was accomplished without the shedding of a drop of human blood, does it not enhance the significance of the event by being told that the Revolution was the completion of the movement begun in the Rebellion of 1642, that it was the most complete refutation of that theory of the Divine Right of Kings which had worked so many evils in England, that it not merely initiated the rule of Parliament in England but that it also forced the crown itself to preserve and foster that element in the British constitution which had met with varied vicissitudes during the four hundred years and more of its existence? Pauses and reflections of such a nature are most appropriate and essential to the proper understanding of the true import of history.



Theories and speculations of the kind I have intimated above lend themselves to be depicted in the most gorgeous language. One's thoughts and feelings become more elevated, almost lifted into a purer atmosphere, when one reads that portion of the history of the Reformation in England in which the author, rising above the meaner personalities of Henry VIII. and his advisers and forgetting, for the moment, the base motives of the King in breaking away from Rome, proceeds to describe the large European movement levelled against the tyranny of the 'anti-Christ' at Rome—a movement which had begun as early as the end of the 14th Century and had been struggling for expression ever since. It does 'one's heart good' to read a passage describing what would have been the course of English history if the Reformation had not taken place. Such speculations inspire us with the proper measure of reverence and respect which we owe to the past.

It seems to me that the more universally and all-embracing history is treated the more interesting and instructive will it become. A comprehensive handling of history enables us to perceive a saying on which the late Prof. Freeman used to lay great stress, *viz.*, that history is one in all ages, that it is a continuous drama with many acts and scenes. Hence, taking as it should, such a large field into consideration and linking each epoch of the world's progress with the other, history, to my mind, offers a very favourable and convenient theme on which any man, imbued with the necessary qualifications and genius, might build up a literary reputation.

Sometimes it is urged that history is a science and as such is not compatible with literature. I do not propose to enter into the merits and demerits of the claim of history to rank among the sciences. But one can venture to state with Frederic Harrison that all science is meaningless unless connected with man's past and present. History in the larger sense in which I have used it here takes account of all forms of activity with which mankind is engaged from time to time. Alexander Pope says, "The proper study of mankind is man"; we might say with no less truth "The subject matter of history is also man"—man in all his varied moods and activities, in fact man as the prime agent in the world's progress. Some eminent historians would restrict the subject matter of history only to politics—that is to man as 'a political animal.' There was perhaps no saying

of the late Prof. Seeley's which, he reiterated and emphasised with greater force than that the true province of history lies in dealing with practical politics. And it is an oft-quoted saying of the late Prof. Freeman that history is past politics and that politics is present history. Both of these historians identify politics and history because they were engaged in and were thinking only of political history—history, that is, of man as the member of a State. We have no right to suppose that they were not cognisant of the larger meaning of history which I have given here, but being engaged only with political history they naturally identified politics with history. But there is no excuse for Seeley when he proceeds to lay it down that "history fades into mere literature when it loses sight of its relation to practical politics" Augustine Birrell, criticising this dictum of Seeley's, says in humorous irony "In this grim sentence we read the dethronement of Clio. The poor thing must forswear her father's house, her tuneful sisters, the invocation of the poet, the worship of the dramatist, and keep her terms at the university where, if she is really studious and steady and avoids literary companions which ought not to be difficult, she may hope some day to be received into the Royal Society as a second rate science."

Recognising the fact that history is not concerned with this or that aspect of man but with the sum total of his activities in all departments of life, we cannot fail to appreciate the immense interest history possesses to us. It is a pleasure to us to know how we are connected with the past; what advantages we owe to our ancestors; what responsibilities are imposed upon us as inheritors of these advantages, and what obligations we owe as ancestors of generations yet unborn. Such a noble function as history has to perform can only be fulfilled through the medium of literature whose sole end and aim is to console, to instruct, to encourage and above all to give pleasure to mankind.

Having so far considered the compatibility of history with literature I shall now proceed to review in brief some of the various forms of literature which have been moulded or shaped by history. As Prof. Mahaffy says, it is seldom fully appreciated how much literature owes to history. There is perhaps scarcely any form of literature—poetry or prose—which has not been altered by the magic touch of history. As one writer has graphically put it, "In her higher moods she (history) chants an epic and in her ordinary moods recites a narrative which need not be drowsy."



The epic, some of the finest of patriotic lyrics, the drama and nearly all forms of prose literature have drawn their inspiration from the muse of history. This is too often forgotten and people talk of history as if it was the exact antithesis to poetry and literature in general. The real antithesis however to literature is not history but science. Revolutions in the forms of literary art have very often been brought about by the influence of history.

The epic is one of those forms of literature which are best suited to the presentment of historic narrative. Perhaps it was the only form of literature in ancient days from which men drew their ideas of a past age. The manners and customs of an age prior to the one from which we begin to possess historic remains are best culled from epics. Homer's Iliad is the fountain which has supplied historian after historian with a picture of the life and society of primitive times. The Mahabharata and the Ramayana are monuments inscribed with the social practices and religious observances of an Indian Heroic age. In fact, epics are best suited to present the history of a heroic age.

There are other forms of poetic art which have at different times been used as media of imparting historical instruction, but I have not the time and space at my disposal to consider all of these. But whatever else I might omit, I must not fail to consider that form of poetic art which was brought to perfection by that master-mind of the Elizabethan age which set the impress of its genius on everything it undertook to accomplish. I refer to the historical drama of Shakespeare.

Before Shakespeare's time there had been in existence what were called "chronicle" histories, such as "The famous victories of Henry V" and "The troublesome reign of King John." These were often put on boards, were the direct outcome of the patriotic feeling aroused in England at the time and were greatly appreciated. Men wished to celebrate the glories of England, and playwrights at once set about to find means to satisfy this popular craving. In fact, there is scarcely any Elizabethan dramatist who has not written or who did not contemplate writing a historical drama. Marlowe with his "Edward II" had been long considered the best dramatist of this type till Shakespeare appeared with his "Richard II" and beat his rival in his own sphere. Shakespeare's histories were a development of the old chronicle plays. The historical value of the "histories" can scarcely be

overrated. True, Shakespeare did not purpose to depict the history of England in a succession of dramas, nor was it his intention to give a chronological narrative. He undertook to give us a picture of the life and manners of a certain period of history and he has done it most faithfully and impressively. The characters of great personages in history, Shakespeare understood and described in a manner more truthful and just than many professed historians. It is to the credit of the intuitive character of Shakespeare's genius that he formed an estimate of the character of Julius Caesar which has only been confirmed by more extended historical research. As regards his English histories we have but to note that a great many, perhaps the great majority of Englishmen, derive their knowledge of English history from these plays. I do not by this affirm that the facts contained in these plays are absolutely and chronologically true. But what I do contend for is that Shakespeare's historical estimates—estimates, that is, of the characters of individuals and of the true significance of events—accord, on the whole, with those formed by avowed historians and that these estimates, being expressed in a form of literature which is at once instructive and impressive, fasten themselves on our minds with a force that is irresistible. It only remains for me, before concluding this part of my subject, to say a few words about a form of literature whose claims to impart historical instruction have been questioned with a good deal of warmth. The aim of the historical romance, as developed by its greatest exponent Sir W. Scott, is to present the life and manners of a past age clothed in a fictitious narrative. As Scott conceived it, this presentment of the society of a past epoch was to be done after an amount of antiquarian research, scarcely inferior to that conducted by a historian. It might perhaps be argued that fiction can never represent truth. This statement is the result of a misconception. It presupposes that the principal function of the historian is the narration of facts. But the mission of the historian is not merely to narrate events, but to explain those events, to draw inferences, to elicit lessons. Historical romances constructed after the ideal of Scott can never be untruth. A historical romance gives us the truth about the life and manners of a past age; a history, on the other hand, gives us truths about the period. But it must be remembered that a history can never hope to give us all the truths about a given age; nor can a historical romance give us all the truth. As Macaulay says, "It perpetually

happens that one writer tells less *truth* than another merely because he tells more truths." Another contrast which, according to Macaulay, follows from the above is that "in fiction the principles are given to find the facts, in history the facts are given to find the principles." I remember having once heard a lecturer—very popular in Madras two years ago—remarking about Kingsley's 'Westward Ho' that English boys and girls learnt more about Raleigh and Drake and Hawkins from that immortal novel than from professed histories. Who, among us, has not formed an estimate of the showiness, the frivolity and the haughtiness of the character of England's greatest Queen from that imperishable monument of Scott's genius, Kenilworth? What history has portrayed to us in such graphic colours the struggle between Charles the Bold and Louis XI as the 'Quentin Durward'? In short, the historical romance is only second to true histories in dealing out historical instruction. "If," as Scott says, "anachronism in manners can be avoided, and the features of an age gone by can be recalled in a spirit of delineation at once faithful and striking—the composition itself is, in every point of view, dignified and improved, and the author, leaving the light and frivolous associates with whom a careless observer would be disposed to ally him, takes his seat on the bench of the historians of his time and country."

I shall now proceed to deal with what Prof. Mahaffy calls the 'Literature of History'—Literature, *i.e.*, composed of books on History. From the very beginning historical literature has been of two kinds—the artistic or old form and the sociological scientific or modern form. It is not my intention in this short paper to trace the growth of the artistic form from Herodotus to Froude and McCarthy or the scientific form from Thucydides to Freeman and Seeley. It has been truly remarked that a history of history is a desideratum in English literature. A historian of history will have to begin with Herodotus and Thucydides and end, let us say, with Gardiner. But such a vast inquiry cannot even cursorily be referred to in a paper of this kind. I shall, however, content myself with referring to some recent historians. Both the scientific and the artistic schools of history claim Gibbon as belonging to each exclusively. But this is to overlook the great merit of Gibbon's work. His 'Decline and Fall' remains, allowing for a few minor discrepancies, the standard work on the period it deals with. Gibbon unlike the extreme sect of the modern scientific

school wished not only to reach the specialist by his work but the general public as well; and accordingly he clothed the results of his researches in such excellent majesty of diction that his work has come to be regarded as the highest perfection—Macaulay and Froude alone excepted—of artistic history.

From Gibbon let us pass on to Thomas Babington Macaulay, who is perhaps unrivalled in the force and the art with which history ought to be written. But unfortunately he does not give us the greatest amount of truth, though he sometimes has a great number of truths to narrate. He has that capacity for brilliant imagination which makes his historic figures live in our memories. But he lacks that patience of research and that endurance of the views of a historian opposed to his own predilections which must be a pre-requisite of every good and impartial historian. Some of his historical essays well bear out my remarks. Many of his strictures alike on Warren Hastings and on the Bengali have been clearly demonstrated to be thoroughly unfounded. But no one can doubt for a moment the fact that the fire and polish of his writing have made out as strong a case for the cause he undertook to uphold as possible.

We have now to consider that great snifter of his age—the man of sincerity worked to a height beyond the average capacity of mortal man to reach—the man who, in spite of unpopularity and hostile criticism, always persisted in speaking out what he held to be true and genuine. Thomas Carlyle possessed two of the most essential requisites for the office of historian, a love of truth and a brilliant imagination. Whatever else men might say about Carlyle, no one can question the fact that he was a genuinely sincere and truth-loving man. Nor can any one, who has had the privilege—for I do deem it a privilege—of going through a volume or two of his works, question for a moment the fire of his eloquence, the earnestness of his appeal, and the fund and fertility of his imagination. But everybody would find the explanation of this failure in the fact that Carlyle was pre-eminently a poet. There is much truth in the remark, but I venture to submit that this was not all with Carlyle. His failure is to a great extent to be ascribed to some of his theories. He carried the "doctrine of heroes and hero-worship" to an extent which can only excite laughter in these days. His disbelief in democratic progress, his tirades against "parliamentary" majorities and the like, all these

showed in him a want of sympathy with his generation and even with the past history of his country which must have materially impaired his anxiety to be truthful and exact. We, however, cannot leave Carlyle, the historian, without acknowledging our gratitude to him as the man to whom we owe the resuscitation of the reputation of the greatest Englishman of the 17th century. Leaving Carlyle we cannot do better than refer to his great disciple, James Antony Froude. To Froude we owe a just appreciation and recognition of the merits of Henry VIII. Froude was a historian whose first care was his style. But he was not behind his contemporaries in conducting historical researches. He always has a firm grasp of his subject, but his inordinate passion for neatness of literary finish sometimes leads him into errors. His histories and essays, however, will always appeal to the public with a force which can scarcely be rivalled by his great contemporaries Freeman and Seeley. Both of these carried the scientific school of history to its extremest limits. Theirs was a passion not for style, but for accuracy of every petty detail. Freeman's ponderous volumes, as repositories of antiquated chronicles and contemporary records, may be of great use to the special student of history. But they are absolutely valueless to the general mass of readers. There is much truth in the statement that Freeman was a pedant, always intent on parading the abundance of his information.

John Richard Green next claims our attention. He was, perhaps, the most popular historian England has ever seen. His "Short History of the English People," though defective in the description of battles and in the delineation of the character of the minor personages, is yet unapproached in the simplicity and charm of language with which it describes movements—popular, religious, social or literary. His history, though to a great extent 'past politics,' comes nearest to the more comprehensive treatment of history which has been indicated in the foregoing pages.

We have three living historians to notice—W. E. H. Lecky, Justin McCarthy and S. R. Gardiner. Mr. Lecky has now relinquished his speculative profession of historian and has assumed the role of a practical politician. His 'England in the 18th Century,' in spite of its bulkiness, is yet a masterpiece. In him we see a compound of the methods of Froude and Freeman. The ease and grace of his style, the accuracy of the perception with which he depicts the character of great personages like Marlborough and

Walpole, his faculty of describing popular tumults, the appropriate historical analogies he occasionally indulges in, all these will appeal to the reader with an irresistible force. Of Messrs. McCarthy and Gardiner, I have not much to say. The former is purely a literary historian. He is, if I may so term it, a chatty writer. Some of his histories lack the sense of historic proportion. Mr. Gardiner belongs mainly to the scientific school of history. He has a great deal of the spirit of Freeman in him.

In conclusion, I would only ask my readers to remember that history, conceived and written in the form that I have been contending for, ought to justify its place as "the highest form of prose literature." Its two factors—the reason and the imagination—ought to supplement each other in equal proportions. Instead of being shared equally between the two, it very often "falls under the absolute dominion of each." I shall be content if, in this short paper, I have attempted to prove not only that history is literature but that it also is one of the most interesting and instructive forms of it. A perfect history ought to be perfect literature; for, in both, "the character and spirit of an age must be exhibited in miniature."

N. G.

## SHAKESPEARE'S MACBETH AND THE RUIN OF SOULS.\*

It was not long ago that we reviewed in these pages Dr. Miller's study of Shakespeare's King Lear and the application of its more serious lessons to the mighty problems of Indian politics. We are glad to see that Dr. Miller has followed up that thoughtful and earnest "comment" with another on Macbeth and gladder still to gather from some preliminary remarks of his to this volume that these are only the first instalments of a series that he has, in conjunction with his youthful but enterprising publisher, projected with the intention of being helpful to those who wish to study with thoughtful earnestness some of Shakespeare's plays. Of the present study itself, perhaps, one thing is too significant to be passed over in silence. It has raised little or no controversy. Possibly the subject of the drama selected for critical elucidation and its treatment by Dr. Miller have, in the main, to answer for it. It has no political flavour about it. On the other hand it records the endless strife that rages everywhere on earth between the kingdom of heaven and the kingdom of hell. In commenting on it Dr. Miller has not recourse to any "ingenious hypothesis" which "has perhaps been anticipated by no preceding critic" as an eminent Shakespearian scholar in noticing Dr. Miller's first critique put it. With, perhaps, slight deviations, he moves in the traditional line of criticism. But before we proceed any further with his interpretation of *Macbeth* it is best to call attention to one or two interesting points in the preliminary portion of this study which may not altogether be useless to some of his former critics.

It might be remembered that the novel exposition of King Lear by Dr. Miller induced some of his critics to question his premises. If he is right, said they, then Shakespeare would have been more explicit in the statement of his object. We ourselves held on that occasion that Shakespeare in his later plays leaves much unsaid "that he would have stated in his earlier stages. His characterisation is also deeper but not direct. He trusts to his audience. They have to fill up a greater deal than formerly

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## SHAKESPEARE'S MACBETH, &c.

and have to make their own analysis of the characters. He barely touches upon the topic he has to deal with. He suggests but does not dilate. This is more than ever the case in his *Lear* where the action is so rapid." And here is what Dr. Miller himself has to say on the point: "It must be admitted that Shakespeare habitually left more than most dramatists to be filled up by the imagination of his audience and that, by ordinary standards, his plays are always in some degree fragmentary."

Another objection was found against Dr. Miller's ethical interpretation of the play, and it was said that it was a convenient peg to hang his sermon upon. We shall not interpose between Dr. Miller and his critics. We shall only add that after restating the two great thoughts, the two great ethical principles that pervade through all Shakespeare's plays and form the ground plan of the whole artistic structure. Dr. Miller says:—"The constant presence of those two great thoughts, the way in which it becomes apparent that they are principles actually and constantly at work in the ordinary procedure of the world's affairs, —this it is that makes it a moral discipline to come fairly under the influence of any one of Shakespeare's greater plays. It is an interesting question whether Shakespeare consciously aimed at teaching moral truth, or communicating moral strength, to those for whose gratification his plays were written; but, for any purpose which a critic or expositor has in view, the importance of the question is much smaller than its interest. The question indeed would be of the very first importance to one whose aim was to estimate and set forth the man William Shakespeare in the fullness of his character; but by the expositor of his works it needs only to be glanced at. It is enough for the critic or the commentator that, by universal consent, those words afford the truest and most impressive picture that was ever painted of human nature in its deepest springs and loftiest relations, and that in this picture those great moral truths not only stand out clear but must be constantly borne in mind if the picture is to be appreciated, or even understood. It may be that the painters of the picture aimed at nothing but to make it accurate and vivid. It may be that he was at heart indifferent to the truths so prominent in his works and that he made no use of them in finding his own life. Not the less, if that could be shown to be the case, but in some respects all the more, ought guidance and inward strength to accrue to those by whom the picture is intelligently

studied. For in that case the guarantee would be all the stronger that the principles, the truths, the lessons, by which life ought to be directed and inspired, are not imported by the artist but are inherent in the very substance—are part of the essential character—of the world which he depicts. Whatever view be held as to Shakespeare's wish to instruct those whom he certainly intended to amuse, it is undeniable that if the amusement provided in his greater plays be thoroughly received, those who receive it must come in closest contact with truths and principles from which the fault is their own if they do not derive enduring moral benefit."

As regards the play itself, it will scarcely be contested that Macbeth the hero is supreme though it be supreme in wickedness. In him all interest centres and attention never ceases to be turned on him. The other characters have to be studied only to complete our survey of the drama as a whole or to appreciate its artistic construction. Thus the importance of the study of the personality of Macbeth is manifest. Critics, therefore, have not been wanting who have held that the very starting-point for an inquiry into the real, inherent, and habitual nature of Macbeth, independent of those particular circumstances which form the action of the play, lies in the question, With whom does the scheme of usurping the Scottish Crown by the murder of Duncan actually originate? Some have imputed it to the witches. Others have talked as if Lady Macbeth were the first contriver of the bloody plot. Dr. Miller's highly interesting and analytical sketch of the development of Macbeth's character obviates the necessity of our vague generalisations on the subject and affords an easy solution to the problem. It is obtained in the most natural and easy manner. There is no straining at effect. There is no groping in darkness. Everything follows in its natural sequence. Facts are marshalled and conclusions suggest themselves. We are at first introduced to Macbeth as he was before the powers of darkness began expressly to assail him. He is shown to be full of imagination and sympathy and bold to the innermost recesses of his being. He is frank, honest and boldly straightforward. He is, unlike Iago, at the furthest remove from being naturally a villain. On the other hand, he is wholly on the side of good. "He really possesses the feelings, the instincts, the tendencies, which belong to men of the very highest type, out of which the noblest character may be built up, and

by obedience to which the most beneficent and effective life-work may be done." If that is so, then is it possible that such a one should end his life as the traitorous murderer that he did? It is possible, says Shakespeare, and "the tracing of the causes and the process of so terrible a transition until it has become complete and has shown itself in its completed fruits,—this is the essence of the tragedy of the Scottish King."

In the next place we are shown that what is estimable in Macbeth is not *character* that is stamped upon the man but the fluid material necessary for its formation. He is essentially a man without a character. But he has indeed susceptibilities, preferences, proclivities, in fact, *aptitudes* for good. Feelings do not make up character. They must in due time be hardened into character. If not, life is, as in the case of Macbeth, a failure and the soul is ruined.

We are then shown the process of the ruin. "The point at which the powers of evil get access to the mind of Macbeth, and the keynote accordingly of the play is his ambition." That is an *intellectual formula* to which all critics subscribe. What follows must be stated in Dr. Miller's own words since it affords the real solution to the question already referred to. "It ought to be observed," says Dr. Miller, "that ambitious thoughts are strong in Macbeth before any force from without is brought to bear on him. In the circumstances he was placed in, such thoughts could not but arise; and their presence in his mind does not betoken any departure from rectitude or duty. King Duncan, doubtless, had 'borne his faculties so meek,' and was 'so clear in his great office,' that every good man was sure to pity him if he should be dethroned by violence. But he was not such a King as the age required. Of the presence of mind, the settled purpose, the strenuous vigour and decision, which were indispensable if Scotland were to flourish under him, he does not show the faintest trace. Macbeth is equipped and cannot help knowing that he is equipped, with all the faculties in which King Duncan is conspicuously deficient; and they are qualities without which, in an age like theirs, efficient kingship is impossible. Moreover, it is implied throughout the play, as it is also historically true, that Macbeth has a certain claim upon the throne. If Duncan should die before there is any Prince of Cumberland, Macbeth may succeed him in full accord with the laws and customs of the land. When the King is dead and the Prince of Cumberland has practically

abdicated by flight, Ross only expresses the general opinion when he says,—

Then 'tis most like.

The sovereignty will fall upon Macbeth.

In such circumstances it is inevitable that the thoughts of a brave, energetic, impulsive and every way capable man should at times be busy about how things will go on if power should fall into his hands. Such thoughts imply no guilt. Yet to one not disciplined in duty, to one whose character is not formed, on whom the stamp of goodness is not impressed, they are sadly likely to suggest the further thought of a premature and unlawful seizure of the throne. Macbeth has dallied with this further thought before temptation from without assails him. He has not yielded to it; but neither has he decidedly put it from him.

Whether he has gone so far as to speak of usurpation may be contested. When the bloody plot is nearing execution, his wife alludes to some undescribed project of removing Duncan, of which she says,—

Nor time nor place

Did then adhere, and yet you would make both.

The reference may be to some portion of the play which we no longer possess. It may quite as probably be meant as an indication that even before, and perhaps long before, the action of the play begins, Macbeth has discussed with his wife, some plan of deposing Duncan. But whether he has gone so far as to express half-formed plans or not, undoubtedly such plans are present to his mind. Thoughts of becoming King and of never becoming King, thoughts of waiting till the time for his lawful accession arrives and of making himself King by violence, have risen in agitating alternation above his mental horizon, as summer clouds and summer sunshine may chase each other across the sky. May not his strong imagination have seen his own spiritual condition bodied forth in the visible phenomena of the eventful day of which he says,—

So fair and foul a day I have not seen?

Thus when the proper action of the play commences, Macbeth is prepared for their influence being exerted on him. As is their wont they do not force but only entice, allure or mislead. As supernatural visitants they do not open their lips or begin

their work until they have been spoke to by Banquo and Macbeth. One result of this view is that the weird sisters are altogether absolved from being the originators of Macbeth's crimes. Another is that Dr. Miller cannot agree with Dr. Gervinus in his view that the witches are "simply an embodiment of inward temptation." If that were so Shakespeare would have first laid bare the workings of Macbeth's mind. But, says Dr. Miller, "all artistic propriety would forbid that the effects should take precedence of the cause. Very manifestly, Shakespeare accepts and gives emphasis to the solemn truth that outside of men, and in no way dependent on men, there are forces which aim at evil and destruction as certainly as there are forces which aim at good, that there is on earth an organised Kingdom of the devil as certainly as there is a Kingdom of God. Let it be granted that those representatives of the devil's Kingdom could never have brought moral ruin on Macbeth if there were not something within him with which they had a natural affinity. Similarly the seed would never grow into a tree if there were not something kindred and responsive in the soil. Still, in the case alike of the seed and of the germ of evil, the proper source of the thing which pursues so long a course of development lies without, and not within, the sphere which that development affects." Certainly Dr. Miller's is the more intelligible principle and gives coherency to the whole play of Macbeth while it has for its support popular belief.

Taking the view that he does of Macbeth it is not in the least surprising to see Dr. Miller diverge from the customary mode of describing Lady Macbeth's part in the tragedy. Some describe her as the master-spirit occupying as of right the foreground of the picture, others constantly apply to her such phrases as "monster of wickedness." Some others again say that the idea of the murder originated with her. From such persons Dr. Miller cannot but disagree. Even with Gervinus, whom he generally follows, he cannot agree when he ascribes to her cruelty, firmness and unscrupulousness, and speaks of her as possessing "a will of uncommon instinctive firmness." According to Dr. Miller "there is no sign at the outset that Lady Macbeth deserves to be called either cruel or unscrupulous. It is before our eyes that she becomes so." Her whole nature is

\* MacIise for example in his great painting represents her as a Scandinavian Amazon.

gathered to a point. She is devoted to her husband. "She is wrapt up entirely in him. There is no trace of anything selfish in her except in so far as she regards him as a second and a higher self." From her husband's letter she sees what his heart is set on, and with rare single-minded devotion she makes up her mind that he shall have it. She yields to this single temptation and the result is that her whole moral nature succumbs without resistance in a moment. Impulse reigns and conscience slumbers, and her very love, admirable as it is, becomes the instrument of her ruin. For her husband's object cannot be obtained without breaking through hindrances placed in the way by politeness, morality or religion. Like all persons in whom impulse reigns she disregards the impulses and clutches the object. As Gervinus puts it "like ivy, she had turned her fresh verdure around the branches of the Kingly tree, but when the trunk totters, she falls to the ground."

We have now come to the end. Before concluding, however, we should observe that Dr. Miller's study of Macbeth's character, which is perhaps the best portion of the book, is admirable and worthy of his scholarship, while his view of Lady Macbeth's part is novel and deserving of attention at the hands of other Shakespearian critics. His contrast of Macbeth with Iago on the one hand and Richard III on the other, his delineation of the true character of the witches and his view of "poetic justice" in the fates of the subordinate personalities of the play we can only refer to but not touch upon, for we do not wish to mar their effect upon the reader's mind. Altogether the little volume is a worthy contribution to the Shakespearian literature on the subject and ought to be read by every one interested in the formation of a healthy character amongst the masses of this vast continent.

H.

## TWICE TOLD INDIAN TALES.

(In verse.)

### MAKING A BARBER A BRAHMIN.

Krishnadev Rayar was an old Indian King  
Who, sometimes, indulg'd in having a fling  
At all kinds of folly ;  
Indeed a most jolly  
Old blade was His Highness the Rayar,  
Of the ancient kingdom of Vizianagar ;  
And much me it pains  
That, so little remains  
Of that, once mighty, centre of power and of brains !  
The greatest Maharajah South of the Vindhia  
Even Princes like Mysore, and Holkar, and Scindiah,  
—At that time I fear  
Extremely small bee—  
Would scarcely have dar'd to be reckoned his peer ;  
Krishnadev Rayar was the hero of India !

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Be that as it may ; one very fine day  
The Rayar in bed very snugly did lay,  
Fast asleep, and most probably snoring away,  
When His Highnesses barber—by Royal command,  
Went in to shave him—razor in hand.  
He stood, and he star'd,  
But though the sun glar'd  
In, at all the great windows, he was scarcely prepared  
To wake up a Monarch, who slept on so soundly,  
Who—if he disturb'd him—would rate him most roundly  
On op'ning his eyes, and perhaps, dreadful thought !  
Cut off his head, with his sword, on the spot.  
Time press'd, and the barber much wanting to stay,  
Could hardly stay on, for some business that day  
Demanded his presence, and brook'd no delay :  
He considered a while,  
And then, a cute smile  
Lit up his visage, which was not without guile !

His loin cloth around him he carefully gather'd,  
 And gently, most gently, the Rayar's head lather'd  
 With water alone,  
 For soap he had none,  
 And stropping his razor with facile precision,  
 With a great deal of courage, and skill, and decision,  
 He shav'd very smoothly, and cleanly, and neatly,  
 His Highnesses whole occiput most completely ;  
 Except, be it known,  
 Th' topknot on the crown ;  
 Which all Hindus wear, from the king to the clown !  
 Meanwhile, be it said,  
 The Rayar in bed,  
 Slept nowise disturb'd, as 'f unconscious, or dead ;  
 Then leaving His Highness to softly repose,  
 And smiling at shaving him, ' under the rose,'  
 Th' barber slipp'd off to—where ? Heav'n alone knows !

After sleeping awhile, His Highness awoke,  
 And glanc'd very lazily round at the clock :  
 Then jump'd out of bed—" By Sri Krishna," quoth he,  
 ' What a laggard I've been, and there's so much to see  
 To " and " reflectively rubbing his chin  
 With the back of his hand "—" why 'tis time to begin  
 Shaving"—he paused—It was most certainly strange  
 His head was as smooth as a jelly *blanc mange* !

With a puzzl'd expression he hastily hied  
 To a mirror, adjacent, in which he esp'd  
 His face, and his head, and became then aware  
 That his tonsorial artist had remov'd all his hair,  
 In so skilful a way,  
 While asleep he did lay,  
 That he d'termin'd, at once to reward him that day !  
 His Highness, impatient his approval to show,  
 Sent off for his barber, who, bowing quite low,  
 Appeared in a tremor of fear, and of hope,  
 Expectant of either—reward—or a rope !  
 His fear was dispell'd, for the Rayar, quite kindly,  
 Ask'd the barber to mention  
 If a place, or a pension;

Would suffice for the service, he'd done so completely,  
 By shaving his person so gently and featly ?

Now the barber's low caste  
 Had, for many years past,  
 Been a burden so killing, depressing, and vast,  
 That he often had wished—and there was no harm in  
 Wishing—he could be metamorphos'd to a Brahmin,  
 And *here*, a chance offer'd of crossing the pale,  
 And achieving success in the social scale.  
 So he boldly repli'd " 'twas the wish of his heart  
 A Brahmin to be, and that for his own part  
 His life was unhappy, on account of the scorn  
 That e'er fell to his lot—not being a twice-born ! "

The Rayar he nodded : sent the barber away  
 And called for the *pundits* that very same day :  
 Then addressing them said :  
 " Fast asleep on his bed  
 His barber had skilfully shaven his head  
 And that, 'twas his wish,  
 From the very same dish,  
 That the Brahmins ate from, his barber should eat  
 And that, for the future, the Brahmins should treat  
 His barber as Brahmin, and in six months from date  
 Make him Brahmin of Brahmins—sure as Fate's fate "  
 Such was the mandate ; and the Rayar's assertions  
 Were as fixed as the laws of the Medes and the Persians

The Pundits bent low, and mutt'ring obedience  
 The barber attended ;—to learn his convenience !  
 They thrice daily bath'd him,  
 In pure garments swath'd him,  
 And to offer oblations,  
 And pronounce incantations,  
 To pray morn and even, in Sanskrit, they taught him ;  
 And act like a Brahmin in all things besought him,  
 Thus the six months slipp'd by, when one smiling morn  
 The Rayar's face showing, just the least bit of scorn,  
 Rode, to-wards the streets of the holy twice born ;  
 To see if his barber his food did partake



With the twice holy Brahmins. , But these, wide-awake  
Had delay'd this last step, and which had they taken  
Outcast they'd have been, and scorned and forsak'r !

Now, at the great Rayar's Court  
There was one, who made sport  
For His Highness's pleasure—a jester in short ;  
Who, whether he was, or was not, a Brahmin  
Was known by the name of Tennali Rāmen.  
He came to the rescue, declar'd he'd a notion  
Would hinder for ever the barber's promotion !  
This was excellent news, and the Brahmins declar'd,  
To assist the Court Jester they, all, were prepar'd !  
This Tennali Ram was a privileged man,  
And promptly, and speedily, hit on a plan  
To prove to His Highness, 'twas wholly absurd  
A barber—a Brahmin to make, by a word !

The idea conceived, the jester set forth,  
And purchas'd a black dog for what it was worth.  
To its neck tied a string,  
Then the poor struggling thing,  
In a pond of cold water he did ruthlessly fling !  
Rough rubb'd him with towels,  
And heedless of howls,  
Dragg'd him, *willy nilly*, in spite of some growls,  
Round the thrice sacred fire, and regardless of pain  
—Fell to scrubbing, and rubbing, his Pi-dog again !

Cute Tennali ramen, he quite knew the hour  
The Rayar had fix'd on to make a short *tour*  
Of the Brahmin *agrarium*, so when he drew near  
That howling Pi-dog it deafen'd the ear !  
His Highness he passed, and calling his Jester,  
Ask'd why the poor Pi-dog, he so much did pester ?  
" Your Highness " said he  
" 'Tis easy to see  
That this dog is as black as black it can be,  
And I ask leave to mention  
'Tis my present intention,  
—(Your Highness I hope will give *me* a pension)—"

To scrub this puppy all day and night  
Till I manage to make the black creature, white,  
" Pooh ! pooh ! " said His Highness " You're surely insane  
What maggot, my man, has got into your brain ? "  
" Oh ! " quoth the Jester, " if this can't be done,  
To make a barber a Brahmin is certainly fun ; "

*Verbum Sap. Satis* : That ended the matter ;  
And the barber home sped as ' mad as a hatter.'

A. P. SMITH.

*Trevandrum.*

## COMMERCE AND CIVILIZATION.

THE civilisation of mankind has undergone many alternate phases of diffusion and concentration. Its history dates to a very remote period ; it is the most important element which makes up the history of a nation, and in it all other elements are embraced. What are then the fundamental ideas contained in the word 'civilisation'? The etymology of the word seems to afford a clear and satisfactory solution. It says that it is the perfection of the civil life and the development of society ; in other words, it is on the one hand an increasing production of the means which secure strength and happiness to society, and on the other, a more equitable distribution amongst individuals of the strength and happiness produced by it. The history of commerce is the history of civilisation and the history of human wants. Commerce means the exchange of commodities, especially on a large scale between different countries. Commerce promotes the intercourse of nations who thus learn and influence one another ; the competition of commerce stimulates intellectual activity, fosters enterprise, promotes exploration and colonising, produces wealth, and thus adds to the resources of a nation, and supplies the fund from which the revenue is replenished, and literature, art and science are supported. Commerce is thus a most important factor in civilisation. The progress of civilisation is a topic with which history deals and therefore commerce as one of the factors of civilisation plays an important part in history.

The part of history which treats of commerce is called commercial history, from the study of which we learn that huge changes have undergone in different ages, corresponding to the evolution of civilisation. In our investigation, we will observe that commerce and civilisation are mutually dependent upon one another, and the transformation of the seats of the two are coeval. The history of the subject teaches us the difference between the commerce and civilisation of to-day and that of Europe in middle ages, or of Rome under the Empire, of Athens in the days of her zenith. Modern commerce and civilisation are the topics

to which our attention must be chiefly directed, but a clear comprehension of them can be obtained only by enquiring into the changes these have undergone under the different nations of antiquity, such as the Greeks and the Romans. Further in order to understand the developments of commerce and civilisation of these nations, we must go further back and study the history of the nations who are their teachers, *viz.*, the Assyrians, Babylonians, Egyptians, Phœnicians and Carthaginians. Besides the nations mentioned, there are others who, in ancient and later periods, have attained a high degree of civilisation, such as the inhabitants of Hindustan, China, Mexico and Peru.

We observe that the struggle for the supremacy of nations is not one of recent origin. From the earliest times we see them competing for the extension of trade in order to accumulate wealth and power, even supplanting and crushing each other. To obtain the mastery of the world's trade is the mainspring of all their efforts, of all their exertions.

And now it is one country, and then another, which secures the object aimed at ; now one nation, and then another which raises itself to the highest development and industry, only to be afterwards thrown aside by stronger or more developed, or more intelligent, or more energetic competitors.

In glancing back, we find that to the lowest stage belong the beginnings of civilisation in Assyria, Babylonia and Egypt ; to the next belongs the civilisation of the Phœnicians, the Greeks, the Romans and the European nations of the middle ages ; the highest stage was not attained till the 16th century A.D. when oceanic voyages were undertaken by the European nations. The physical agencies that have brought about the development during this epoch are :— (1) the Mariner's Compass which gave guidance over the open sea ; (2) the Telescope, (3) the Printing Press ; and (4) Gunpowder.

In the pioneer period, we find that the beginnings of industry and commerce have been centered (1) in the communities that live in the valleys of rivers, namely, Assyria, Babylonia and Egypt, (2) in the nations who have developed navigation in the narrow seas, namely, the Phœnicians.

Of the trade concerning the Assyrians, comparatively little is known ; but the records of Nineveh bear testimony to the existence of a people who had acquired great industrial aptitude, and must have carried on an immense trade. Babylonia possess-

ed a very flourishing trade and industry. The Hebrew prophet, Ezekiel, calls Babylon "a land of traffic and a city of merchants." Babylon traded both with the East and the West. Even after the destruction and final overthrow of Babylonian power by the Persians in 52 B.C. it retained a great deal of its trade and wealth. That Babylonians were one of the civilised nations is seen from the fact that they were famous astronomers. From the Greeks they learned the Sun-dial, the division of the day into 12 hours, and their system of weights.

Egyptians belong to one of the gifted races, who possess a civilisation, which can claim antiquity for over four thousand years. The *Hamitic* race founded an ancient empire in Egypt; the importance of the country is due to its position, being located at the corner of the Mediterranean Sea, and having access to the Red Sea, it is the chief station between the East and the West. Consequently, most of the trade between Europe and the Southern countries of Asia must pass through Egypt.

The Phœnicians, the bold sea-farers, were the richest nation of antiquity, who did their utmost to extend trade, facing the greatest obstacles, in order to discover new countries to find a sale for their wares. By their energy, enterprise and shrewd business principles, they founded colonies everywhere and thus brought into prominence the hitherto unknown parts of the world. They thus greatly promoted and extended the cause of civilisation.

But in course of time the Phœnician power declined owing to the invasions of Saragon the Assyrian, and their place was taken up by the Phœnician colony of Carthage. Like the parent country they attained great prosperity, but after a time they were overthrown and their power was destroyed by the Greeks and the Romans.

In their turn the Greeks and the Romans contended for commercial supremacy. Both had a period of prosperity, played an important part in history, political and economical, and was finally crippled owing to the pride and dissensions of their citizens. It is noteworthy that their tradition, their laws, and their languages still survive.

A great break in the history of civilisation, and consequently in that of commerce, took place when the Roman Empire was over-run and destroyed by the Barbarian tribes, but owing to the strong and powerful position held by the Empire in the world's trade, it was not easy to create a new set of affairs.

After the collapse of the Roman Empire, a period of misery and decay followed. Gradually an improvement took place through the two agencies of feudalism and the influence of the Christian Church.

We now come to the close of the Barbaric age, and enter into the tenth century, the period when feudalism took possession of European society. Wherever Barbarism ceased, everything took the feudal form. The establishment of the feudal system produced an important physical alteration, which exercised material influence upon the character and course of civilisation. It completely altered the distribution of the population on the face of the land. The men who had hitherto lived in the interior of towns, or been roving in bands over the country, came to live isolated, each in his habitation, at great distances from each other.

Feudalism from the 10th to the 13th century exercised a great and salutary influence upon the development of man, of his sentiments, character and ideas. It was in the Feudal times that Europe, after shaking off barbarism, tasted the first intellectual pleasures. The first bursts of the European imagination, the first essays at poetry and literature, date from this period, and were greatly encouraged and fostered by the feudal spirit.

The influence of the Christian Church from the fifth to the twelfth Century was a humanising one, and tended to bind together all classes of the community. It encouraged by its teaching the emancipation of slaves, and it was, in part, owing to its influence that slavery died out in Europe. Religious societies and the practice of pilgrimage to sacred shrines, were the outcome of the essential elements of religion. Pilgrimages to the Holy Land at this period promoted intercourse between the East and the West. These pilgrimages were not without their commercial side. Fairs were often held at these shrines, and the silks, jewels, spices, paper and other products of the East were brought into Europe by the pilgrims returning from Palestine. The interruption of the pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the Eleventh Century by the Mahomedan Turks, who gained possession of Palestine, led to the Crusades. Two causes, the one moral and the other social, led Europe to play an important part in these Holy Wars. The moral cause was the impulse derived from religious sentiment. The social state of Europe in the

Eleventh Century equally contributed to the breaking forth of the Crusades.

Many inquiries have been directed to ascertain what means of civilisation were directly imported at this time from the East. It has been said that most of the great discoveries, which, in the 14th and 15th century, greatly developed European civilisation, namely, the compass, the printing press, and gun-powder were introduced from the East into Europe by the Crusaders.

These Crusades also greatly increased the prosperity of the Italian cities. The Mediterranean now became the centre of the world's trade. Marseilles, Genoa, Pisa, and above all, Venice, reached a position of great prosperity. These, cities not only kept up an active trade with Asia Minor, but their fleets also became the means of transport for the Northern Europe to proceed to the Holy Land.

This was followed by an eventful epoch in Europe. It was the period of the greatest outward activity of mankind, the period of voyages, enterprises, discoveries, and inventions of all sorts. It was at this time that the great expeditions of the Portuguese along the coasts of Africa took place, which resulted in the discovery of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope. Columbus discovered America. These developments contributed to the wonderful extension of European Commerce.

Higher civilisation, greater power and wealth were evolved from this dominating commercial position. Spain became the most powerful of all nations—the empire at that period ruled the world.

After a short period, Spain, owing to the haughty and arbitrary policy of her Government, had to give place to others. Holland, which already before the peace of Munster had occupied an important position in commerce and navigation, became a strong power, displaced the Spaniards and obtained the mastery of the world's commerce.

Time will not permit me to describe the highest position occupied by Holland both in civilisation and commerce. She became the first colonial power, whose flag was seen on every ocean. Suffice it to say that the success of Holland evoked admiration everywhere for the enormous material development of that small country of fishermen and shop-keepers, as Louis XIV. used to call them.

In his remarkable lectures on "The Expansion of England,"

Sir John Seeley arrives at the conclusion that England, the supreme maritime and industrial power, is quite of recent growth. It was during the Elizabethan age she began to discover her vocation of trade, and of the dominion of the sea. The great sea traffic followed the discovery of the New World. The discovery of the New World shifted the high way of traffic from the inland lake of the Mediterranean to the open sea, and England was favourably placed by geographical situation for trade between America and the continent of Europe. It is not unimportant to note that in the Far East at the present day Japan occupies a similar position between America and Asia.

We have now reached the threshold of modern commerce and civilisation: In France, and in England more particularly, the commercial policy of Holland was looked upon with great jealousy. Colbert, with his tariff war, Cromwell with his Navigation Act, both played such a conspicuous part in their own countries, that each of them separately and jointly strove to destroy Dutch industry, Dutch Commerce and Dutch supremacy on the sea.

Thus we see that Cromwell's policy secured for England, the supremacy over the sea. He succeeded in supplanting Spain and Holland, and obtained their best colonies. Later on, the Government of William III placed the finances on a sounder basis by establishing the bank of England.

Nor was this all. It was also the period of the greatest outward activity of mankind—the period of inventions of all kinds, which enabled England to make wonderful progress in her commerce. This brought about a revolution in the industrial attitude of the great powers—a revolution in which economic causes were so apparent and so dominant that it might fairly be said that the distinctive character of civilisation in England was economic. The insular position gave security to those men of genius—those humble workmen—who, merely in quest of their daily bread, fed and clothed multitudes with the results of their inventions. This great age of scientific invention is, of course, a natural sequence of the physical discovery which preceded it. Although England cannot claim a Columbus or a Magellan, the names of Key, Hargreaves, Arkwright, Grompton, Cartwright, Watt, Boulton, Horrocks, Roberts, Bulloygh, Smeaton, Brindley, Clement and others, are too well known as masters over nature's forces.

The protectionist policy, which was mainly due to the incorrect interpretation of the Science of Economics at that time, resulted in complication and rupture between England and her colonies. The Tariff policy of England and her new fiscal measures which were considered by her greatest colony—America—tyrannical, led to a Civil War by the United States of North America, and resulted on 4th July, in the declaration of independence.

Meanwhile, important events had taken place in Europe. In France, the Revolution had broken out, later on Napoleon staggered Europe by sword and fire. While matters became serious on the Continent, England lost no opportunity to extend her influence in all parts of the world, to obtain supremacy wherever she could, not only on the battle field, but also and more particularly on the fields of commerce and navigation. These inventions and repeated overtrading were followed by a great expansion of trade and industry, ultimately resulting in a serious commercial crisis. Three times the Bank Act was suspended, but the precautions taken on these three occasions, 1847, 1857, and 1866, were enough for the Bank of England to withstand the severe storm of 1886, and the Bank of England remains to this day, the foremost of the Banking Institutions of the world and London the chief centre of the world's commerce.

Despite all this, England's international trade would never have attained its present development, but for the adoption of the free trade policy. England's path was followed by other nations. Cobden's prophecy that all Europe, within five years after the adoption of free trade by England, would follow her policy was now fulfilled. England succeeded in forming commercial treaties with Belgium, Prussia, and the German Zollverein. It is scarcely possible within the limits of this paper, to survey the commercial treaties entered into between one another by the different nations on the continent, in order to protect their trade. Suffice it to say, that among the continental countries, Germany ranks first as a commercial nation, a position which she attained under the strong Government of her first Imperial Chancellor, Otto Von Bismark. This statesman, by his foresight and wisdom, placed everything on a sound and permanent basis, introducing new sets of weights, measures and coins for the whole of Germany.

Just as under the strong Government of Richelieu, of Ma-

zarin, of Colbert, France prospered; just as under the administration of Oliver Cromwell, England had a period of great prosperity; just as under the sway of Napoleon III the commerce and industry of France prospered immensely, so under Bismarck's regime, Berlin became the financial centre of the world, bearing testimony to the fact that commerce prospers in a country ruled by a strong political Government.

This survey of commerce and civilisation will be incomplete, if I omit to mention the marvellous progress of Russia of late years. Russia is not only becoming the dominating power in Europe, but also in Central Asia. Russia, realising how necessary it is for Siberia, rich in copper, coals and other minerals, to have an outlet to the ocean, succeeded in obtaining from China the opening of the Port of Amoor which is absolutely necessary for the Siberian Railway. The opening of this railway which has been fixed sometime in 1904, will, when completed, enable the journey from London to Vladivostok to be performed in ten days, thus shortening considerably the voyage from Western Europe to China and Japan. This Railway has already exerted a profound influence upon the situation in the East, and is sure to become a new factor in the civilisation of the Twentieth Century.

• The expansion in trade and civilisation of the West has had its influence upon the East, which we find notably in India and in Japan.

Japan is daily coming more and more to the front. From 1871 commences a new era in the Educational system of Japan, and under the direction of distinguished European professors from America, England, Germany, and France, she set herself to learn the arts and sciences of the West. It must be said that her public have shown a full grasp of modern problems, which place them high in the domain of statesmanship. It is nearly fifty years since her ports were opened to foreign commerce, and it is less than that period, since the first machinery was set up within the Empire. The Government pays particular attention to agriculture and commerce. Special attention is also given to the markets of the world. Since 1897, the department of agriculture and commerce has annually sent about a dozen young men to different countries to learn various branches of trade and industry. To show the improvement made by Japan in her commerce, I may mention that in 26 years, the

foreign trade of Japan has advanced from 48 million to 288 million dollars.

Finally, I shall direct my attention to India. In the middle ages the Oriental trade had brought wealth and glory to Venice and Genoa. In the 16th century it had made Portugal one of the greatest mercantile powers in the world. Commerce with India has been regulated by the cost of carriage and the comparative cheapness of production. The former long out-balanced the latter, as in the caravan age—the age of gems and drugs—or in the second stage of intercourse with the West, when the Persian Gulf and Red Sea were used to shorten the land route, and gave an impetus to the exportation of fine fabrics and metal-work. When the Cape route was discovered, the hand manufactures of India were sent to the European countries. The development of Railways, Steam Shipping, and the opening of the Suez Canal have enabled India to appear in the true commercial vein. But a dark cloud has been hanging over Indian trade and finance since 1872-1873, when the gold value of the Rupee began to fall. The terms of exchange were disturbed, and more produce had to be exported to meet gold liabilities. Trade, as Mr. O'Connor has aptly said, was carried in a series of rushes and pauses. I cannot here describe the Indian trade, but I may say that there is much scope for industrial development in connection with many articles of trade. The vast quantities of oil-seeds now exported to foreign countries may be utilised in India in crushing and taking out oils which may be exported or be worked up into soaps, the oilcake of course being retained for cattle food or manure. The tanning of hides and skins; practised to a great extent in Madras, might be extended, and so also of the leather used in manufacturing boots and shoes, saddlery and harness. The carpet industry which is to a small extent carried on in Ellore and Salem, can also be greatly extended. Much can also be done in extending the production of sugar, paper and tobacco. There is also plenty of scope for the working up of iron and coal mines. A large number of minor articles now imported from foreign countries can easily be worked here with the expense of a small capital and labour, resulting of course in the yield of a large profit to the Indians. It is a matter for regret, the decay of the artistic skill of the Indian hand-loom weavers.

If the above conditions should accrue, it will involve a large outlay of capital. India being essentially an agricultural country

will not find adequate capital to be raised by her citizens, but must look to European capitalists for financial help. If these are to come forward for the investment of their capital in India she can not only utilise her manifold supply of raw materials, but can also find adequate employment for the increasing mass of her population.

In my attempt to show the relation of Commerce and Civilisation, I have had to touch a series of movements in the social progress, which have effected a prodigious change in the destinies of both individuals and nations. In this period under survey the sciences, the useful arts, commerce, and all attributes of moral, religious, and intellectual advancement have been cultivated; a number of monopolies in trade have been cancelled, physical agencies have revolutionised the habits and manners of the people in the world; important modifications of laws and institutions have taken place. Last, but not the least, the wonderful advances made in practical Science and the Arts, the chief agency being the Steam Navigation, have greatly developed the opening of new channels of commerce, bringing together remote countries into immediate neighbourhood.

I think I have justified the statement made in the beginning of this paper that civilisation has undergone many changes of diffusion and concentration. It will then naturally strike one whether any mass of humanity has attained, or, will ever attain, the highest perfection and development under any set of social, economical and political conditions. To arrive at a postulate is not easy; certain elementary facts, such as, that there is nothing stationary in the universe, change is not only possible and desirable, but absolutely inevitable, must be learnt by society. I shall quote Ed. Carpenter, who says that Civilisation "is a kind of disease which the various races of man have to pass through as children pass through the measles or whooping cough." In connection with the idea that "civilisation is a kind of disease," "there is this serious consideration to be made, that while history tells us of many nations that have been attacked by it, of many that have succumbed to it, and of some that are still in the throes of it, we know of no single case in which a nation has fairly recovered from and passed through it to a more normal and healthy condition. In other words the development of human society has never yet passed beyond a certain definite and apparently final stage in the process

we call civilisation; at that stage it has always succumbed or been arrested."

The Roman, Jewish, Greek and Egyptian civilisations are four cases in point. In each of these the process has been somewhat similar in character, and in no case, has any nation come through and beyond this stage; but in most cases it has succumbed soon after the main symptoms were developed. Every race that we know has become what we call civilised, has passed through these changes; and though the details may vary and have varied a little, the main order of change has been practically the same in all cases. We are justified therefore in calling civilisation a historical stage, whose commencement dates roughly from the division of classes founded on property, and the adoption of class government."

C. GOPAL MENON.

#### THE PUDUKOTTAH REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY.

**A**MONG the Native States of South India Pudukottah take a subordinate place in point of area, population and revenue. It is a territory of 1,101 square miles, and according to the Census of 1891 has a population of less than 4 lakhs with a total revenue of about 10 lacks of rupees. This little State has just entered upon an entirely new phase in its history, and has created a Representative Assembly on the model of that of Mysore. The motive that prompted this step is commendable; it is, in the words of the Dewan, to learn the needs of the people not only from persons charged with the administration of the State but also from those who being of the people have better opportunities of mixing with them and understanding and voicing their grievances. Every government which does things in the light of its own knowledge and its own interpretation of the feelings and needs of the people must be at a disadvantage in harmonising its policy and actions to the popular weal and sentiment. And where there exists an intelligent patriotism among the people their co-operation with the Government in all that concerns their welfare cannot but result in good to those who rule as well as to those who are subject to their rule. The move now made by the Pudukottah State, therefore, deserves the sympathy of right-thinking men; and we hope that that sympathy will be accorded in the heartiest manner and to the fullest extent. The State is financially in a good position having a respectable balance at its disposal, and from the Administration Report for the last year it does not appear that its revenues are not well and judiciously spent. The Rajah is young, well-meaning, and ambitious; and his Dewan, if we may judge from his address to the Representative Assembly, is imbued with the right spirit and has an insight into the needs of the State. The Rajah's privy purse including the allowance to the members of his family amounts to Rs. 1,94,000 which is less than 20 per cent. of the revenues of the State; and although this sum may be deemed excessive, and we think according to modern notions it is excessive, there is apparently every desire not to burden the State Revenues with extra expenditure on account of His Highness. The Rajah, it is stated, has not a decent building to live in at Trichinopoly; and the State has not purchased any

carriages for a long time, and there are at present no decent carriages for His Highness to drive in. Provision is accordingly made in the current Budget for this extra expenditure; and the Rajah's subjects will not certainly grudge this preparation for decent living and decent driving, especially when, in addition to his usual solicitude for their well-being, he seeks to invest them with political power.

The Representative Assembly which His Highness has now established is not a very great thing in itself; but it has future possibilities of the most momentous nature if it is properly worked and developed. If it is merely intended as a show there will be very little to be said for it, but if, as we believe, it is the intention of the Rajah and his advisers to utilise it as the foundation of constitutional Government in his State we are bound to accord to it our warmest sympathy and support. The conditions in most Native States are so rapidly changing that the present autocratic form of Government will cease to satisfy all requirements. A foreign element, especially of office-seekers and merchants, is fast forming in many of the Native States; and the diversity of creeds and sects is creating conflicting interests. A form of Government in which one particular class of people have always the predominant voice, power and patronage, is bound to grow weaker in course of time owing to the absence of common incentives and aspirations; and it should be the interest of every State to so organise the various forces as to make them all harmonise in the efforts to secure a unity of aim and purpose. Every subject of the State, of whatever sect or creed, must be made to feel the same interest in its prosperity and greatness; and no section of its subjects should be made to despair of achieving equal success and distinction with the rest. Every man must have the chance of rising to the highest official position and dignity in the State and of sharing in all its privileges. This is the ideal to be attained, and a Representative Assembly such as has now been formed may be regarded as the first step towards that ideal.

To justify its name the Assembly must be really representative of the most vital forces and all the solid interests in the State, of all men of a certain standard of education and of all men who own property and pay not less than a fixed minimum of land-tax. These will include all who have permanent and substantial interests in the State, all who have a motive to uphold its rights

and dignity. No definite scheme has yet been formulated to ensure this kind of representation; but there is foreshadowed in Dewan Mr. Venkataramadas Naidu's address what looks like the future scheme of representation. "The value of the privilege now accorded to you, by Our Gracious Sovereign," said the Dewan, "may not be fully realised and the full benefit thereof may not be reaped, until you move about in the State at your leisure and form associations which can study the wants and grievances of the public." The Dewan thus recognises, what we have already said, that the present Representative Assembly in itself is not of much consequence unless it is properly organised on a truly representative basis; and he also indicates in a way, as we have done, that the future electoral units should be local Associations formed of men who have substantial interests in the State and possess the capacity and facility to study the wants and grievances of the people. He further realises, as we do, that the new Assembly is intended to be a "boon to the public and a real source of strength to the administration." The formation of local Associations is an important step; but it should not be left to the people merely. The Government ought to specify the qualifications of its members, and give it a legislative recognition. Every landholder who pays a certain tax ought to be a member of the local Association; and associations so formed must be invested with the privilege of returning a certain number of members to the Representative Assembly. It is not necessary here to state in detail what other functions can be assigned to these local institutions so as to keep them alive and active. Perhaps some such duties as are now performed by Taluk Boards, Union Panchayets and Municipalities may not inappropriately be left to be performed by them, or by small committees elected by them should the number of members be very large. When people are thus familiarised to the franchise and when their representatives of the Central Assembly show a sufficient knowledge and sense of responsibility, it may be possible ultimately to confer certain powers on them with regard to finance and legislation. But before this can be done, the scheme of representation has to be worked out and perfected in a spirit of sympathy and patriotism.

The native states of India, especially the smaller ones among them, can easily introduce reforms of this sort; and if they succeed, it will be easier for other states and even for British Provinces to proceed on similar lines. In British India a sort of symmetry has



to be maintained throughout, and it is accordingly difficult to try any local or limited experiments. States like Pudukottah can, on a small scale, achieve many things in the direction of self-Government, of technical education, of industrial progress and so on; and nothing can be a greater glory to them than to be the pioneers in these matters and to show the way for others. Men with ideas, sympathy, and foresight should be able to accomplish much in these directions; and we view with genuine satisfaction the move that has now been made by the State of Pudukottah. With the accumulated savings of about nine lakhs at its disposal the State can undertake measures which will add to the progress and prosperity of the people. But it will do well to avoid the example of Cochin which having recklessly spent its savings of about 48 lakhs, and being compelled to borrow 16 lakhs, now finds itself in a most acute financial crisis as it is unable to spare any money even for the most pressing needs of a progressive administration. Except as a matter of novelty there was no need for a Railway in Cochin; and even regarding it as a means of profitable investment, which in the opinion of competent authorities it is not likely to be, what advantage would it bring to the people? It is to be managed by the Madras Railway Company and all the well-paid appointments in it will be filled by foreigners, especially Eurasians or Europeans from outside. As for the facilities of travel or the transmission of goods, there has been no particular inconvenience for the people from the existing road and water communications which are undoubtedly cheaper than the railway can be. The total distance covered by the Railway is only 60 miles, of which 20 miles can be travelled by water. There is also water communication between Cochin and Tirur which is a Railway Station. Is then the luxury worth having at so much cost to the State? To spend away all the resources of the State on a scheme of this sort shows neither foresight nor statesmanship. It illustrates neither original ideas nor an intelligent conception of the needs of the people. It is more an example of administrative folly, of a childish enthusiasm for novelty. To immature minds alone would such a project have commended itself. The sagacious statesman would have condemned it as a childish freak. The money that has been spent on the enterprise could have been utilised in a good many other directions, profitable to the State and the people. But it has been deliberately squandered away on a scheme of questionable utility even as regards the future, and

one which has caused serious embarrassment to the State for the present.

Pudukottah, we are glad to note, is not impatient of its savings of about 9 lakhs; but that it is endeavouring to inaugurate measures which will be a boon to the people. It is paying special attention to irrigation. We find from the Dewan's address that it is proposed to store up at three or four places in each Taluk all the water that is now running waste in the rainy season, and make it available for filling the tanks on a lower level, the capacity of which is not sufficient to fructify one crop. The cost of the scheme will be considerable, but it is hoped that funds can be made available for constructing one such reservoir every year. The river systems in the State are also being investigated so as to carry the water to many places to which it does not now go. To encourage ryots by State loans to dig wells for cultivation and, for that purpose, to set an example to them it is in contemplation to dig big wells at Sirkar. cost from which ryots may take water on payment of a water-cess. To ryots who dig wells the State is prepared to grant concessions in the shape of loans at a low rate of interest, a comparatively low rate of water-tax, and easy instalments for the re-payment of loans. This is practical statesmanship and contrasts favourably with what has been and is being done in Cochin in pursuance of wild, speculative, and unpractical ideas. Nor is the Dewan of Pudukottah indifferent to the industrial condition of the State which, he says, does not contain one single industry worth the name though in the matter of capital, with so many wealthy Nattukottah Chetties, the resources available in the State are superior to those found in many other native States. We hope the State will do something more substantial for the promotion of industries than is indicated by the Dewan. Situated as Pudukottah is, the Railway communication would be of advantage to it; and the Dewan is prepared to assist private enterprise for constructing a railway, and so far as the line running through the State is concerned, to guarantee interest on the capital spent. But the mere introduction of the railway will do little for the promotion of new, or for the revival of old industries. The State can do something more direct for industrial development, and the Dewan does not appear to be devoid of ideas on the subject.

The Dewan displays an unexceptionable spirit in dealing with the suggestions made by the Representatives. Even where

he is unable to accept them he leaves no sting in his refusal. Some of the Representatives wanted the town of Pudukottah to be constituted into a Municipality; and the Dewan's reply to them raises the question of extra taxation which the step would necessitate. The Durbar has had the matter under consideration for a long time, but the fear that the town may not be able to raise by taxation within it all the money required for working the Municipal machinery has prevented it from giving effect to the idea. "If," said the Dewan, "the townsmen are desirous about it and are prepared to pay house-tax, profession-tax, &c., the Durbar is prepared to pass a Regulation somewhat on the lines of the District Municipalities Act in the British Territory and place the Municipal administration of the town in the hands of a council composed partly of officials and partly of non-officials." It may be permissible here to point out that, in Travancore, Town Improvement Committees are now worked without extra taxation, and these Committees are modelled after our Municipalities although by a recent Regulation of the Travancore Legislature provision is made for raising local taxation for Municipal purposes. We do not ourselves see why a town like Pudukottah, which contains so many officials, Vakils, merchants, adventurers and courtesans, should not pay for the special needs of its sanitation, water supply, and so forth. For whatever advantage they may derive in common with the rest of the population of the State, they ought not to be made to pay. But exceptional advantages such as they require cannot be had without extra payment. This, in our opinion, should be the principle of Municipal taxation.

Another interesting suggestion made by the Representatives is that as in British Territory provision may be made for the Court of Session trying certain cases with Jurors and Assessors; and this, the Dewan said, has been referred to the Chief Court for opinion and will be duly considered. Like Municipal Government, trial by Jury and Assessors will be a means of training people for the management of public affairs, and of creating in them a kind of public spirit. This is the object with which such institutions have been created in British India; and as a preparation for the performance of higher functions such as will devolve upon the new Representative Assembly they are by no means undesirable adjuncts of the administration. Here again Native States can go further than British Provinces, and on lines

somewhat different from those pursued here. The creation of Honorary Magistrates and the constitution of the Bench Magistry are other steps in the same direction. A State like Pudukottah should have no difficulty in making departures of this sort, especially when the people show an intelligent desire for them.

The recommendations made by the Representatives in regard to such matters as irrigation, life insurance for the officials of the State, optional registration of simple bonds for Rs. 500 and less, alteration of the Kistbundy establishment of an agricultural and Mercantile Bank and so forth, were all dealt with by the Dewan in a very reasonable and considerate spirit, and where he has not been able to accept their proposals, the Representatives can have no reason to think that they have been arbitrarily or unsympathetically rejected.

On the whole things augur well for the State. The Rajah is intelligent and well educated, and has received enlightenment and knowledge from foreign travel. His Highness is animated by the most intense sympathy for the people, and is anxious to bring them into touch with the administration and make them happy and prosperous. We hope he will persevere in his intentions, and we wish him success in his efforts. There can be no higher function for a Prince than to work for the good of the people and no greater reward for him than their love and attachment.

## THE NILGIRIS.

**N**ILGIRIS is the anglicised form of the Tamil *nīl-giri* which literally means *blue-top*. This anglicization of Indian names for the sake of brevity or euphony unfortunately obliterates all traces of the original meaning in the long years to come, except in rare instances as the present one. How this blue-top obtained the Tamil appellation of Nilagiri is not clear; whether it was named so by Tamil settlers in the land or the Tamils abroad it cannot be ascertained; possibly the Tamil inhabitants at the foot of the hills seeing the blue-tops losing itself amidst the clouds in all its sublime glory, from below gave it a Tamil name. All the same the name is carried down to our present times and it is not probable that the Todas who are ostensibly the original settlers of this far off high-land and who use a dialect of the corrupt Tamil gave this name. The blue-top is also termed the *Serpent Parvatham* by virtue of its bracing climate, soothing effects on debilitated human system, healing atmosphere and other health-giving properties. As a place of health resort, this station is most popular and is sought after by residents of the sister Presidency of Bombay and other adjoining provinces, in preference to their own sanatoria. An excellent ghaat road unmatched in other parts of India runs up to the top and the road all through is marked by scenery of unsurpassing beauty clothed in luxuriant vegetation, now and again relieved by the dark granite or the red earth, over which plays the rising or the setting sun, enveloping the same by bright sunshine or dark shadows in turns; by rivulets running in slow cadence or roaring torrents dashing along the hill sides and emptying themselves in deep pools at the foot of high cliffs and forming a stream therefrom; by cypresses and acacias, the tall acacia and the eucalyptus standing erect in grim silence, as if the rank and file of the army is about to march waiting for the commandant's order; and by the sweet warbling of the birds, some of which are peculiar to this place.

The traveller from the *Dattapoor* or some other district of this tropical Presidency alights off his feet at the station terminus of the Madras Railway and gets into the railway coach.

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a hasty breakfast, whether of the whilom M. C. C. or the rival N. H. T., most uncomfortably seated, merged in, luggage strewn beneath, overhead and at the wings, with a postilion behind who is neither overclean nor overscrupulous to ask for a tip with a grin at every post where horses are changed and the coachman on a par with him in the front who smacks his whip with a professional air and spares neither the muscles nor the bones of the poor horses under his control and unlike his uncouth assistant behind asks only once for his *bukhsheesh* at the termination with a low *salam* and an air of importance, as if he had achieved the most difficult horsemanship in the world; or gets into the country cart with its noise of *bir bir* from its simple and artificial break of a log of wood tied behind, and glides along the zig zag road utterly unconscious of the height he is gaining every hour, nay every minute, except by the coolness that visibly affects his frame, feels as if he is going to an eminence, a land of paradise, and is in full expectation of enjoying something unheard of in his life. He has reached the gate to Ootacamund and the weary traveller turns round anxiously to find out the high sanding place termed the Charing Cross and is shown to his blank disappointment the small triangular piece of land with its unseemly patches of *Geraniums* and commonplace *lilies*. The traditional *Paniaramaram* with its massive stem and broad branches covering an extensive area, like the proverbial *banian*, was a better landmark than its miserable substitute; thanks to the ingenuity of somebody that the unwieldy 'Adam's fountain' now sits over the triangular piece, almost fully covering its area and leaving a bare margin. The new comer has reached his destination and he heaves a sigh of relief, as the travelling was by no means comfortable either way.

Things have changed now and the rack railway up to Coonoor is a piece of engineering skill which calls for the highest encomiums on its design and execution in a way serviceable to this hill-station. The traveller has his doubts whether he should get into the train for fear of being smashed by any accident on the mountain railway to which he is not familiar, but to annihilate time and space he after all decides to get into it. The ride to Kullar is no doubt pleasant enough; but as he proceeds up he realizes the curiosity of the engine at the wrong end struggling up with a noise and a puff of thick clouds of smoke emitting a disagreeable smell almost choking him, while through the

small tunnels, of which he had heard much, returned travellers from Bombay. When he is on the bridges of which there are a little too many and whose span is not a *hillis* beyond the width of the train running over it, he keeps his breath in awe and thinks of his family gods; one look below the fathomless abyss over which the bare skeleton of the bridge stands on massive columns of stonework, and his hairs stand on end and his whole frame shakes. He shuts his eyes and contemplates what his fate will be if by a mishap the train is precipitated into the abyss beneath. The bridge is passed and he is once more on *terra-firma*; before he recovers from the first shock another bridge intervenes and this time he is not so nervous, but nevertheless the fear is not abated. Thank God he has reached Coonoor and there is no danger even in a mountain railway, if everything goes all right. One journey more, and yet another journey makes the philosophic Hindû look with complaisance and resignation on the risks of travelling even on a mountain railway.

The advent of the railway has scared away the clouds, according to Badaga superstition, from this favoured land; and Father Pluvius seems to have shaken off his partiality for the hills, and once in his life thought of the even distribution of rains between the plains and the hills. The incessant rains that marked the break of regular monsoons, the heavy downpours that counted several inches of rain in a day and converted low lands into white sheets of water, the summer storms that covered the ground with ankle deep of hail stones, the gnawing frost that freed water into solidarity and the shivering cold that kept the chimney burning at all times of the day have now become things of the past. While on this subject it must be stated that the weather here is as fickle as a woman. It is now bright sunshine and the sun is powerful almost to sultriness; and the new comer, who is all wool, saunters out to have a long walk to purge off the heaviness in the stomach which he has filled to the full; he has not gone a few furlongs, gasping for breath at every elevation he has to clime, but refreshed immediately by the cool breeze that wafts on him, the clouds thicken overhead, and before he could realize it, there is a heavy downpour and he makes a hasty retreat home. Before he reaches home he is fully drenched, as the overcoat was also left at home by the deceitful sunshine; he is on the steps or the verandah of his house breathing and perspiring hard, and finds to his utter discomfiture

that the rain has stopped and the sunshine is as lively as it was before he started. Another interesting phenomenon on the hills is the mist; as you wend your way along you perceive at a distance in a deep valley or on a mountain top the rise of a small shining cloud snow-white in colour; and before you have gone a few yards, the mist has come over you in a thick cloud enveloping the whole space, so much as to make the nearest objects imperceptible. It comes in succession, wave after wave, pleasant in sight and feeling and is the precursor of rain.

The holiday-maker that resorts to this sanitarium, seeking pleasure or health is not at first very favourably impressed with his immediate surroundings, though he is charmed with the superbness of the scenery and the natural features and more annoyed than pleased with the chillness, the dripping rain and the cloudy nature of the sky. It is not given to all to live in bungalows and airy gardens which are limited on the hills and which are largely in requisition during the season (April to October) and the sapient landlords then dictate their own terms in the matter of rents. The new-comer hopes to find his *Utopia* of sanitation on the hills, but he has to disabuse his mind of all such notions; when he drags himself along the miry roads—which are otherwise excellent and incomparable—shoots into lanes and alleys and sees the squalid dens and garrets where not only houses are huddled up and every available space is converted into a human habitation, but people are overcrowded in dirty holes, in smoky rooms without ventilation of any kind, in underground cellars and dark turrets where one cannot stand upright for fear of hitting against the low roof, he heaves a deep sigh and exclaims that even in places where 'heavenly bliss' may be attainable, the surging mass of native population cannot shake off their dirt, but must live with it. As the higher and richer classes muster strong, the lower class perforce go there to minister to their wants and attend to their comforts; and it is indeed a serious problem where to locate them. It will do much credit to this hill station, if these eye-sores of plague spots are pulled down and erased out of existence and wealthy landlords induced to replace them by houses constructed on sanitary principles in proper rows and a decent form, though small but comfortable. The country is indeed peculiar, as already described, with its undulating ground, fine meadows, virgin forests, deep valleys, lofty peaks, magnificent flowers—this is indeed the land of roses

if not of *lilies*—, dense forests, gushing waterfalls and what not! The peculiarity is not confined to the natural features, but the very tribes that inhabit it are also peculiar. In the towns, the Tamils predominate, mostly settlers from Trichinopoly, and there are representatives of many castes from the adjacent districts of Coimbatore, Salem, Malabar, Tanjore, &c. The fusion of castes has reached its climax here. The much oppressed Pariah is no longer the Panchama here, and it is not uncommon to find caste-men mating with Pariah women and caste women of all grades mating with Pariahs or Mahomedans, so much so, that it may indeed tax the ingenuity of the census operator to classify the offsprings of such unusual combinations. This is indeed the Gretna Greene of many an eloped pair of the lower orders. The hills afford a big labor market for the plains, so far as to make artisans and workmen thrive well here and the *quondam* labourer blooms into a prosperous merchant. Though the average workman and the labourer earns better than his *confrere* of the plains, his prosperity is not established as he is a liberal contributor to the Abkary Revenue; more than half his income is claimed by the liquor or beer shop keeper. The extensive plantations which are the general future of this country attract myriads of labourers from Southern India, the West Coast and the Mysore Province, to this *Eldorado* of work. Neither the planter nor the ryot is a prospering entity just at present, with the diminution in the rupee, gold currency, depression of market and last though not the least, the continued drought. While the *Sail* grows fat at the cost of the planter and the house-owner, the Badaga ryot is in the clutches of his co-religionist, the *Roxolthen*, who plays the very Shylock with the Badaga; thanks to the amendment of the Contract Act in the matter of interest that 'it blesseth him that takes and him that gives.'

The Peruvian bark, viz., Cinchona which at first commanded a good market has given place to the Chinese leaf, viz., tea and the Arabian berry which last, viz., coffee is now the all-absorbing industry of the place. The tribes that inhabit the hills are (1) The Badagas, (2) the Todas, (3) the Kotahs, and lastly, the Kurumbers.

A. RAJAHBAHADUR MUDALIAR.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMS.

WE desire to avail ourselves of the publication of this interesting volume to say a few words on the main outlines of social reform as set forth by modern reformers, and in doing so to refer to the principles and methods which seem to be pursued in the efforts that are being made for the advancement of reform. The book before us contains the opinions of some of the most distinguished social reformers and others on subjects of social reform and on matters more or less allied thereto; and it is significant that in the papers comprised in the volume the predominant aim is political. Social reform is insisted on principally as a means to an end, and not as an end in itself. The fusion of castes among the Hindus is a preparation for the evolution of a Hindu nationality. The plea by Mr. Hydari for a harmonious co-operation between Hindus and Mahomedans has for its aim the creation of an Indian nationality. And when Mr. Sathianadhan advocates social intercourse between Europeans and Indians he has for his aim the nationalisation of the British Government in India. When prominent reformers take Mr. Subramania Iyer inveighs against social abuses and social restraints on the freedom of the individual they imply that those abuses and restraints render the people unfit to play their part as an advanced political community. A political object therefore underlies all advocacy for social reform. The political regeneration of India, it is argued, can be effected only through social regeneration; and for this reason some people contend that social reform must precede political reform.

The latter class of reformers would evidently put off all efforts for political reform till Indian Society is reconstructed on the models which they approve, and they would concentrate their energy and their resources on this primary object for the time being. This view has been urged not only by Indian reformers, but even by outsiders in an apparent spirit of genuine sympathy with Indian political aspirations. We are, therefore, willing to consider this aspect of the question in its legitimate

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bearings; but we are also bound to consider what the effect will be if their view is accepted and if political reform is accordingly removed from our programme. It goes without saying that the number of those who follow the banner of political reform in this country is far greater than that of men interesting themselves in social reform; and unless the former agree to the proposition which we have stated there is no chance of any accession of strength to the social reform party. The only reason for which they can possibly fall in with the views of the latter is the hope of thereby accomplishing their primary object with greater facility. The question then is whether it is likely that the large number of men who have convinced themselves after thought and reflection that urgent political reforms are called for, will give up all the work they have done, and begin tilling fresh ground not in the hope of getting any harvest in the immediate future, but that they may prepare the ground for a different sort of cultivation altogether. We must confess that our knowledge of human nature does not permit us to think that any large body of men will engage themselves in a wild-goose chase without any direct object in view.

In the West it is a common political and national feeling that has destroyed the social differences which separated class from class and everything else which impaired their political strength. We are glad we are supported in this view by no less a social reformer than Dr. Bhandarkar himself. In his paper on the "Social History of India" which is included in this volume, Dr. Bhandarkar says that "the germs of the caste system existed among some of the principal races in the West," and he quotes M. Senart, the great French scholar who has recently published an Essay on Caste, to show how caste has disappeared in the West before the influence of political and national feelings: "M. Senart shows how the growth of strong, political and national feelings constantly tended in the West, to weaken and at last succeeded in removing, these (caste) restrictions. He suggests that the absence of such feelings in India may be one reason why the disabilities have not also there been gradually softened away. It is, indeed, very suggestive for the right understanding of Indian history, that they should, on the contrary, have become so permanent a factor in Indian life." After quoting the above view of M. Senart, Dr. Bhandarkar observes: "And this is the result of the entire absence of political and national

feelings.' Pride and other feelings that divide man from man have had full swing in the history of India, and sympathy or fellow feeling has been confined to the narrowest possible sphere." So that those social evils and drawbacks which prevail among the Indian people as the result of the caste system would have disappeared if there was a strong political and national feeling. The entire absence of it accentuated differences and drawbacks which are now deemed obstacles to a national existence. This cuts the ground entirely from under the feet of those who argue that social reform must precede political reform. If political reform is deferred as suggested, there is no motive for social reform. If, in the present days, anything has impressed upon the Indian people the necessity for the eradication of social differences and the effacement of harmful social restraints it is the national and political spirit created by the National Congress. The broad principles of nationality which form the foundation of this movement have furnished an inducement for the various castes and creeds in India to give up something of their old exclusiveness and to cultivate a feeling of common brotherhood and sympathy. Thoughtful Indians now feel the necessity of removing all social obstacles and restraints which hamper our national union and retard our national growth. Give up the National Congress, and with it will disappear all national and political feeling which, according to M. Senart and Dr. Bhandarkar, has tended in Europe to destroy the distinction of caste. What inducement will then be left to us for social reform? We are not sure that there will be many people to undertake social reform for its own sake as there are said to be people who take to learning for its own sake. Without a higher national aspiration and without a higher national feeling there can be no sufficient motive for the voluntary fusion of the many castes and sects which now divide Indian Society or for the removal of those restrictions which prevent us from competing with the advanced communities of the world. It is therefore well that we realise the truth that our political work cannot be subordinated to social reform. This was the view of such eminent reformers as Telang and Ranade as it is the view to-day of men like Dr. Bhandarkar and Mr. Justice Chandavarkar.

Nor can we concede the proposition that the Indian people are socially so disorganised that they are unfit to exercise any political rights or privileges. Such a proposition is implied in

the insistence that social reform must precede political reform. Nowhere is there such a strong social organisation as in India. Elsewhere political vicissitudes have produced vast social changes. But Indian society has survived such changes for centuries together. It has lost political power, but not its religious and social organisations. It has its root in the past, and rests on a solid foundation. If such a community could exercise political power in the past, as indeed it did for centuries, it cannot now be said to be so radically defective as to be unfit to enjoy any political privileges. The complaint against the Hindu society is not that it is weak, but that it is too strong, that it does not readily accept innovations, and that it persists in being governed by its own laws. There are certain small communities rising up in India under various designations, with their respective tenets and different ethical codes. These are admitting recruits from all classes and creeds without regard to their social status, their standard of civilisation, and their ideas of morality. The recruits are expected to conform to one common standard of morals and conduct as the result of the new teachings they receive and of the new influences amidst which they are placed. For these to gain anything like a stable equilibrium as a community it will take generations. Being a mere collection of disorganised units having no common traditions or common standards of life and conduct, they cannot be said to furnish an efficient foundation for a political superstructure. But to speak of the Indian community as a whole as though it were a disorganised, degraded body incapable of exercising any political rights just like any of the new communities we have referred to, is hardly consistent with facts or with history or with tradition.

It is not contended that the Indian society is perfect or that it has no need to relax its rules and customs so as to better adapt itself to new environments. We freely admit that our exclusiveness and our fear of contamination by contact with foreign nations and creeds cost us our kingdoms and our political ascendancy. We had to flee for our religion and caste before invading hordes instead of resisting them without fear of contamination. There is a homely Indian proverb which says that it would not do to pray when you are being attacked by the cow. You must resist it and overcome it by force. Calm philosophy must be superseded by material force. Even now when we live under a beneficent government which allows

us to practise our religion and pursue our peaceful avocations, we are under a disadvantage inasmuch as our caste and customs stand in the way of our competing on equal terms with other nations. The restrictions which impede our freedom and progress are many and serious; and unless we break through these shackles and move onward as other nations do, we can never hope to come into the front ranks. Our social system based upon caste suited us exceedingly well when we had not to compete with foreign communities, when we had not to go out to foreign countries, when each caste in the community was content with the position assigned to it. Foreign influence and example have now changed these things; and we have now to acquire the power of adaptation, of so regulating our social laws and customs as to make them harmonise with our new environments. The question of food, of marriage, of travel, and of intercourse with other nations prominently comes into notice in this connection; and we have to solve it as best as we may in order to be prepared for competition with the rest of the world. The consummation here indicated is, however, of the far distant future. It is only our ideal, and we have slowly to work towards it. Our immediate interest lies in harmonising the different and diversified units of Indian nationality into an efficient entity. We have said that foreign influence and example have tended to disunite our people and divide them into sections and communities each feeling a separate interest in its own future. Communities and communal claims are daily increasing. The sweets of office, of emoluments, of power, and of honours and distinctions are sought after by castes and creeds each on its own account. These, instead of diminishing, are increasing our differences, and rendering the attainment of objects, which the National Congress has in view, more difficult, and shows conclusively that a broad national and political feeling is lacking among the classes and communities referred to. We must painfully confess that the desire for the ascendancy of caste and creed is stronger than the desire for the amelioration of the Indian people as a whole. If the desire of each was to increase its own efficiency so that it might form an efficient unit of the larger Indian community, there would be no cause for regret. But what one sees is a selfish hankering after power and pelf on the part of each section of the community so that each may outshine the other. The process is not one of union, but of desintegration; not of harmonious co-operation, but of mutual antagonism. The landmarks



of caste are weaker now than they were twenty years ago. But the spirit of caste is stronger now than ever before. In the generations gone by each caste accepted its natural position, and felt no jealousy for the others. But now each is jealous of the other, and would do everything to make itself supreme. Social reformers now-a-days freely inveigh against caste distinctions; but they themselves are not always free from the caste spirit. The old orthodox Hindu is not so much animated by the caste spirit as is his English educated brother who is seized with the reforming spirit; and we are doubtless indebted to English education and English influence for this new disintegrating spirit. If we want to advance as a nation it is imperative that we must destroy this spirit, this jealousy, this feeling of antagonism between one section of the community and another; and what we would like to see is a generous readiness on the part of every man to help a member of another caste as much as his own, to treat him as his brother, to confide in him, and to make him feel that he is a member of a common community and not of a caste.

The public service in India is the most fruitful field wherein are engendered the jealousies of caste, sect, and creed, and the charge has been rightly made against Hindus, Mahommedans, Christians, Smarthas, Vyshnavas, Madhavas, Vysias and Sudras that each has used power and patronage so as to entirely exclude from office and emoluments men of other creeds, sects or castes. In one district alone in this Presidency a single Hindu official managed to appoint so many as 101 of his relations and castemen to the prejudice of the claims of every other caste, sect and creed; and it is natural under these circumstances that others should feel annoyed at their exclusion. Men placed in positions of power and responsibility can do much in the way of creating a feeling of brotherhood among all classes; and any educated Indian who forgetting his duty in this respect weakly yields to the influence of castes and sects does a disservice to his country's national progress. The whole of India felt elated when Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji was elected as a member of Parliament. But what becomes of this elation if, when a member of his community attains to positions of power or influence in this country, other communities would not rejoice at his elevation, but feel aggrieved at his distinction and success? Yet such feeling of jealousy is not uncommon in India, and so long as this is not discouraged and restrained there can be no hope for a union of hearts among all

classes of the Indian people. To appreciate merit irrespective of caste or creed and encourage it in a spirit of common brotherhood and common national aims is necessary for national unity. The cry against caste and creed has no meaning if it is not prompted by this object; and it is the duty of every patriotic Indian to do his best to bring about this consummation of national feeling and national unity, the effacement of differences and the eradication of prejudices. Social reformers who act in this spirit and with this object are true benefactors of their country; but their activity will only result in mischief if they merely declaim against caste and social distinctions without being actuated by a genuine honesty of purpose and a genuine desire to promote the interest of the whole community.

The reformer, if he is to exercise any influence over the community, must be both earnest and sincere. There are men who pose as reformers because of their prejudice against the higher castes and who derive satisfaction from reviling them. There are also reformers who vehemently preach one thing and persistently do the opposite. The drunkard has no business to pose as a temperance man; nor the dancing master to declaim against the nautch. Such open inconsistency between word and action on the part of those who would reform society must bring reform movements into contempt, and the reformers themselves into ridicule. We do not say that every man must do what he preaches; but every man can abstain from doing the opposite. There are matters in regard to which public opinion and social sentiment have to be advanced before a final step is taken; and the man who exerts himself to effect this may not be blamed if he does not cut himself off from his society by doing that for which his society is not prepared. A man may be perfectly convinced that widow marriage is right, and that foreign travel is both permitted by the Shastras and is essential for the advancement of the community. But he may not run the risk of doing either himself if a considerable section of his community is not prepared to go with him. There is no inconsistency in such conduct, though there may be heroism in the opposite course—in sacrificing one's interests for the sake of a principle. But where a man inveighs against what is admittedly an evil, and himself practises that evil for no other reason than that he cannot forego that vicious self-indulgence, he is guilty of a most culpable inconsistency and does wrong to his associates and to the cause which they espouse. This form of inconsistency is not very com-



mon ; but where it exists it does serious damage to the cause of social reform. Character is a great thing in every sphere of life. In regard to reform movements which have to overcome a great deal of prejudice and opposition, character in those who lead the movements is of the highest value and importance. Hence those who gather under the reform flag, not from principle or conviction or from an intelligent appreciation of their responsibility, hinder rather than help the cause.

Social reform is retarded rather than advanced by the inclusion of what may be called purity questions in the reformer's programme. Purity movements are good in their own way, but they are hardly popular in any country. The majority of men and women are doubtless moral throughout the world ; but in no part of the world do we find the majority of people enthusiastic about purity movements. Those who identify themselves with such movements are generally regarded as fadists ; and even in the British House of Commons this class of men are never the most popular or influential. Many men who are strictly pure do not believe in these movements ; they are moral without them, and do not think that the efforts of reformers will do much good. The prejudice may be irrational ; but there is no doubt that it is real. That being so it will not be inadvisable to separate purity questions from reforms which are more essential and imperative. Purity movements are best led by men specially devoted to them. Earnest men working for them must always be found ; but they are bound to be few in number. Those questions on the other hand which appeal to a much larger number of people by reason of their immediate bearing on national progress are best solved when they are dissociated from matters in which so few have real faith and in the promotion of which so few are interested. Experience has shown that purity questions drive away many from the reform camp. This has been so particularly in Madras where the Hindu Social Reform Association demanded pledges which were not always given, and when given were not in all cases adhered to. The ultimate collapse of the Association has been due to this cause. Where a number of people proclaim high moral standards and some of them fall away from those standards, much respect is not inspired in the minds of those without whose co-operation it is impossible to carry out any important form. In this respect the conduct of the reformers is itself a test of the practicability of their projected reforms. When they themselves have

not the resolution and the strength of will to carry out what they preach, there is little use in their blaming others who do not follow them. When they themselves cannot be consistent, they have no right to blame others for inconsistency. And if consistency is impossible in their own case, they will do well to narrow the scope for inconsistency to the lowest limit.

Reforms to be real and beneficial must receive the acquiescence, if not the active support, of the general community ; and in order to secure this end reforms must be presented in such a way that they may carry with them a sort of authority which will appeal to the masses of the people. The idea that a few English educated men by constituting themselves as reformers can accomplish any great work of social reform is impractical. They carry with them no authority which will count for much with the masses. What the latter will respect is the authority of their religious books, of the dictates of their ancient law-givers, and of the sayings of their ancient sages. The rational pleadings of reformers will have no force with them ; and large masses of the people never regulate their social and religious life merely in accordance with reason and natural justice. Rational reform has been preached and has failed. Reforms based upon ultra-rational sanction, deriving their authority from ancient usage and ecclesiastical sanction, have alone any chance of wide or general acceptance. The practical reformer must, like the General, determine his base before he begins his operations. And what is to be the base of the Indian Social Reformer ? The wisest of modern reformers, the late Mr. Ranade, determined it to be Shastraic sanction. He had no faith in a present which had not its root in the past. Every step which is recommended must have the Shastric authority as its foundation. Rational reform can appeal only to the English educated few ; it has no chance with the multitude. A reversion to the past rather than a revolution of the present ought to be the motto of the reformer. All may not agree with us in this proposition. But we are fully convinced that to reconstruct society on an entirely new basis is hopeless. It is to cut ourselves off from all our ancient heritage, our history and our traditions, and to throw ourselves into a hopeless isolation which can do no good either to ourselves or to society. Some of us may by such a course reform ourselves, but society as a whole will remain what it is. This is, however, not the consummation which the reformers desire and aim at.

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## THE INDIAN UNIVERSITIES REFORM.

LORD CURZON has all but completed four out of his five years' administration of India ; and the turning point in it, so far it concerns public appreciation, public hopes, and public expectations, seems to have at last arrived. Everybody acknowledges his lordship's brilliant abilities, his masterful individuality of character, his wonderful resources, and his statesmanlike genius and imaginative insight. But the people of India, in the end, will judge him by the result of his activity and labours, by what he does for them, and by the effect of his policy and measures on their present and future well-being and progress. They are intelligent enough to appreciate that which is good, and to distinguish that which is evil from that which is good. Hitherto they have been occupied in admiring the Viceroy who has displayed such masterful qualities of intellect and will. Hereafter they will apply themselves to an intelligent and critical analysis of his entire policy and measures. As regards the internal administration of the country Lord Curzon has not yet achieved anything great. Such ideas as he has have yet to be given shape. The reforms he has projected are yet in the stage of enquiry and discussion. Everything will depend upon the direction and form these will take. Are all these to end in disappointments and revulsion of public feeling or are they likely to add to the admiration which the people already feel for his lordship and to strengthen their affections for him ? These are questions which both those who wish well for his lordship and those who wish well for this country will be naturally tempted to ask.

It is far from our purpose here to enter on a general review of Lord Curzon's administration. That task, for obvious reasons, has to be put off for some time more. But the observations we have made in the preceding paragraph will show that such an important subject as that which we purpose to consider in this article has an important bearing on the general tenor of the administration which will come to a close with the year 1903. There has been no higher or nobler task which the British Government in India set before itself than the education of the people, none which called for greater foresight and statesmanlike insight, none which was prompted by broader sympathy or inspired by deeper solicitude for the future of the millions that inhabit this country. Education, therefore, is a subject which, in this country and at the present time, cannot be dealt with in a hasty or inconsiderate fashion or by men who do not possess the highest qualities of statesmanship. And Lord Curzon's final decision in this matter will materially affect public judgment on his administration. The educational policy which has been pursued in this country for nearly half a century has, on the whole, been productive of great benefit both to the State and the people. The wisdom of early British statesmen in this regard has been justified beyond expectation. Every competent authority who has carefully looked into the matter has been of this opinion. Even the Universities Commission which started the enquiry with many preconceived notions has not been slow to admit alike the wisdom and beneficial effects of the educational policy which it was called upon to enquire into. The Commission deliberately records the following opinion:—

Having visited a considerable number of these institutions (affiliated to the different Indian Universities), we are not disposed to confirm the sweeping condemnation which has sometimes been passed upon our University system. Many of the Colleges command the services of able and devoted teachers; and we do not consider the students as a class to be wanting either in natural talent or in industry. In comparing our graduates with those of other Universities, it must be remembered that the Indian student often enters on his college course at an age when boys of other countries are still at school. We must also remember that the Indian Universities are of comparatively recent foundation, and that the resources of our Universities and Colleges are very small when compared with the vast endowments of England and America and the large sums placed by the Governments of other countries at the disposal of their Universities. Taking all the facts into account, we see no reason to regret the determination at which the Government arrived in 1854.

The above verdict of the Commission, arrived as it is after careful enquiry and examination of all the facts and circumstances, makes it unnecessary to defend the existing system against ill-considered attacks of all kinds. It is at once a vindication of the policy pursued in the past and of the machinery adopted for the fulfilment of that policy, and a plea for the extension and development of that policy and for the improvement of that machinery. Yet, curiously enough, the Commission does not recommend anything which is consistent with its own verdict. It does not recommend the institution of new Universities. It does not encourage the establishment of new colleges. It does not even favour the spread of University education except among a limited few. What it seeks to do is, in the expressive phraseology of Mr. Justice Guru Dass Bannerjee, to raise the height without broadening the base, "to repress imperfectly equipped colleges and schools, to deter students of average ability and humble means from the pursuit of knowledge, and, in short, to sacrifice surface in order to secure height."

The University itself is not to be brought into contact with a larger number of its graduates. The number of Fellows is to be restricted. The Senate itself is to be reduced in strength. A register of graduates is to be introduced, and all those who do not pay a certain annual fee are to be excluded from it and denied the electoral rights which, as graduates, they now possess and are permitted to exercise. The proposal for the establishment of a convocation of graduates is rejected as being premature. Hence very means of popularising the University through the association of graduates with it is taken away, and education is to be placed under the control of Government and a small number of experts. The Indian Universities, when they were first organised, were so constituted as to admit of extended popular representation and control. In the initial stages the guiding hand had to be that of the Government, both for the sake of efficiency and prestige. Indian graduates in those days were very few. The older Universities do not show more than half a dozen graduates every year in the first few years of their existence. It was natural, therefore, that the Senates should be constituted mainly of officials and Europeans, of men unacquainted with the country and the people. Scope was, however, left for the free introduction of the Indian element and for the nationalisation of University education among the Indian people. But the authority

which has had the power of nominating Fellows has not taken advantage of the rapid increase in the number of Indian graduates to increase the proportion of the Indian element in the constitution of the Universities. On the other hand, every care has been taken to maintain the undue predominance of the European proportion notwithstanding the fact that the Universities are Indian, that their graduates are Indians, and that the great majority of teachers in our schools and colleges are Indians. Not only no onward course has been taken, but a downward course is now recommended.

It is proposed that the constitution of the Senate as it now exists should be disturbed, that its strength should be reduced in the case of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, to a 100 and in that of Lahore and Allahabad, to 60. The existing Fellows not appointed to the Senate are to retain their Fellowship as an honorary distinction, but without having any voice in the management of the University. One-fifth of the members of the Senate are to retire every year, but they will be eligible for re-appointment or re-election. A very small number of members will, as now, be elected by the graduates. Such is the constitution of the Senate now proposed in accordance, of course, with the views generally expressed by the witnesses that the present strength of the Senate is too large. It is difficult to say that any great inconvenience has resulted from the existing state of things. It is true that a large number of Fellows who reside in the Mofussil do not now take any part in the proceedings of the Senate; but this only takes away the objection to its alleged unwieldiness. The number resident in the metropolis is sufficiently large for all practical purposes, but is not larger than the number that would be engaged in the actual working of the Senate if it were reconstituted as now proposed. A certain number of Fellows would remain honorary members under the proposed system; and that being so, there seems no reason why the non-resident members should not be regarded as practically honorary, and the resident members as active participators in the business of the Senate. This would obviate the necessity for reconstituting the Senate, and the result would be practically the same.

The proposal to make membership of the Senate terminable at the end of every five years is open to the obvious objection, which Mr. Justice Bannerjee emphasises, that the temporary character of the tenure of office would tend to impair the independence of

the members and would incline them at times to decide questions, not according to their merits, but according to the wishes of those with whom the power of re-appointment really rests. If the whole body is periodically elected, this objection may not be of much weight. But the power of appointment and re-appointment will vest with the Government; and the Senate under such a condition will be a mere creature of Government, and will have no independent existence. And the Government in this case will be the Director of Public Instruction upon whose recommendation alone it can make appointments. Under such an arrangement the popular character of the University will be destroyed, and non-official opinion will have little weight in the councils of the University.

The University, if it is ever to become a national institution in India, must have represented on it the cultured thought and aspirations of educated India. Such a representation should not merely be nominal, but substantial. The Commission, however, would entirely subordinate the Indian element to the official and the professional; and it makes no provision for the adequate representation of independent opinion. Educational experts are no doubt necessary for the administration of a University. We may even say that they are indispensable. But we cannot agree to the proposition that they should be everything. There are questions which have to be decided with complete freedom from what we may call professional bias and professional jealousy. In matters affecting the interests of rival colleges such as the question of affiliation, of the settlement of fees, of the qualifications of teachers and a number of other things, the principals and professors of colleges are hardly likely to bring an unprejudiced mind to bear upon the discussion or the decision. A body of men quite unconnected with colleges and quite independent of official opinion are more likely to inspire confidence and to act with impartiality. Besides, the boys to be educated and subjected to the University test are the sons of Indians; and the latter are therefore more competent to have a right conception of the needs, the difficulties and the interests of the student population. Nobody, we believe, denies the fitness of Indians to bring up their own children and to act in their best interests. Why should it then be supposed that in the matter of education they will act in such a way as to injure the best interests of their sons? It is the earnest wish of every father to

give the best possible education to his son, an education which will qualify him not only to earn his living but to gain distinction in life. In this he cannot be less interested than Government Officials and experts. Nevertheless it is assumed, most gratuitously we should think, that in all questions of education Indian fathers will strenuously pull in one direction and the Government and Educational authorities in the other. Are the interests of the State and of Education so much in conflict with the interests and desires of Indian parents that it should be taken for granted that a perpetual spirit of antagonism will prevail between the two? If not, where is the necessity for the exhibition of so much suspicion and jealousy against the Indian people and of such overweening confidence in the wisdom of European officials and experts? There is already enough of embitterment between the two classes, and why add to it in the matter of such an innocent subject as education?

As we have said, the Commission does not favour the idea of establishing new Universities. It positively discourages it. If the existing Universities have, as it admits, proved a success so far, that is a reason for the establishment of other Universities on similar lines. Places like Trevandrum, Trichinopoly and Bangalore are so far apart that, in the interests of the large student population who annually migrate to Madras not for purposes of study, but to undergo their examination and to receive their degrees, it is highly desirable to create local Universities, if only to relieve them from the necessity of travelling hundreds of miles for no other purpose than that of giving their attendance at the Examination Hall and at the Senate House. Each of the places is a centre of learning with a large number of locally manufactured graduates and with well-equipped schools and colleges; and as regards two of them the Native Governments of Travancore and Mysore can be expected to guarantee every necessary equipment. All these centres are better fitted to have their own Universities than were Calcutta, Madras and Bombay when their Universities were established for the first time in the fifties of the last century; and they have further the models and methods of the older Universities to follow, and their failures and disappointments to benefit by. Yet the Commission unceremoniously rejects the proposal as being premature and impractical, evidently because it cares only for height and not for breadth.

Nor does it encourage the establishment of new colleges.

The conditions of affiliation are to be made increasingly stringent. Not only should a new institution possess a staff approved virtually by the Director of Public Instruction, but should have a library, laboratory and other appendages all to the satisfaction of the same authority. Above all, its necessity should be proved! We perceive here a possibility of undue obstacles being thrown in the way of those who wish to establish new colleges. Certainly no college can exist without a proper building, a proper staff, and the necessary appliances. But it should not be possible for even the Director of Public Instruction to render the affiliation of a college impossible by insistence on impossible conditions. Nor should it be left to individual opinion to decide whether a new college is necessary or not. It is certainly not to the interests of existing colleges that other institutions should spring up in or near their neighbourhood. If there is only one college in a district all the students of that district must necessarily resort to it for education unless they choose to go to distant places. The establishment of a new college in another part of the district must adversely affect the existing institutions. Hence the heads of existing colleges who are, according to the recommendation of the Commission, to have a predominant voice in the management and control of the University, must be naturally averse to the growth of new institutions. Are they likely to judge impartially and with that disinterestedness which is necessary for an impartial decision when to grant affiliation to a new college is to weaken their own? It is in our opinion beyond the province of a University to determine whether a new college is necessary or not. Unless there is real necessity a college cannot exist. If there are no students, there cannot be a college; if there are students, its necessity is established. It is such a simple matter of supply and demand that it may be well left to adjust itself. If there is no income from fees a college can live only by the patronage of some wealthy philanthropist; and if some such person is willing to spend money for the maintenance of a well-equipped college even though there may not be a large number of students, nothing is gained by the University refusing to affiliate it. A small class is more efficiently and effectively taught than a large one; and the smallness of strength, therefore, should not be a reason to refuse affiliation. It may be necessary for the Senate to consider whether the establishment of a new college at a place where there is already one existing will

be conducive to the interests of either. An existing college which is maintained out of the fees collected from the students must suffer in strength and consequently in efficiency if a new one is started by its side. In such a case the University may very properly exercise its discretion. The existing institution, if it is efficient, must be protected. A difficulty would, however, arise as regards denominational institutions. Christian Missionaries are establishing new colleges wherever they can; and the study of the Bible is obligatory in them. But if Hindus and Mahomedans do not desire to send their boys to a college where an alien religion is taught, it must be permissible to them to have an institution of their own. To deny them this would be unfair; and the University which in this matter follows the policy of the State ought not to interfere to the prejudice of non-Christian people.

We must confess that the proposal of the Commission to abolish the existing Second Grade Colleges and to disallow the establishment of new ones has surprised us. Of all the recommendations they make this, in our opinion, is the most reactionary. We cannot believe that the Commissioners have calculated the effect of their proposal. In the Madras Presidency alone there are so many as 39 Second Grade Colleges. Most of them are very old. All the old Provincial Schools in this Presidency have been, ever since their establishment, Second Grade Colleges teaching up to the F. A. standard. It is in these institutions that most of our educated men have received their early education. They have all along been the feeders of the First Grade Colleges in the City of Madras, of the Presidency no less than of the Christian College. They have also furnished students to the Medical and Engineering Colleges, public servants in any number, Judicial Officers and Vakils. We cannot conceive of the existing First Grade Colleges receiving the students of all these Mofussil institutions. To create First Grade Colleges in the Mofussil would be a work of great difficulty: and even if this were possible, it would not be desirable. There is hardly any Second Grade College in the Presidency which can be converted into the First Grade without the expenditure of enormous funds, without an extra staff of highly paid Professors, and without other equipments of a costly nature. Even assuming that the necessary funds would be forthcoming, the Mofussil Colleges can hardly be equal either in efficiency, popularity or prestige, to the Presidency

or Christian College, nor can they be sufficient in number to accommodate all the F. A. students that are now studying in Second Grade Colleges. Enormously large and almost unmanageable F. A. classes will have to be created; for many of the existing Second Grade Colleges, which cannot be raised to the First Grade for want of funds, must disappear, and the new First Grade Colleges will be very few. Is it likely that the F. A. students will be taught better under the new arrangement? We believe not. Then there are several branches of scientific study for the B. A. Can First Grade Colleges in the Mofussil make provision for all these branches, or even for three or four of them? The buildings will have to be considerably extended, and the professorial staff considerably strengthened. Where is the large outlay for all this to come from? Not a single Second Grade College, so far as we know, is prepared for such an extension. What will be the result if the Second Grade Colleges disappear? We have not the shadow of a doubt that a large proportion of those who now pass the F. A. examination from the Mofussil Second Grade Colleges and then proceed to the metropolis for their B. A. study will be stopped in the middle of their course. A two years' course for the B. A. in Madras is costly enough for a Mofussil student; but if he has to come up here for the F. A. also, that cost will be doubled. Many of the students are not able to bear this double cost. The abolition of Second Grade Colleges will, therefore, have the sure effect of narrowing the scope of higher education, of greatly reducing the existing facilities, and of shutting out many earnest students. The proposal of the Commission, if carried out, will be disastrous, certainly to this Presidency, probably to all India.

Even on the probability, which we have discounted for good and sufficient reasons, of a fair number of First Grade Colleges rising up in the Mofussil, we are not prepared to accept the Commission's proposal as either wise or expedient; for it is a serious question whether it will be in the best interests of University education and of the students themselves to create such Colleges in the Mofussil. Young men who are made to take their final University course in a Mofussil College cannot have the advantages which students in the metropolis have of coming in contact with the higher civilization and culture of many races and creeds that are drawn together from different parts of the country. In places like Madras, Calcutta and Bombay are focussed the rays that come from various sources of light and civilization;

and for purposes of enlightenment and culture, for a broader conception of the world and its inhabitants, such centres are infinitely better. To confine young men to Colleges in the districts which are isolated from each other and from the capital of the Province is to narrow their vision and to dwindle their knowledge. Book learning is but a part of education; and unless it is supplemented by travel, by a wider intercourse with the world, by acquaintance with new ideals and aspirations, it fails of its purpose in expanding the mind and in ennobling the feeling. Mofussil Colleges may serve as excellent manufactories of graduates, but they cannot turn out cultured men. The great University centres are the places where, as far as possible, aspirants to University degrees should be encouraged to congregate; for it is there that the best education and the best culture can be had. On this ground, therefore, we must discourage the idea of diverting B. A. students from the Colleges at the seat of the University. The F. A. or the intermediate examination on the other hand is practically a preparation for the actual University life; it is nothing more than the entrance examination of the English Universities. Second Grade Colleges naturally pay the greatest attention to the F. A. study, as that is their highest course; and experience shows that the best teaching for the F. A. is to be had in these Colleges. In First Grade Colleges the B. A. classes are the most important and accordingly receive the greatest attention from the Principal and the Professors, the F. A. being relegated to a secondary place in their attention. This renders it all the more necessary that Second Grade Colleges should be retained as they are and not compelled to be incorporated into First Grade Colleges.

The objection to the existence of Second Grade Colleges as such can have no other result than the entire effacement of most of those institutions, as it is impossible, for reasons we have stated, that an appreciable number of them should be raised to the First Grade, and the proposal to separate the School department altogether from them must lead inevitably to the crippling of their resources. The income derived from the College classes is quite inadequate for their upkeep; and except in the case of the Presidency College, so far as Madras is concerned, there is no instance of a College existing by itself, unconnected with the High School. The proposed separation is, therefore, an innovation not justified by the necessities of the case or by anything the

Commission says in favour of it. It is moreover an innovation calculated to depress Collegiate education. The High School department is largely attended, much more largely than the College, and the cost of maintaining it is very much lower. The fee income derived from the High School therefore supplements the resources of the College which can thus be maintained on the required standard of efficiency. To take away this source of income from the College is surely to necessitate its abolition; and it is difficult to see how the interests of education are served by the step. The Commission justifies it on the ground that College students and school boys should be kept apart. Is it advisable for such a sentimental consideration, as Mr. Justice Baunerjee characterises it, to take so serious a step, contrary to the practice of half a century and involving such serious consequences as the abolition of efficient existing institutions? If the Commission had no other object than that of narrowing the scope and facilities of education, one should have been compelled to shut one's mouth on this point. But it makes no such unchivalrous, narrow-minded profession. If an existing institution is efficient, if it serves its purpose well, it is mischievous to try to impair its efficiency, or to compel its abolition by round-about methods such as the Commission seems to favour. If, on the other hand, it does not come up to the required standard, let it by all means be denied affiliation under the powers vested in the University.

Of a piece with the proposal to separate the School Department from the College is the recommendation to centralise legal education. In Madras, it is true, this centralization has been already effected; and it may be said no harm has resulted. But even in Madras we are not prepared to say that legal education has not suffered by the concentration of legal studies in one Central College. Complaints have always been loud against the Madras Law College, and it has been officially admitted that the results of its working have been disproportionate to the resources spent upon it. Nor have been disproportionate to the enormous strength of the college and the difficulty of effective teaching in them. If the Law College had not been established, all the First Grade Colleges in Madras would have started their own Law classes, and certainly better and more efficient instruction would have been the result. The centralization of law studies is justified by the Com-



mission on the ground that to diminish the number of lawyers in India would not be an unmixed evil. But we think that is a too narrow view of the objects of legal education. We refuse to accede to the proposition that those alone need study law who intend to practise the profession. A knowledge of law is useful for every man, whatever occupation he may be pursuing, and as a means of training the mind law is not inferior to Mathematics or any of the sciences. We do not see why people should be dissuaded from taking a law course by restricting the scope for legal studies. Further, as Mr. Justice Bannerjee points out, there are Colleges, especially in Bengal, which derive a surplus income from their law class, and this is devoted to the use of the Arts Colleges which spread general education among the people.

The absolute discretion which is proposed to be vested in the Syndicate to disaffiliate existing Colleges involves another undesirable departure from a satisfactory arrangement. This proposal derives greater importance from the fact that the Syndicate has in the past attempted, and the Senate averted, the disaffiliation of certain popular Colleges especially in Calcutta. It indicates a desire to supersede an authority which, in the past, has exercised its discretion in the right way. It shows an impatience of popular control which is very necessary in the interests of popular education, a control without which the Syndicate is apt to become a despotic authority and to act despotically towards institutions maintained by non-official agency. The wider publicity which a discussion in the Senate would give to a question of this sort would operate as a restraint on the too ready exercise of its power by the Syndicate; and the Senate itself is not likely to act unreasonably seeing that the Government will reserve to itself the power of accepting or rejecting its decision. If the Syndicate's decision is to be final, subject to the approval of the Government, there will be no means for the latter of hearing the opposite side, of shaping its decision in accordance with the facts brought to light on behalf of the Colleges concerned; and we deprecate the idea of Government being compelled to act on the advice, secretly given by the Syndicate and the Director of Public Instruction. Moreover, with a reformed Senate, as now proposed, there is no chance of the official and professional view not receiving due attention and weight. We have one notable instance of attempted high-handedness in our mind which dis-

suades us from placing implicit reliance on the unerring judgment and absolute impartiality of a close body like the Syndicate, while we see no conceivable objection to the exercise of a revisional power by the Senate. Without such a safeguard a deserv- ing College may through the error of prejudice or ignorance be altogether destroyed. It should be remembered that the people whom the disaffiliation of a College will affect are not merely its managers and professors, but also the general public whose sons are being educated in it. A decision involving such vast interests should not certainly be left to the unfettered discretion of a small and practically official body like the Syndicate, especially because it is apt to be swayed by professional prepossession engendered by professional rivalry.

We are far from attributing any ungenerous motives to the Commissioners; but taking their recommendations one by one and the reasons with which they support those recommendations, we cannot help feeling that consciously or unconsciously they have committed themselves to a policy of contraction, of restriction, and of reaction. They make no provision for higher knowledge to filter through the University to the masses of the people. They even say that it is not desirable. None but the rich and none but the most intelligent should, they say, be allowed to receive a University education. It is with this view that they propose a minimum rate of fees to be levied in Arts Colleges. They observe that "fees must not be fixed so low as to tempt a poor student of but ordinary ability to follow a University course which it is not to his real interest to undertake." Here undoubtedly they make a distinction between the rich and the poor, and would perpetuate that distinction. The fee limit would not exclude the rich student of ordinary ability, but would keep out the poor student of even the brightest promise. An intelligent boy of average means may not pursue a University education; but a dullard who is favoured by fortune may be allowed the privilege. We fail to see how such an arrangement would remedy the evil which the Commissioners call attention to, *viz.*, that "the work of Collegiate Education has been much impeded by the attendance at Colleges of students whose abilities do not qualify them for University Education." The object of excluding all but able students can clearly be more effectively achieved by the more legitimate method of raising the standard of the entrance examination than by the questionable means of creating a barrier between the rich and the poor; and

we think the Commissioners should have no objection to this rational course since their object is to ensure the efficiency of education rather than to shut out the poor from its benefits. There is no reason to suppose that the educated rich will confer greater blessings on the land than the educated poor, and average ability in the one should not, therefore, be a lesser disability than average ability in the other. The other proposals of the Commission tend to the reduction of educational institutions; this one aims at the reduction of students; and both will narrow the scope of education. The object of Universities ought to be not to hamper, but to help, the progress of education among the people. As far as circumstances will permit, education should be thrown open to all people without artificial restrictions. Every student must be able to receive the best education he can, to join the best College he can find. There ought to be no restriction on the freedom of his choice, no disqualification on the ground of his poverty.

The courses of study recommended by the Commission challenge criticism, more particularly as regards the B.A. Examination. The exclusion of the Vernaculars might be regarded by many as an evil, and the substitution of a classical language as an injustice. The Commission certainly does not possess that degree of knowledge of any of the Vernaculars which would give weight to its opinion of their importance and value; and the testimony of competent witnesses is opposed to the estimate upon which its recommendation is based. We doubt that instruction in a classical language would afford superior advantages to those secured by instruction in our Vernaculars; and we think that in this matter the authority of those who have studied both Sanskrit and the Vernacular is of greater value than the opinion of those who know nothing of the Vernaculars. Nor do we think it possible for a B.A. student to attain in Sanskrit that amount of proficiency which is possessed by our Pundits who have never received an English education. Without many years' application anything like respectable attainments in Sanskrit is impossible; and Sanskrit study such as is imparted in our Colleges is purely superficial whereas instruction through the Vernaculars is of a more comprehensive and substantial kind. Sanskrit study in the Colleges at present, indeed, enables some men to pass off as Sanskrit scholars without possessing Sanskrit scholarship; but for anything like respectable proficiency boys have to be taught at home. In several parts of the country, and parti-

cularly in Malabar, it is usual for boys to study Sanskrit before they are sent to the English school; and even a boy of ten or twelve often shows considerable acquaintance with Sanskrit, and has very little to learn from Sanskrit as it is taught in our Colleges at present. Of late, however, owing to the anxiety to pass examinations as early as possible, we suspect the early Sanskrit study is being more and more neglected, as boys have hardly time for it before they are sent to the English school. But should it be found possible to postpone the study of English, as recommended by the Commission, till a boy is able to understand what he is being taught in that language, and we must say that we are in sympathy with the Commission in this view, it would be possible to make Sanskrit an efficient medium of instruction in our Schools and Colleges. This, however, will be impracticable with the present lengthened period of School and Collegiate Education and the age limit for admission into the public service. In these circumstances there is much to be said for retaining both the Vernaculars and Sanskrit as optional languages as at present.

Coming to the course of studies recommended for the B. A. we are disposed to entertain some misgivings as regards their effect on the advancement of useful knowledge. Philosophy is hereafter to be made a compulsory subject for the B. A., with either Mathematics or History and Political Economy as optional, besides English and a classical language, the rest of the scientific subjects now included in the B. A. curriculum being assigned to the B. Sc. degree for which no language test is required. We doubt the wisdom of making philosophy compulsory, because we consider that we require more practical scholars than philosophers. The inclusion of philosophy as a compulsory subject moreover, excludes other useful subjects such as physical and natural sciences; and the proposal to exclude languages from the B. Sc. curriculum seems inconsistent with the opinion of the Commission that the knowledge of English possessed by our undergraduates generally is not of the required standard. The new proposals involve a topsyturvydom in the B. A. course, a revolution rather than an evolution. This part of the Commission's recommendations, therefore, deserves the most critical examination and judgment. We have hardly space here to discuss the matter fully.

There are, indeed, several points in the Report which are worthy of approval and commendation, and if we have not parti-

cularly dwelt upon them, it is because the objectionable features are of greater importance at present in view to averting what we consider as serious dangers to the progress of education in this country. The Commissioners themselves admit that "the measures we propose will have the incidental effect of narrowing the popular basis of the higher education." This is exactly the contingency which we cannot view with unconcern, since it means a departure from the uniform policy of nearly half a century, the policy of popularising English education, and of leaving it as much as possible to indigenous agencies. The nationalization of English education has all along been the aim of the greatest British statesmen; and this is now to be deliberately given up as admitted by the Commissioners themselves. What can be more disastrous for the future of this country? The only consolation that the Commission can afford us is this, "that in all matters relating to the higher education efficiency must be the first and paramount consideration. It is better for India that a comparatively small number of young men should receive a sound liberal education than that a large number should be passed through an inadequate course of instruction, leading to a depreciated degree." While we are by no means unmindful of the importance of efficiency we entirely dissent from the view that India can be better benefited by the creation of a small number of ideal scholars than by the general diffusion of higher education among the people. It is well to have ideal scholars, but the affairs of the world are nowhere managed by ideal scholars. An ideal scholar is by no means the ideal administrator or the ideal lawyer, or the ideal Engineer or doctor. It is not the pedant of the University that gains the greatest distinction in life, that does the greatest service to his fellowmen. Many young men, who never attain great distinction in School or College, become in after-life the most distinguished and the most useful men of their generation. Mental development varies in different individuals; the youth who merely gets through his college course exhibits in after-life the highest powers of mind. It is not to the interests of the country that the general growth of intellect should be thus arrested. Let there be scholars of the highest eminence and distinction, but let the country be not denied the services of men of moderate intelligence, of moderate capacity, and of moderate success in the college in order to produce a few specimens of model scholars who may be admired by the world, but who may not benefit it.

## THE MADRAS IMPARTIBLE ESTATES ACT.

THE provisions of the Madras Impartible Estates Act are directed towards the preservation of the ancient Zemindaries of this Presidency, which existed at the time of the Permanent Settlement (Regulation XXV of 1802). Out of a total number of 849 permanently settled estates covering an area of 27½ million acres, 134 estates covering an area of nearly 15½ million acres are included in the Schedule appended, and they are declared impartible and inalienable, except under certain restrictions and conditions. The reason for not including the remaining estates is said to be that the attributes of impartibility and succession by primogeniture, are wanting in modern Zemindaries. Both the Government of India and the Government of Madras are of opinion that the highest political expediency requires that the ancient estates should not be dismembered. We are far from contesting the benevolent intentions of the framers of this measure, though we cannot acquiesce in the very summary process they have adopted in preparing the Schedule or the temper in which they have carried the measure through the Council. We admit that the right of primogeniture is involved in the maintenance of the native gentry and that the preservation of ancient Zemindaries is a very desirable object. The native community generally desire the continuance of this gentry in dignity and influence and not its disappearance. But there is one thing that is higher than all considerations of expediency, that is, Right. And it seems to us that there is much that is not right in the present legislation.

On the 13th May 1902, two Bills by name the "Madras Impartible Estates Bill" and the "Madras Impartible Estate Suspensory Bill" were published in the *Fort St. George Gazette*. It was announced that the former Bill would be simply introduced at the meeting of the Legislative Council to be held at Ootacamund on the 2nd of June 1902, but that the other Bill would be introduced as well as passed into law. But to the general surprise of the public, what took place at the meeting was different. The Suspensory Bill which was to have been proceeded with and

passed was dropped. The other Bill which was only to have been introduced was not only introduced, but also passed at the same meeting into law, which was to be in operation for only one year. The Honourable Members of the Council were as much taken by surprise as the public. The Maha Rajah of Bobbili—the only representative in the Council of the Zemindars of this Presidency—had gone to England to attend the Coronation and the member for the Northern group of Municipalities was conspicuous by his absence from the meeting. The Bill received the assent of His Excellency the Governor on the 6th June and that of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General on the 1st July 1902. During the currency of this Act, suits and remedies against the scheduled estates will be suspended. If the Act should not be confirmed by further legislation, then such suits and remedies will revive at its expiry. In the statement of objects and reasons appended to the Suspensory Bill, it was explained that the Bill was “intended to guard against suits for partitions being brought or alienations being made with the object of defeating or evading the provisions of the Main Bill.” But the provisions of the Act, as passed, go far beyond the scope and objects of the legislation, as set out, in the statement of objects and reasons, and materially alter the policy therein indicated.

The policy of the Legislature in matters affecting the personal laws of the people of this country is one of non-intervention. Since the days of Warren Hastings, respect has been shown by Government for the ancient usages and institutions of this country by the adoption of a policy at once considerate and truly sympathetic, in pursuance of which Civil Courts decide all disputes as to rights of inheritance, succession, devolution and distribution of property and various other civil matters of vital importance in accordance with the personal law of the party concerned, that is, according to the Hindu Law or the Muhammadan Law, as the case may be. If any modification of the Native Indian law is necessary, it is left to the more gradual and less direct action of judicial decisions. By far the strongest reason for excluding such matters from the sphere of practical legislation is the constitution of the Indian Legislatures. But the intervention of the Legislature may be invoked—as it has been sometimes invoked—if any particular custom or rule of personal law is shown to be opposed to the

paramount claims of justice and humanity; or if it runs counter to the principle of individual liberty and religious toleration; or if it is against public policy; or if there is a pressing demand on the part of the community affected to relieve it from its effects. Now the question is, whether the Act in question is required to meet any serious practical evil; if so, whether it has been asked for by a section, important in influence and number, of the community affected by it.

In the statement of objects and reasons, it is stated that the Schedule includes only those permanently settled estates which have been in existence from before the date of the permanent settlement and have been declared by judicial decision to be impartible or locally considered by ancient custom to be so and have, as a fact, descended without partition from that date. But, notwithstanding such statement as to the principle on which the Schedule has been prepared, the fact remains that the Schedule does contain several estates which even before that date were not subject to the custom of impartibility. It includes also estates which were either decided by the highest judicial tribunals in the Empire to be partible or dealt with as such by the members of the family or portions of estates which have been formed by actual partition subsequent to 1802—on the faith of which decisions and arrangements the members of the families concerned and the outside public have acted in regard to such estates or portions of estates for a long number of years. There is no foundation for the assumption that all Zemindaries which had been in existence prior to the permanent settlement were impartible. In their decisions in the Nuzvid case (I. L. R. 2, Madras, 128), and the Devarakota case (I. L. R. 13 Madras 406), the Privy Council declared that the rule of primogeniture and impartibility does not necessarily attach to any estate, however ancient, but is only the result of family custom liable to be annulled with the joint consent of the members of the family. In 1893, the Government of Madras observed, “that there is no real difference in regard to the incidents of Zemindari tenure between estates created in 1802 or since and those in existence prior to that date.”

The views held by the Government of India about the period of the permanent settlement rather tended to the dismemberment of ancient Zemindaries. In the Tagore Law Lectures on the law relating to the land tenures of Lower Bengal, Mr. Arthur Phillips says :—

"Regulation XI of 1793 recites that by custom 'originating in considerations of financial convenience' some of the most extensive Zemindaries descended by primogeniture: that such a custom is repugnant both to Hindoo and Muhammadan laws, and subversive of the rights of the other members of the family, who would otherwise be entitled to share in these as in all other estates: that it likewise hinders improvements "from the proprietors of those large estates not having the means, or being unable to bestow the attention, requisite for bringing into cultivation the extensive tracts of waste land comprised in them." And the financial obstacles to division being now removed by the permanent settlement and the rules for the division of Zemindaries, it is enacted that, after the 1st of July 1794, if a Zemindar, independent Talookdar, or other actual proprietor of land shall die without a will, or a written or verbal disposition of his property, it shall go to his heirs." These heirs may continue to hold jointly or may have a division of the estate under Regulation XXV of 1793, and any two or more of them may hold their shares jointly. . . . . Finally, this Regulation was not to be construed so as to prohibit disinheritance when not contrary to Law. Under this Regulation it has been held that the Zemindary must descend as prescribed, notwithstanding a family custom not to divide the estate. Regulation X of 1800 provides that in the jungle mehals of Zillah Midnapore, and in other districts in which primogeniture prevails, Regulation XI of 1793 shall not apply. This Regulation therefore excludes from the operation of Regulation XI of 1793 those districts in which the custom of primogeniture prevails as a general local custom, and not merely as the usage of a particular estate or family." In Madras, no such statutory restrictions were placed on the right of primogeniture.

Previously to the fixing of the Permanent Settlement, succession to the Zemindary tenures was not governed exclusively by the laws of inheritance, but the ruling power created, tolerated, abolished or disposed of these tenures as might be considered most convenient for the purpose of realising the public revenue. Then the duties of the Zemindars were different from those now discharged by them. In his Political survey of the Northern Circars, dated 1784, in which he has sketched the revenue system of the Empire generally and of those provinces in detail, Mr. Grant shows how, as the central authority of the Muhamma-

dan Government grew weak, the position of the provincial Lieutenants or Amildars was subverted, and how the Hindoo Official Zemindars attained an ascendancy over them, and the revenue farmer's remittances of collections made on behalf of Government, were dignified with the term of tribute. In 1769, on the establishment of European agency in the management of the Northern Circars, the Zemindaries were described by the presidency of Fort St. George as "lands held by certain Rajahs or chiefs as their hereditary estate paying a certain tribute to the Government, and being subject to suit and service in a manner very similar to the ancient feudal tenures." An opinion was also expressed in 1771 by the Chief and Council at Masulipatam that "the Zemindaries were no other than feudal districts for which the Rajahs who were proprietors of them paid a tribute to Government in proportion to their value, and if called upon ought to attend in time of war with a certain number of troops". And in subsequent years it would appear that a very close adherence to the tributary system was observed in the conduct of the British Government towards the Zemindars. Whatever reasons may have existed for enforcing the rule of single succession in the case of Zemindaries before the Permanent Settlement, those reasons have since ceased to exist. Government surrendered its powers of regulating the succession; and the descent of Zemindaries has been regulated by the ordinary laws of inheritance since the permanent settlement. Even the power of appointment of Curnams, a power conferred on the Zemindars by Regulation XXV of 1802, was taken away from them in 1894 and transferred to the Revenue authority. The policy of Government during the last century has been to exterminate the influence of the Zemindars and to reduce them to the position of mere receivers of rents fixed by Revenue Courts. The questions, viz., what is the ancient custom in regard to any particular estate and whether as a fact it has descended or been dealt with as an impartible estate, have been left to be determined by Civil Courts. And, so far as we are aware, the decisions of the Courts on these matters have been consistent throughout.

We believe that the policy of Government in introducing the present measure is, not to create impartible estates where there were none before, but merely to render inalienable estates which are impartible. The Privy Council having decided in a case reported in 10 Allahabad series that im-

partible estates held by a member of the Mitakshara family were freely alienable at the will and pleasure of the holder for the time being, and that decision having been applied to this Presidency in the Pattapur case contrary to the general feeling of the Hindoo community, and the Courts of justice constituted by law in this Presidency, the Government has come to the rescue of the estates known to be impartible from the effect of these decisions by rendering them inalienable by statute. To depart from the policy of legislation and to create by statute new impartible estates to the prejudice of the vested rights of the individual members of the Hindoo families, could not have been in the contemplation of the Government of Madras or still less of the Government of India.

The legislative declaration of impartibility in the case of estates which are not impartible at the time of the passing of the present Act really amounts to confiscation of the vested rights of the junior members of several Zemindary families and of their alienees under the existing law and the impairing of contractual obligations entered into by them on the faith of the rights secured to them by the existing law. Why should their rights be confiscated, while those of the alienees of the holders of the Zemindaries are expressly protected? Vested rights of property and the obligations under contracts entered into are held sacred in every system of civilised jurisprudence. The legislature will not interfere so as to affect such rights or impair such obligations except for some paramount state necessity. Such a case has not been made out in the case of the present measure. And where the Legislature so interferes, the fundamental principle of British law requires that due compensation should be made to the parties whose vested rights are prejudicially affected by such legislation.

Every consideration of justice as well as of public policy requires that the decrees of Courts on the faith of which the persons concerned are expected to regulate their conduct in life should be upheld. The hardship of erroneous decisions in individual cases is of much less consequence than the general sense of insecurity as to private rights and want of confidence in the administration of justice by the British Courts which such legislation is eminently calculated to create, besides the actual hardship and injustice caused to all those persons who have regulated their conduct on the faith of such decrees.

The provision in the Act interdicting not only the institution but also the continuance or trial of any suit or proceeding in which an issue as to the partibility of any of the scheduled estates may be involved either directly or indirectly is an extremely unprecedented piece of legislation. And the circumstance that the Schedule has been apparently settled without any inquiry whatsoever and that the Act proposes to arrest for one year not only all partition suits but also suits to enforce mortgage leases and bonds executed by junior members in which their right to partition may have necessarily to be determined, only brings into stronger relief the arbitrary character of the measure. The *bona fides* of many of these suits cannot be doubted. Some of them are pending in original courts and others have been carried in appeal to the High Court or to the Privy Council. And the materials for their proper decision have, at heavy expense to the parties already incurred and after a considerable expenditure of public time, been fully placed before the courts.

The principle of retrospective legislation is one to be applied with very great caution; and if it comes to be put into practice almost regularly every year, it only makes the Reign of Law in truth a sham and a delusion. That this legislation had been under consideration for several years is no reason for enacting such a drastic provision. Are third parties to suffer for the vacillation or laches on the part of Government? No doubt, legislation must have a starting point, but this is hardly legislation of that character. In 1893, the Government of Madras observed: "The question whether an estate is partible or impartible cannot be determined with reference to any arbitrary date, but must depend, as has been held by the Courts, mainly on family usage and local custom." If the Act is to have a starting point, it must be the date when it is passed. The Indian Legislature has always recognized the distinction between suits brought and suits to be brought. In the Indian Contract Act Amendment Act VI of 1899, for instance, the expression "undue influence," as used with reference to contracts, was more clearly defined and explained. In so far as that provision is concerned, the object of the Legislature was simply to declare the Law, as it conceived it to be. Yet even in such a case the legislature, out of deference to the well-established principle that substantive rights involve in pending suits should not be affected by legislation enacted after the suits had been instituted, expressly provided that the

new definition was not to be applied in the case of contracts in respect of which suits had already been instituted, though it was to apply to contracts which had already been entered into but not made the subject of litigation before the Amendment Act came into force, (*vide* Section 1, Sub-section 3, Act VI of 1899). The Hon'ble Mr. Chalmers, the then legal Member, explained the position as follows:—"Then another point was made. It was suggested that there was some objection to the Bill in so far as it gave retrospective effect to the new provisions. There again we are in point of fact merely limiting the discretion of the Courts, and indicating on what lines perfectly unfettered discretion is to be exercised, and of course the Bill will only apply to suits brought after the commencement of the Act. It will have nothing to do with pending suits." If in regard to such an abstract question of law it was deemed inexpedient and unjust to make the new Act applicable to pending suits, how much more inexpedient, impolitic and unjust would it be to make the present legislation applicable to pending suits, in which important questions of fact are involved. The Act not merely contravenes the well-known principle of jurisprudence, but interference is carried so far as to refuse a physical partition even where a final decree for partition has been passed, by directing the Courts not to order a partition in any legal proceedings. What is remarkable about the whole proceeding is, the attitude of the two elected Councillors—the Hon'ble Mr. C. Jambulingam Mudaliar and the Hon'ble Mr. P. Ratnasabapathy Pillay. An Amendment of pending suits was moved by the Honorable Mr. Norton and seconded by the Honorable Mr. Yorke, but it was opposed by the two gentlemen above-named. We could hardly suppose that they would have fallen into such a grievous blunder, if they could have bestowed more time and thought on the measure.

A legislative declaration of impartibility in the case of estates which have been actually decided to be partible by the judicial tribunals in the land—as in the case of the Sub-divisions of the old Nuzvid Estate—or in the case of estates concerning the partibility of which suits are now pending, tantamounts to the Legislature taking upon itself the function of performing judicial acts in supercession of the judicial tribunals whose legitimate province it is to perform such acts. If judicial tribunals cannot be trusted to decide such questions in the

case of the 134 estates included in the schedule, how can they be trusted to decide them in the case of the 715 estates not included in the schedule? We are afraid that the doctrines of personal government are coming down in a deluge upon us. The course of legislation shows a greater and greater contraction of the spirit of liberality and of confidence in its judicial institutions which animated the government in former times. The Civil Courts have in recent years been deprived of.—

(1) the jurisdiction vested in them by Regulation XXIX of 1802 to inquire into questions of succession relating to the hereditary office of Carnam in Permanently Settled Estates; and to control the appointment and dismissal of such Carnams;

(2) the jurisdiction vested in them to enquire into certain questions connected with the assessment of water rates under Act VII of 1865;

(3) and the jurisdiction to control the acts of Collectors in certain matters under the Court of Wards Regulation, 1804.

As the Court of Directors remarked, "To determine a case of disputed rights between individuals is not a function of the government but of the judicial tribunals." And the same view prevailed with the Government of Madras in 1893. The Government then said: "There can be no question that Courts of Justice are the tribunals most competent to decide questions (of partibility or impartibility). A declaration of impartibility involves the annihilation of the rights of coparceners and ought not to be made on the *ex parte* application of a proprietor." The ordinary principle bearing upon such cases is plain. Rights of property being violated, the Jurisdiction of the Civil Courts attaches. "Those who wish well to the preservation of British power and honour in the East, and whose field of view extends beyond the frontier of a department, will not desire that this salutary power of interposition should be destroyed or impaired." When you entrust investigation of questions arising out of violations of property to the legislative branch of the Government, you take it out of the hands of Officers presumably skilled in and accustomed to such work and make it over to persons deficient in judicial training. There is nothing peculiar to the class of litigation regarding the partibility of Zemindaries and no sufficient reasons are given for taking it out of the hands of the judicial branch.

Again, although a Raj or Zemindary may be itself indivisible, there are instances in which it has been taken into a division,



and allotted to a separating member for his share, and has long been held, managed and inherited, as a partible Estate. There are also instances of impartible Estates which stand on the same footing as the self-acquisitions of the holder for the time being. In such cases, the Estates will pass to the female heirs of such holders in preference to male collaterals. We do not suppose that it is the intention of Government to alter the course of devolution of property in such cases. All confidence in properly or its rights will be shaken if the legislature should lightly and capriciously set aside family arrangements, with respect to particular estates. We are concerned with the state of things, as it exists in 1902, and not as it existed prior to 1802, and the legislature ought to take due note of the changes effected in the tenure of these estates by the conduct of the parties during this century.

The Madras Landholders' Association, at whose instance the present legislation was apparently undertaken, chiefly consists of the registered holders or senior members of the Zemindary families, who would directly and immediately be benefited by this short cut to a declaration of impartibility. If Government considers this legislation necessary, then we urge the appointment of a Commission to inquire into the question which estates are ancient Zemindari subject to the rule of primogeniture and of impartibility, and whether the rule attaches to the estate or to the family which holds it at present. The appointment of such a Commission was actually suggested by that cautious statesman—Dewan Bahadur S. Srinivasa Raghava Iyengar, C.I.E.,—in 1893. And the justice of an enquiry by such a Commission was also conceded by the Maras Landholders' Association—the promoters of the present measure. Such enquiry would necessarily involve the giving of all persons affected by the Act the fullest opportunity to represent and make out their contentions against the measure. Nothing short of a Commission on the lines above indicated will satisfy public opinion. And if Government is not prepared to undertake such an elaborate inquiry, the best course would be to drop the Schedule altogether and confine the scope of legislation to the question of inalienability.

The question of alienation is of a far more serious nature than that of impartibility. In Bengal, there were some regulations before the permanent settlement restricting the powers of alienation of the Zemindars. From the preamble to Regulation II of 1723, it would appear that the privilege to

transfer by sale, gift, or otherwise their rights in the whole or part of their estates without the sanction of Government, was one not previously enjoyed by the Zemindars. The Zemindar's right to alienate was, however, placed at the permanent settlement on a more secure basis both in Bengal and Madras. These Regulations make no distinction between partible and impartible estates in the matter of powers of alienation. In G. O. No. 606, Revenue, dated 10th July 1893, the Government of Madras said that the Regulations of 1802 did not contemplate the imposition of any special restraint on alienation; and it is doubtful whether, as a matter of custom, any estate has been inalienable since 1802. In these circumstances, there should be strong reason to justify a measure like the one proposed, but the Government was not satisfied that such reasons did exist. We are not aware of the reasons which induced the Government in 1902 to come to a different conclusion. The object of Regulation XXV of 1802 was stated to be to grant to the Zemindars, their heirs and successors, a permanent property in their land for all time to come, and so fix for ever a moderate assessment of public revenue on such lands. Section 8 of the Regulation accordingly gives them such free powers to alienate their right in their estates. Such alienations will be valid, provided they shall not be repugnant to the Mahammedan or to the Hindoo Laws, or to the Regulations of the British Government. Section 9 provides for sub-division of the portions of estates to alienate. There is a provision in the Madras Rent Recovery Act (VIII of 1865) which says that no puttahs which may have been granted by any Zemindar at rates lower than the rates payable upon such lands or upon neighbouring lands of similar quality and description shall be binding upon his successor, unless such puttahs shall have been *bona fide* granted for the erection of dwelling houses, factories or other permanent buildings, or for the purpose of clearing and bringing waste land into cultivation, or for the purpose of making any permanent improvement thereon, and unless the tenant shall have substantially performed the conditions upon which such lower rates of assessment were allowed. If his successor can call in question the *bona fides* of the leases given by a Zemindar, why should such successor be not at liberty to question the *bona fides* of the sales, mortgages or other alienations made by him?

Now the present Act enacts that the proprietor of every scheduled estate shall be restricted from alienating his estate or any portion thereof except in circumstances where alienation



would be permissible by law if the estates were ancestral property and the proprietor occupied the position of managing member of a joint Hindoo family governed by the ordinary law of succession, and no decrees for debts contracted after the passing of this Act by such proprietor otherwise than under the circumstances aforesaid shall be executed against his scheduled estate. This provision pre-supposes three things :—

(1) that all the estates included in the Schedule were impartible at the date when the Act was passed ;

(2), that the holder of every such estate had at the time of the passing of the Act, and will have for all time to come, coparceners entitled to rights of succession in respect of such estates ;

(3) and that the holders of all such estates were Hindoos at the time of the passing of the Act, and will continue to be Hindoos for all time to come.

The Act is not a mere restoration of the law as it stood or as it was understood in this part of the country before the Allahabad case, but modifies that law and a whole body of decisions of the Judicial Committee without any demand or request proceeding from the public for such modification. The Hindoo Law has been clear and thoroughly well-understood, that the father, even though he be the holder of an impartible estate, has power to alienate any portion of the estate for the discharge of his debts (not illegal or immoral), and the creditor may not only purchase the life interest of the Zemindar in execution of a decree obtained against him for the recovery of his debt, but also the entire estate in the Zemindary. This rule of Hindoo Law is summarily abrogated by the provision that the power of the holder of an impartible estate shall merely be that of a manager. It could not be the intention of the Legislature that the scope of the Act should be so far extended as to over-ride provisions of the Hindoo Law which have hitherto remained unchallenged. Again, the absolute right of a Zemindar in a case where he happens to be the sole owner and where he has no coparceners has never been questioned. It was held in the Devarakota case that the members of the family of any impartible estate can, with their joint consent, convert any impartible estate into partible as the ordinary family property of the Hindoos. It could not be in the contemplation of the Legislature to curtail or destroy such rights. Further, the question arises whether, if a Christian or Mahammedan purchases an impartible estate in execution of a

decree or in a private alienation, he is to be subject to the disabilities imposed upon a Hindoo Zemindar by Section 3.

It is true that the powers of alienation of the holders of impartible estates for the time being are subject to, and limited by the rights and interests of the other members, if any, of their families. The doctrine of absolute estate laid down by the Privy Council is no doubt opposed to the general prevailing belief and instinct of the Hindoo community. It is difficult to adduce positive evidence in each case to prove the custom of inalienability and its determination necessarily leads to protracted litigation. The Zemindars practically ask that the Legislature should declare that, when a question arises as to whether an impartible estate is alienable or inalienable, such estate shall be presumed to be inalienable. But there are many practical difficulties in the way of making such a declaration. Besides, the present legislation goes far beyond the necessities of the case and clearly infringes the rights guaranteed to the Zemindars and the members of their families by the Permanent Settlement Regulations.

To interfere with the ordinary rules of inheritance by a positive enactment is such a departure as cannot be allowed to pass unchallenged, unless and until such a radical change of the accepted and cherished institutions of a nation becomes imperative, not on the ground of class and local, but of national interest. We cannot accept the reasons which have been adduced as sufficient to justify this departure. The Government interests are in no way affected by the law as it stood before this legislation, for the responsibilities which attach to a Zemindary will always appertain to it, whoever succeeds to it, and it has not been shown that the powers hitherto allowed have led to any mischievous results in prejudicing the larger interests of the people. We have made the foregoing observations in the true interests of the class concerned, and the general public. It remains with the Council to take these suggestions into its serious consideration and to elaborate—if it considers legislation at all necessary—a law which will meet the objections we have pointed out and satisfy all just expectations. We fervently hope that the proposed legislation will not be influenced by any official or individual bias, from which much of our local legislation has not been, we regret to say, always exempt.

GANJAM VENKATARATNAM,  
(Formerly Member of the Legislative Council).

## THE CONQUEST OF BENGAL AND BURMA BY THE TAMILS.

Far away from any public road or railway line, and out of the track of tourists and pilgrims, in the north-east corner of the Trichinopoly District, there is an ancient temple, the lofty tower of which is visible for many miles around. No village or town is seen anywhere near it. No devout worshipper eagerly enters its portals. No strains of music or flourish of trumpets announce any festival in the shrine. A solemn silence reigns over the region. Unknown, unhonored and unsung, the temple stands in the midst of a solitude, as if it were the sole relic of a past age and a forgotten empire. The central tower is 174 feet high and the enclosure measures 584 feet by 372 feet. (1) There are six smaller towers on the outer wall, which is strongly fortified with batteries at the four corners. A deep moat which once surrounded the enclosure appears to have been filled up many years ago: and the stone walls and battlements were demolished and large quantities of the stone evidently removed from the site. The tower over the gateway is a mass of ruins, and the broken debris partially blocks the entrance. If you approach the central tower, through one of the gaps in the outer wall and crossing the spacious courtyard enter the shrine, you behold a gigantic Linga about 30 feet high made of a single block of polished black granite. The sight of the ruined and neglected sanctuary makes you sad when you step into it; and your feelings are sadder still when you see that the object of worship in the temple is cleft in two from top to bottom. The Brahmin priest who keeps up the formalities of a daily service in the temple, tells you that a long time ago, during a thunderstorm, the tower was struck by lightning which descended on the Linga and split it in two. "For-saken by God and man" you exclaim mentally as you hurry out of the shrine. Coming out and surveying the temple leisurely you cannot but admire the grandeur of the central tower, the exquisite sculptures on its walls, and the vast dimensions of the entire structure; and you naturally enquire who could have built

(1) Sewall's List of Antiquities Vol. I, p. 264.

this magnificent temple. You feel certain that the founder of this superb shrine must have been a great king who commanded the resources of an extensive and wealthy empire. The Brahmin priest who serves the temple is however unable to tell you anything beyond that it was built by an ancient King Gangaikonda-Chola.

In the vicinity of the temple there is a very large tank which is also now completely ruined. Fifty years ago, the tank and the temple were described as follows in Pharoah's Gazetteer of Southern India:—(2) "It may also be mentioned that in the Woodi-arpolliem Talook there is an embankment sixteen miles long running north and south, provided with several substantial sluices and of great strength, which in former times must have formed one of the largest reservoirs in India. . . . The tank has been ruined and useless for very many years and its bed is now almost wholly overgrown with high and thick jungle. It is said traditionally that its ruin was wilful and the act of an invading army. Near the southern extremity of the bund there is a village now surrounded by a jungle called Gungakondapuram. Immediately in its vicinity is a pagoda of very large size, and costly workmanship, and close by, surrounded and overgrown with jungle, are some remains of ancient buildings now resembling the mounds or "heaps" which indicate the site of ancient Babylon, but in which the village elders point out the various parts of an extensive and magnificent palace. When this palace was in existence Gangakondapuram was the wealthy and flourishing capital of a small monarchy and the great tank spread fertility and industry over miles and miles of what is now trackless forest. . . . Speaking of the noble temple of Gangakondapuram it must not be omitted that when the lower Coleroon anicut was built, the structure was dismantled of a large part of the splendid granite sculptures which adorned it, and the enclosing wall was almost wholly destroyed in order to obtain materials for the work." It is gratifying to note that the stones which were removed from the temple erected by the Chola king are still useful to the degenerate descendants of a people, whom the great king dearly loved, forming as they do at present the anicut which serves to distribute throughout the Tanjore District the fertilising waters of the Cauvery river.

No mention is made of Gangai-konda-chola-puram in any

(2) Pharoah's Gazetteer of Southern India, pp. 338-9.

inscription of Rajaraja Chola (A. D. 984-1013) or of his immediate predecessors, during whose reign Tanjore was the capital of the Chola kingdom. From the Tamil poem Kalingattuparani, it appears however that Kulottunga Chola the Eastern Chalukya who reigned from A.D. 1064 to 1113 held his court in Gangapuri, and that his mother was the daughter of Gangai-kondachola (3). Inscriptions beginning with the words "Tiru-mannivalara," which are found in the great temple at Tanjore and in other ancient temples in Southern India, record that Kopparakesari-varma alias Rajendracholadeva conquered the northern countries up to the banks of the Ganges (4).

It appears also from his inscriptions that he was the son and successor of Rajaraja Chola (A.D. 984-1013) and that he reigned for at least 31 years, that is from A.D. 1013 to 1044. In inscriptions dated in the twelfth year of his reign, (A. D. 1025), he is said to have conquered Orissa, Guzerat, Behar and Bengal and reached the banks of the Ganges. An inscription in the nineteenth year of his reign (A.D. 1032) records that he issued from his palace at Gangai-konda-chola-puram, an order granting an yearly allowance of paddy to the priest of Rajarajeswara temple at Tanjore (5). Hence it is certain that after his conquest of the kingdoms up to the banks of the Ganges, he assumed the title of Gangaikonda-chola (the Chola who seized the Ganges) and to perpetuate the memory of his great victories, he founded the city of Gangai-kondachola-puram between the years A. D. 1025 and 1032 and erected the temple of Gangai-konda-choleessvaram. A complete list of the several kingdoms conquered by him and the names of some of the princes defeated by him are given in the inscriptions of his thirteenth year which commence as follows:—

Health and wealth! In the thirteenth year of Koppara-kesari-varman alias Udaiyar Sri Rajendracholadeva in whose long and prosperous reign, the great Lady Earth, the goddess of Victory and the matchless damsel of Fame rejoiced that they had become his great queens, and who with his large and splendid army conquered Idai-turai-nadu; wide Vanavasi which is defended by a thick forest; Kollippakkai which is surrounded by a wall of *sulli* trees; Mannai-kadakkam, whose fortifications are unapproachable; the crown of the king of Ilam (Ceylon) which is in the

raging ocean; the very pretty diadems of his queens; the beautiful crown and the necklace of Indra, which the Thennavan (Bandya) had left with the former (king of Ceylon) and the whole kingdom of Ilam (Ceylon) girt by the crystal waves (of the sea); the famous crown of Keralam, lord of conquering legions, which he wears by hereditary right and his garland of rubies; countless old islands in the midst of the ocean in which conches resound; the honorable crown of pure gold which Parasurama who had twenty-one times killed the kings (Kahatriyas) in fierce battle, had established hoping thereby to earn the favor of (the god) Agni, whom it is difficult to propitiate; the seven and a half lakhs of the grand (Kingdom of) Irattappadi and great heaps of the nine kinds of treasures, and the boundless fame of Jayasimha, who turned his back and fled with great fear and shame at Muyangi; Chakkarakkoddam (which is) guarded by brave warriors; the kingdom of the Madra race which is surrounded by dense groves; Panchapalli whose warriors are skilled archers; Masunidesam full of green fields; heaps of ancestral treasures and other riches (which he seized) from Indradan of the old race of the moon, whom he captured with all his family at Adinagar (a city) whose wealth and fame knew no decrease; Oddavishayam which is not easy to approach being surrounded by dense forests; the good country of Kosalai where Brahmins resort: Tandabutti in whose (flowery) gardens bees abide, (and which he conquered) defeating Dharmapala in a pitched battle; Dakshina Lata famous in all directions (which he acquired) after routing (the forces of) Ranasura; Vangaladesa where floods do not stay (whose king) Govindachandra dropped from his elephant and fled; the handsome and strong elephants of Mahipala who fled in fear from the battle-field and his wives and treasures and Uttara Lata (which is) on the borders of the Bay in which pearls are found and (the river) Ganges whose rushing waters form bathing places (abounding with) fragrant flowers: Sangrama Vijayottunga Varman the king of Kadaram whom he caught by despatching (his army in); many ships across the stormy sea and his huge elephants furious as the roaring sea, large heaps of treasures which he had inherited (from his ancestors); the triumphal arch at the war gate of his extensive city; the small jewelled gate adorned with splendour, and the gate with bells made of stone; the famous

(6) An unpublished inscription at Vriddhachalam.

(3) Kalingattup-parani.

(4) South Indian Inscriptions Vol. I, p. 95 and F.F.

(5) South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II, part I, p. 105.

Sri-Vishaya; (the creek) Pannai abounding with watering places; the ancient Malaiyur which stands fortified on a high hill; Mayirudingam surrounded by the deep sea; Lankasokam (whose warriors are) dauntless in great deeds; Mappapalam which is defended by deep waters; Mevelibangam which is protected by stone walls; Valappanduru possessing many fruitful groves; great Takkolam praised by men learned in Sciences; Matamalingham-Lamuri-desam, (whose inhabitants) are ferocious and loud in speech; Manakkavaram whose woods abound in honey; and Kadaram which is difficult to attack being defended by the sea."

When Raja Raja Chola died in A. D. 1013, the Chola Empire included in the north Kalinga (the modern Vizagapatam and Ganjam Districts) and in the west Gangavadi and Nalambavadi, that is almost the whole of the region now known as the State of Mysore. Rajendra did not attempt to extend this vast empire during the first three years after he ascended the throne. Between the fourth and fifth year of his reign he reduced to subjection Idaiturai Nadu (7), Vanavasi (8) and Kollipakkki (9) and pushed the frontiers of his empire up to the foot of the Western Ghats. Before the end of the eighth year he defeated the Kerala and Kadamba kings, extending his empire to the shores of the Western Ocean. Within the next two years he invaded the western Chalukya kingdom north of the Tungabhadra and forced king Jayasimha (10) to retreat before his victorious army.

Elated by these successes in the wars with neighbouring princes he equipped his armies for a career of conquest which is unparalleled in the annals of the Tamil kings. His veteran soldiers commanded by able generals overthrew every obstacle on their march, and opposing kings were either captured or forced to flee from the battlefield. Indradan of the ancient Innar race was captured with all his family and treasures. Dharmapala was defeated in a pitched battle. Ranasura and his forces were routed. Govindachandra who advanced at the head of his army "fell

(7) Edatore, the head-quarters of a Taluk in the Mysore District.

(8) The ancient Banawasi in the North Kanara District.

(9) Kollipake, one of the capitals of the Western Chalukya king Jayasimha. Mr. Fleet's Kanarese Dynasties p. 44.

(10) Western Chalukya King Jayasimha III (A.D. 1018—1040) claims to have been a lion to the elephant Rajendra Chola.

Mr. Rice's Mysore Inscriptions, p. 149.

from his elephant and fled," as stated in the curt language of the inscriptions. Mahipala (11) retreated in haste before the Chola army abandoning his wives and treasures. The fortress of Chakkarakkoddam, the Kingdom of the Madra race, the Kona country, Panchappala, the Senna-desa, Odda-vishaya, Kosalai-nadu, Dakshin-lata, Vangaladesa, Uttara-lata, were all successively conquered and his troops did not rest till they reached the banks of the sacred Ganges. His thirst for conquest was not however appeased by these brilliant feats of his army, or by the immense expansion of his empire. He searched for new lands to be brought under his sway, and fitted out a fleet of ships to carry his army to the Eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal which was known as the Suvarna Bhumi or the Golden land. Landing near the Pannai creek (12), one of the mouths of the Irawaddy, his army proceeded up the river and seized the king of Kadaram. (13). The flourishing seaports of Takkolam (14) and Matama (Martaban) (15) were taken and the whole of the Kingdom which was named Sri Vishaya and Nakkavaram or the Nicobar and Andaman Islands were annexed to the Chola dominions.

It does not appear that any fresh conquests were attempted after the thirteenth year of his reign. Whether the king was afflicted

(11) Mahipala King of Bengal. His inscription at Sarnath is dated in Vikrama Samvat 1083—A.D. 1026. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XVI, p. 140. The Amgachhi copper plate grant of his grandson Vighraha-pala III, alludes to Mahipaladeva, having obtained his father's kingdom which had been snatched away by people who had no claim to it. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXI, p. 97.

(12) Pannai appears to be the creek Pan Hlaing which runs from the Irrawaddy at Gnyoung-doon to the Hlaing just above Rangoon. In the rainy season large boats can pass through the whole length. The banks are steep and muddy and covered with grass, trees and plantain gardens. British Burma Gazetteer, p. 474.

(13) Kadaram, the ancient capital of the Prome Kingdom, known also as Tha-re-khettra, about eight miles west of Prome on the main road northward to Mye-dai. The ruins of massive pagodas and the remains of embankment strengthened with brick-work mark the site, which is now overgrown with shrubs. The name Tharekhetara is the Burmese rendering of the Sanscrit word Sri-kshetara. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXII, pp. 6 and 160.

(14) Taikula, now known as Ayethema, south of the town of Bilin. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXI, p. 383. "Though the sea shore is now about twelve miles to the west, this place was still an important Sea-port in the 16th and 17th Centuries. Cables, ropes, and other vestiges of sea-going vessels are still frequently dug up about Taikula." This is the ancient Takola of Ptolemy and the Kalah of Arabian Geographers. McCrindle's Ancient India described by Ptolemy, pp. 12-16 and 198-9.

(15) Matama or Muttimanagara is Martaban near Maulmain. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXII, p. 33. The town is said to have been built three years after the foundation of Pegu or in A. D. 576 by Tha-ma-la the first king. British Burma Gazetteer, p. 355.

ed with any illness during this period, or whether dissensions in the Royal Family had compelled the king to withdraw his troops from foreign lands, or other circumstances had occurred which impaired his authority, it cannot now be stated. But it is evident that no vigorous effort was made to retain possession of the kingdoms conquered by his armies, nor was any system of imperial government concerted to conciliate and control the princes who had been defeated. No monument of his victories in Bengal or Burma remains to this day. There is however a Mandapa on the Mandara Hill near Bansi in the Bhagulpur District in Behar, which, tradition says, was built by the Raja Chola (16). Later Chola kings boast of having had the king of Chedi (Bundlekund) as their feudatory and of having conquered Kadaram a second time.

Continued intercourse appears to have existed between the Burmese and the nations on the Coromandel coast from very remote times. In a Tamil poem composed in the first century of the Christian Era, it is said that ships from Kalakan (the ancient name of Kadaram) brought articles of merchandise to Kaveripaddinam, the great emporium at the mouth of the Kaveri (17). Lower Burma or Pegu was conquered by emigrants from the Telugu kingdoms bordering on the Bay of Bengal and consequently the people of Pegu have long been known to the Burmese and to all foreigners by the name Talaing (18). "The first dynasty of the kings of Pegu extends only to the year A. D. 781, when the reign of king Tissa or Titha came to a close. From that time until the conquest of Pegu by Anvarahtha, that is for about 269 years, no events are recorded in the Talaing annals." This blank in the Talaing history was owing to a fresh invasion of the country by emigrants from the Coromandel Coast, who founded the second dynasty of the kings of Pegu whose capital was at Kadaram. We have the names of three of these kings in the Tamil inscriptions of Rajaraja Chola and his son Rajendra Chola. Chuda-mani-varman, king of Kadaram, built a Buddhist Vihara at Nagapaddina (Negapatam) in the Chola kingdom. His son Sri Maravijayothunga Varman obtained the grant of the village of Anaimangalam to the Vihara, from Rajaraja Chola. He claimed to have sprung from the Sailendra family, and possessed

(16) Indian Antiquary, pp. 49 and 54.

(17) The Tamil poem Paddinappalai, l. 191.

(18) Phayre's History of Burma, pp. 28 and 31.

the Makaradhvaja (19). A successor of Mara-vijayothunga was Sangrama-Vijayothunga-varman who was captured by Rajendra Chola.

Rajendra Chola did not possess the same genius for organising governments which his great father Rajaraja Chola displayed so conspicuously during his reign. He appears to have been more ambitious than prudent, and more anxious for his renown than for the welfare of the nations whom he conquered. In directing his armies to invade distant lands which he could not retain under his authority, in founding a new capital which he named after his own title Gangai-konda-chola, in erecting the magnificent temple which he also named Gangai-kondamaganesvaram, it is apparent that the king was actuated more by motives of self-glory than by an earnest desire to develop the resources of his kingdom, or to promote the interests of the people in the conquered territories. That he was fully alive to his duties as a king to his own subjects is however evident from the peace and order that reigned throughout the Chola kingdom proper and from the many inscriptions which record religious endowments made by him in different parts of the Chola dominions. The tank 16 miles long which he constructed near his new capital, and the long channels which he opened to feed the tank from distant rivers, attest his solicitude to extend and encourage agriculture.

Very little is known of the leading incidents of his private life. From eastern Chalukya grants, it appears that his sister Kundava married King Vimaladitya (A. D. 1015—1022) and his daughter Ammanga-devi married Vimaladitya's son Rajaraja Narendra (A. D. 1022—1063, and his grandson Rajendra Chola alias Kulotunga Chola (A. D. 1063—1129) the son of Rajaraja Narendra ruled the Vengi and Chola kingdoms (20).

No literary work in Tamil which has survived to this day appears to have been composed during the reign of Rajendra

(19) Archaeological Survey of Southern India, Vol. IV, pp. 216 and ff. Dr. Burgess and Mr. Natesa Sastri identified Kadaram with a village of the same name in the Ramnad Zemindari in the Madura District. Dr. Hultzsch accepted this identification (South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. I, pp. 51 and ff), and hence failed to discover that Rajendra had conquered Southern Burma. The Pandian Kingdom having been already conquered by Rajaraja and annexed to the Chola Empire there could have been no necessity to send an army to seize the village of Kadaram nor would it have been necessary to send the army by sea. There are no records or ruins to show that the village of Kadaram had been once the capital city of an extensive kingdom.

(20) South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. I, pp. 51 and ff.

Chola. Notices of this King in later poems are very meagre. He is alluded to, though not by name, as the great conqueror whose army reached the Gauges and captured Kadaram. These events are referred to in the Kalingattuparani as follows:—

“The war elephants of the Chola drank the water of the Gauges at Mannai and Kadaram where the roaring crystal waves washed the sand mixed with red gold was annexed (to the Chola kingdom)” (21).

But inscriptions of his reign occur as stated already in most of the ancient temples in Tamil Districts, such as Tanjore, Conjeevaram, Vriddhachalam, Tiruvallum, Tirukoilur and Tiruvannamalai. In the long record of the Chola kings, which covers a period of about two thousand years, there is no page more brilliant or more instructive than that describing the numerous conquests of Rajendra *alias* Gangai-konda-chola.

#### V. KANAKASABHAI.

#### MOHAMED: THE PROPHET OF ISLAM.

IN every country of the East, a long and unbroken lineage from a distinguished personage of past history has been regarded as a principal title to nobility of birth, and in the Arabian peninsula none can boast of an ancestry older than that of the Koreishites. Their descent is traced to Ismail, the son of Abraham, the Patriarch, through a continuous line of 70 forefathers. They had inherited the privilege of guarding the sacred temple of Kaaba, the oldest place of worship the world has ever had. They constituted the Arabian aristocracy and enjoyed supreme influence amid the warring tribes of the desert.

Abdul Mutallib, the grandfather of the Prophet Mohamed, was at the time of his birth, at the head of this powerful clan. The grand old man was well known for his spirit of universal charity and sturdy independence and was revered for his devout piety and thorough resignation to the Divine Will. He had, among other things, dug a well at the ancient source of the well of Zem Zem and supplied Mecca with drinking water. In the year of the Prophet's birth, when Kashram, the Christian Abraha (Viceroy) of Yemen, besieged Mecca with a large army and a train of elephants, with the express object of demolishing the Kaaba, some of the camels of Abdul Mutallib were plundered by the besieging force and he presented himself before Abraha and solicited the return of his property. Abraha expressed surprise at the old gentleman pleading for his camels and not for the Kaaba of which he was the guardian. Abdul Mutallib's reply on the occasion is characteristic. He said: “The camels are mine and I have, therefore, come to plead their restoration. But the Kaaba is the house of God and He will take care of it Himself.” Subsequent events proved that the faith of the patriarch in his Creator was only too well founded, as Abraha had, for various reasons, to retire from Mecca without so much as displacing a single stone of the Kaaba.

Abdul Mutallib had several sons, the youngest of whom was Abdulla. He married A'mena, the daughter of Wahab of Yathrab. As a result of this union, Mohamed was born in the

(21) Kalingattuparani. Canto viii, stanza 25.





mand, enjoining upon him such preaching against heavy odds and under most discouraging circumstances, would have given any human being that fortitude, born of strong faith and deep conviction, which could sustain him through a long period of failure, loneliness and contempt.

His first converts were his wife Khadijah, cousin Ali and slave Zeid Ibn Haretha. These were followed by Abdoolah Ibn Aboo Kahafa, commonly known as Aboo Bakr, the first Caliph of Islam. He was instrumental in the conversion of five of the most influential citizens of Mecca, among whom was Oosman, the third Caliph.

Soon after the Prophet's public declaration of his mission, an influential deputation of the Koreish waited upon Aboo Taleb and, after bitterly complaining of Mahomed's conduct in reviling the gods who had been worshipped by them for thousands of years, offered to buy his blood. This offer was of course declined. Sometime afterwards, they prevailed upon Walid Bin Moghaira to offer his son Ammara, a fine and exemplary youth, to Aboo Taleb for adoption in the place of Mohamed. This offer again was not accepted. The Koreish were now driven to desperation and became actively hostile to the Prophet. They pelted him with stones, threw hot ashes on his body, spread thorns in his way and subjected him to indignities which we may just as well not mention.

At about this time, owing to the persistent persecutions of the Koreish, 83 Moslems with their wives and children emigrated to Abyssinia where the Negus received them with sympathy and cordiality. The majority of the Moslem chroniclers say that he became a convert to Islam. He was a very steadfast friend to these unfortunate exiles and treated Amr-ibni-Aas's embassy on behalf of the Koreish with contempt and indifference.

Aboo Taleb's steadfastness in the cause of his nephew kept down the violence of the Koreish for a time. But as time advanced, Mohamed's unpopularity increased. The Prophet and all his party were obliged to seek refuge with the Hashimites in a secluded part of Mecca belonging to Aboo Taleb. It was about this time that the cause of Islam was strengthened by the conversion of Humza and Omar. But this event only increased the rage of the Koreish and they formed an alliance against the Hashimites agreeing that they would not have with them any

sort of commercial or communal dealings. The agreement was drawn up in a formal covenant, was signed and sealed and was hung up in the Kaaba.

For three years, the Hashimites remained shut up in their retreat, frequently deprived of the necessities of life. Their friends sometimes secretly supplied them with provisions. But the cries of the hungry children were heard even beyond the precincts of the Hashimites' quarters. To the Koreish who had congregated at the Kaaba, the Prophet sent word through Aboo Taleb that their unholy covenant had been destroyed by ants excepting that portion whereon were inscribed the words: "In your name, Oh God!" Aboo Taleb, having delivered his message, proposed that if this prediction turned out to be true, the Hashimites should be freed from their enforced confinement; otherwise, he would with pleasure hand over to them this nephew of his who had been the cause of bringing so much misery on his relatives. On the writing being produced by Umm-ul-Jalas, the maternal aunt of Aboo Jahl, Aboo Taleb's assertion was found to be correct, whereupon it was decided that the league had come to an end and the Hashimites were allowed to return to their homes.

But other calamities and misfortunes were in store for the Prophet. For, soon after this, his good uncle, Aboo Taleb died, and his faithful wife, Khadijah, also went to her grave.

It would not perhaps be amiss to pause here for a moment and look over the private life of the Prophet with Khadijah.

She lived with him for 25 years, and during this long period, though his manhood was at its full bloom and vigour, he was happy and content in the society and companionship of this elderly matron, who with all her beauty and wealth was yet 15 years his senior in age. This would tend to show that Mohamed's subsequent marriages could not have been due to any weakness in his character. A true knowledge of history would prove that these were actuated by an honorable desire on his part to afford support and protection to old ladies of rank and distinction when they had lost claim to both in the course that events had taken. Marriages, like the one with Umm-i-Habiba, the daughter of Aboo Sofian, was, I presume, actuated by a piece of profound policy as a prelude to the conversion of her father and the powerful clan which was under his leadership. This is, however, by the way. By Mohamed, Khadijah had 2



sons and 4 daughters. Both the sons died at Mecca before the Hejira. The youngest of the daughters was Fatima, the wife of Ali and mother of Hasan and Hussain.

Mohamed's enemies gained fresh vigour and virulence by the death of his uncle. Their persecutions of him and his followers increased manifold. At this stage, the Prophet bethought himself of going on a mission to Tayef, 60 miles away from Mecca, with Zeid ibni Harëtha in hopes of converting the inhabitants of that place. It is impossible to think of the Prophet in this lonely journey, without sympathy and admiration. He was on a mission to preach the doctrine of the One true God to idolaters. But he failed to make any impression upon them. And as he left the town, he was hooted by a howling mob of menials and slaves and was pelted with stones. A man going alone to summon an idolatrous city to repentance needs surely to be endowed with those divine powers which are given by God only to a chosen few of His creatures. And for these, the Prophet thus appealed to Providence in this hour of dire distress:—

"Oh Lord! I make my complaint unto Thee of the feebleness of my strength and weakness of my plans. I seek refuge in the light of Thy countenance by which all darkness is dispersed and peace comes. There is no power, no help but in Thee."

In response, help and protection did come to him from Heaven through the leading inhabitants of Yathreb (now called Medina), a town 12 marches away from Mecca. They offered him a safe asylum in their midst and the Prophet accepted their invitation. As a prelude to final emigration, however, the Prophet permitted those of the Moslems, who so desired, to betake themselves to Medina where he would shortly follow them. When his became known to the Koreish, their leaders convened a meeting, and after some discussion came to the conclusion that in view of the constant menace the Prophet and his following to Medina would be to themselves and their faith, it was stifable for them to assassinate him. One man from each of the Koreish was chosen to participate in the dastardly deed of dipping his sword in the Prophet's holy blood. This perfidious conspiracy came to his knowledge by Divine agency, they say, and on the night of the expected tragedy, the Prophet, accompanied by Abou Bakr, fled from the city leaving his devoted cousin, Ali, to occupy his empty bed.

The Prophet and Abou Bakr hid themselves in the cave of

Thor. They were secreted in this cave for 3 days and nights. It is said that when the Koreish followed up the clue of the two fugitives and traced them to this cave, they found that at its mouth doves had built their nests and spiders, woven their webs; this led them to conclude that the cave was empty and they returned to their homes. The fugitives then betook themselves to Yathreb (Medina) by the coast route. The Moslems count their era, the Hegira (Emigration), from the date of this event.

The Koreish sent a man named Soraka to follow up the fugitives and either kill them or bring them back as prisoners; but he soon returned with his mission unfulfilled and accounted for his failure in the following terms:—

"Abou Hakam! By Lot, I swear,  
Hadst thou but seen my live horse fixed  
With all its four dug deep in sod,  
Hypnotic thou hadst lain in trance,  
Believing him from God and God's  
Prophet clear. Who to hide? How?  
Warrior! Keep harm from him and thyself save  
His word ere long shall be a mighty wave."

—(Free Translation from the original).

The Prophet arrived in the near vicinity of Yathreb named Koba on the 12th Rabi-ul-awwal in the 12th year of his Mission.

After Ali and other Moslems had reached Koba 3 days after the Prophet, the emigrants moved in a body into Medina, the Moslems of which place met their brethren in a most fraternal spirit. The spirit of hospitality in the Medinite auxiliaries was so great that they offered to share all their conveniences of life equally with the emigrants. The Prophet coupled one emigrant with one auxiliary in a bond of religious brotherhood linking them together in sorrow and in happiness.

In the second year of the Hejira, the momentous battle of Badr took place, three marches away from Medina in the direction of Mecca. News was brought to the Medinites that the Koreish were advancing towards them with a large army, under the pretext of meeting an advancing caravan of their own returning from Syria. The Prophet in self-defence gathered together a devoted band of 314 men and advanced to meet his persecutors. These 314 men had 4 horses and 70 camels between them and were im-

perfectly armed for the fray that was to decide the future of Islam. Their adversaries, on the other hand, were the picked soldiers of Mecca, in every way provided with the conveniences and accessories of a campaign into a hostile country. When both sides had drawn themselves up in fighting array, the Prophet prayed earnestly for victory. Burning with religious zeal and mutual hatred, the troops on both sides rushed furiously to the charge. The Koreish out-numbered the Moslems by 3 to 1, but the superiority of numbers was overbalanced by either the favour of Providence or the reckless intrepidity of religious zeal. While the Moslems bravely resisted the attacks of their advancing foes, the Prophet addressed himself to the Lord of Hosts in the following words:—

"O Lord, forget not Thy promise of assistance. O Lord, if this little band were to perish, there will be none to offer unto Thee pure worship."

The leaders of the Koreish were placed *horse de combat* in this battle through the intrepid valour of Ali Hamza, one of the Prophet's uncles, and a few other devoted souls. The Moslems obtained complete victory over their powerful enemies.

There is very little doubt that this battle was most momentous for the Moslem Commonwealth at Medina, and the cause of Islam made a tremendous stride forward in consequence of this victory.

It was in this battle that Aboo Jahl, the infamous, was slain. All along his earthly career, he had proved himself to be the most inveterate enemy of Islam and its founder. It is on record that when Abu Jahl was struck down and his head was about to be chopped off, he requested his slayer to apply the axe as near his trunk as possible so that his severed head might have some prominence even amongst the heads of the slain. This incident serves to illustrate the unruly pride and insolence of this misguided man which blinded him in his conduct towards the Prophet and his followers.

The Koreish smarting under their humiliating defeat at Badr took the offensive next year again. This time the conflict occurred near Medina, at the foot of a mountain named Ohod. In this battle, the brave Hamza was treacherously stabbed by alshhi, a slave of the barbarous Henda, wife of Aboo Sophian. She had the heart of Hamza torn out and brought to her and would not rest satisfied until she had chewed it. Her lady com-

panions followed her example and made bracelets and necklaces of the ears and noses of the Moslem martyrs.

This last incident shows that even the women of the Ommeyyades had the enmity of the Hashimites ingrained into them. It may be here interesting to note that Hashem and Abd-e-Shams, the father of Ommeyya, were twin brothers. They were born with their backs or foreheads attached to each other by a thin piece of flesh, which was cut asunder with a sword. The seers of the time considered this a bad omen and predicted that the sword would always be used by the children of these twins against one another.

At about this period, the taking of wine and alcoholic drinks was interdicted by the Prophet among his followers. There is no doubt that the immediate effects of this prohibition were the making of a small commonwealth, then struggling for its existence, a community of pure and sober men. Without this interdiction, it is doubtful whether the Moslem camps, which soon overran the Persian and Greek empires, would have had in them those elements of union and simplicity which characterised the armies of Islam during the *regime* of the primitive Caliphs. Abi Bakr's instructions to his general, Khalid-ibn-Walid, "the Sword of God," breathes of the sublime spirit of the Master of the Faith.

The next aggression of the Koreish was in the fifth year of the Hejira, when they besieged Medina with a confederate army of over ten thousand strong composed of various idolatrous and Jewish tribes. The Moslems dug a wide ditch round the city and prepared to defend themselves against this formidable confederacy. In one of the Moslem sorties, Ali encountered the redoubtable pagan warrior, Amr Bin Abdawood, and killed him in the very first charge.

After a tedious and ineffectual siege, the confederacy broke up and the Koreish and their allies retired to their respective homes.

Sometime after the Koreish had retired, the Prophet with a number of Moslems journeyed towards Mecca to perform the Haj, and although they were unarmed, the Meccans prevented them from entering the city. After some parleying, a truce was concluded between the Prophet and the Meccans on various conditions, one of them being that the Moslems were to be allowed within Mecca for their pilgrimage purposes from the following

year. Certain tribes were also taken under the protection of the Moslems and the Meccans respectively. The Medinites after the conclusion of this truce retired to their city.

The Prophet now saw that the period of forbearance had passed and that in self-preservation and for the glory of the one God, whose messenger he was, it was now incumbent upon him to strike a decisive blow to guard against the possibility of future combinations similar to the one he had successfully overcome. Apart from several minor expeditions against small tribes, the Moslems, in the seventh year of the Hejira, marched against the Jews of Khaiber, who were at the time arranging a coalition with the pagans of the Bani-Ghatafan against the Moslem commonwealth. By a rapid march the Khaiber territory was reached before a conjunction of forces could be made by the enemies of Islam. Several battles were fought, the final one being under the leadership of Ali, which terminated in the success of the Moslems.

With the defeat of the Khaiberites, the Moslem commonwealth came to enjoy comparative peace and security, and the Prophet had leisure to send out messengers to various potentates including Chosroeo, Parvees and Heraclius, inviting them to the worship of the one true God. Chosroeo is said to have torn the Prophet's letter and scoffed at the presumption of a locust-eating Arabian dictating terms to, and dreaming of the crown and dominion of the Persian Shahin Shah. On this being reported to the Prophet, he is said to have exclaimed: "God! tear his kingdom asunder,"—which came to pass within a decade. The Alexandrian Ptolmey, the Abyssinian Negus, the Greek Heraclius and Hemerite, King of Yemen, all sent messages of sympathy with fitting presents.

In the eighth year of the Hegira, Mecca peacefully submitted to the Prophet. It happened in this wise:—The tribe of Bani Khuzaa were under the protection of the Moslem commonwealth and in a tribal feud between these people and their neighbours, the Bani Bakr, the Koreish helped the latter with arms and men. Twenty men of the Bani Khuzaa were killed and the rest dispersed. Forty of these latter travelled to Medina and standing before the Prophet narrated the story of their woes in the following words:

"Vile Koreish! the solemn covenant broke in wrong  
Unrighteous! their promise playing fast and loose.

Come Prophet! Bid God's creatures: "My side choose!"  
Make strong our cause and God shall gird ye strong."

In response to this pathetic appeal, the Prophet decided upon marching towards Mecca notwithstanding that Aboo Sofian had come down to Medina to negotiate for a further period of truce. The Moslems numbered, 12,000 men and they marched into Mecca without any resistance from the inhabitants who at one time were their greatest persecutors. It is recorded that on reaching the Kaaba, the Prophet ordered Ali to mount on his shoulders and break down the idols that were placed in a high position. The Prophet then delivered a discourse to the assembled people. After explaining the natural equality and brotherhood of mankind, he faced the leaders of the Koreish and asked: "Descendants of the Koreish, how do you think I should act towards you?" They replied: "With kindness and pity, gracious brother and nephew who are now able to do with us as you wish." At these words, tears came down the eyes of the Prophet and he said: "I shall speak to you as Joseph spoke unto his brothers. I shall not reproach you to-day; God will forgive and wipe off your sins. He is the most merciful and compassionate." Then again he said: "You were bad neighbours to your Prophet. You disbelieved him and persecuted him until he fled from you. Not satisfied with this, you followed him to Medina and fought with him. Notwithstanding all this, he has forgiven you and you are free."

The Prophet then delivered a long sermon which begins as follows:—

"Ye people! Let him that is present tell it unto him that is absent. God in His Mercy has, by the glory of Islam, ejected from you the pride in your fathers and in your clans which has come to you as a relic of idolatry. Ye people! you are descended from Adam, and Adam was made of clay. But the best of you in the eyes of God and the dearest of you to Him are those who are the most righteous and the most obedient unto Him. All the blood-feuds of former times have been to-day wiped off under my feet until the Day of Judgment."

After the submission of Mecca, some of the powerful neighbouring tribes met in conference and resolved to try and check the advance of Islam by a decisive and fierce struggle. The field of Hunain, in which 33,000 pagans met 12,000 Moslems, sealed



Hegira were comparatively peaceful ones for the Muslim Commonwealth excepting for the abortive expedition into Syria.

Gradually all the tribes of Arabia, Christian and Pagan, sent down deputations to the Prophet at Medina and accepted his teaching. The Prophet also performed a special pilgrimage to Mecca and instructed the Faithful in the proper performance of the Haj. It was during this pilgrimage that he delivered his famous sermon on the Mount of Arafat in words which will ever live in the hearts of all Moslems :

Even now Christian America burns alive a dark skinned Christian marrying a Christian white women.

"Ye people! hearken unto me" said he "for I know not whether another year will be vouchsafed to me after this year to find myself amongst you.

"Your lives and property are sacred and inviolable amongst one another until ye appear before the Lord, and remember ye shall have to appear before your Lord, who shall demand from you an account of all your actions. Ye people! ye have rights over your wives, and your wives have rights over you. Treat your wives with kindness. Verily you have taken them on the security of God and have made their persons lawful unto you by the words of God. And your slaves! see that ye feed them with such food as ye eat yourselves; and clothe them with the stuff ye wear; and if they commit a fault which ye are not inclined to forgive, then part from them, for they are the servants of the Lord and are not to be harshly treated.

"Ye people! listen to my words and understand the same: *Know that all Moslems are brothers unto one another.* Ye are one brotherhood. Nothing which belongs to another is lawful unto his brother, unless freely given out of goodwill. Guard yourself from committing injustice.

"Let him that is present tell him that is absent. Haply he that shall be told may remember better than he who hath heard." Towards the conclusion of the sermon the Prophet exclaimed "Oh Lord! I have delivered my message and accomplished my work." The assembled hosts below with one voice cried: "Yea verily thou hast. O Lord! I beseech Thee bear thou witness into it."

This Sermon on the Mount appeals by its practicality and strong common sense to higher minds, and is also adapted to

the capacity and demands of inferior natures which require positive and comprehensible directions for moral guidance.

On his return from Mecca the Prophet had occasion to weep over the grave of his beloved son, Ebrahim, who died an infant 15 months old. He sustained with firmness the raillery of his enemies and checked the adulation or credulity of the Moslems by the assurance that an eclipse of the Sun was not occasioned by the death of the infant.

Owing to the effects of the poison administered to him by Zainab, daughter of Khaled, the Khaiberite Jew, the Prophet began to ail when he was about 63 years of age and was gradually bed-ridden. I cannot do better than quote Gibbon who describes the last days of the Prophet on earth thus:—"His mortal disease was a fever of 14 days. As soon as he was conscious of his danger he edified his brethren by the humility of his virtues. If there be any man" said he from the pulpit, "whom I have unjustly scourged, I submit my own back to the lash of retaliation. Have I aspersed the reputation of a Mussulman? let him proclaim my faults in the face of the congregation. Has any one been despoiled of his goods? the little that I possess shall compensate for the debt." "Yes" said a voice from the congregation, "I am entitled to 3 drachms of silver." The Prophet heard the complaint, satisfied the demand and thanked his creditor for accusing him in this world rather than at the Day of Judgment. He beheld with temperate firmness the approach of death; enfranchised his slaves (17 men and 11 women), minutely directed the order of his funeral and moderated the lamentation of his weeping friends on whom he bestowed the benediction of peace. If the slightest credit may be afforded to the traditions of his wives and companions he maintained in the bosom of his family and to the last moment of his life the dignity of an Apostle and the faith of an enthusiast, described the visits of the Angel Gabriel who bade an everlasting farewell to the earth and expressed his lively confidence not only in the mercy but in the favor of the Supreme Being. In a familiar discourse he had mentioned his special prerogative that the Angel of death was not allowed to take his soul till he had respectfully asked the permission of the Prophet. The request was granted and Mohamed immediately fell into the agony of his dissolution; his head was reclined on the lap of Ayesha, the best beloved of all his wives; he fainted with the violence of pain; recovering, he

raised his eyes towards the roof of the house and with a steady look, though a faltering voice, uttered the last broken, though articulate, words: "God! pardon me and join me to the blessed companionship on high": and thus he peaceably expired (7th June 632 A.D.) on a carpet spread on the floor.

We have tried as briefly as possible to give an idea of the sufferings and trials undergone by the founder of Islam, a religion that, through the noble example set by its Master, can boast of greater parity and toleration than others. There is nothing mysterious in it. It is itself averse to being concealed under any mask. All the Islamic traditions are open to the free judgment of every person as well as for free inquiry and investigation, and the Moslems are at liberty to reject entirely all such traditions which according to their free judgment prove themselves contrary to nature and reason. But there is no such liberty granted to other religions. Not even the grandest, and indeed the main principle of Islam—the existence of God and His unity—is required by Islam to be blindly and slavishly accepted. For the sake of a contrast, we may be permitted to refer to the mysterious doctrine of the Trinity, the foundation of Christian belief. All Christians declare that notwithstanding that this dogma is wholly opposed to nature and reason, it must be blindly believed in, all exercise of reason being doggedly interdicted.

Nothing can be simpler or more in accord with the advance of the human intellect than the teachings of the Prophet of Islam. The few rules for religious ceremonial prescribed for Moslems are chiefly with the object of maintaining discipline and uniformity so necessary in all stages of society; and even the rules are not of an inflexible character. The Moslems are allowed to break them under certain circumstances, as in sickness, &c., &c. Intoxication and gambling, the curse of other communities and the bane of all uncultured and inferior natures, are rigorously prohibited. The wisdom which incorporated into Islam the time-honored custom of annual pilgrimages to Mecca has breathed into it a freemasonry and brotherhood of faith, in spite of sectarian divisions. The eyes of the whole Moslem world fixed on that central spot keep alive in the bosom of each some spark of the celestial fire which lighted up the earth thirteen centuries ago. Here again the wisdom of the inspired lawgiver shines forth in the conditions he lays down to make the injunction obligatory:—Intelligence; freedom; a supply of sufficient transport; possession

of means sufficient to support the pilgrim's family during his absence; the practicability of the voyage or journey. Mr. Justice Syed Amir Ali rightly says:—"Of all the religions of the world that have ruled the conscience of mankind the Islam of Mohamed alone combines both the conceptions which have in different ages furnished the mainspring of human conduct—the consciousness of human dignity, so valued in the ancient philosophies, and the sense of human sinfulness so dear to the Christian Apologist. The belief that man will be judged solely by his actions throws the Moslem on the practice of self-denial and universal charity; the belief in Divine Providence, in the mercy and love and omnipotence of God, leads him to self-humiliation before the Almighty and to the practice of those heroic virtues which have given rise to the charge that "the virtues of Islam are stoical" patience, resignation and firmness in the trials of life. It leads him to interrogate his conscience with nervous anxiety, to study with scrupulous care the motives that actuate him, to distrust his own strength and to rely upon the assistance of an Almighty and All-Loving Power in the conflict between good and evil."

This, in a word, is Islam; it is not a mere creed; it is a life to be lived in the present; a religion of right thinking, right speaking, and right doing founded on Divine Love, universal charity and the equality of man in the sight of God. It is so cosmopolitan in its teaching and character that a peasant and a prince stand in the same row and offer their devotions to the God head above, and dine together. It has no class distinctions, neither has it different hours of religious service for the different classes of the community. History records many instances of slaves having attained to prominence never dreamt of by themselves or their masters. The father of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni was a slave. Kutbuddin, the first King of Delhi and the real founder of the Mussulman Empire in India, was also a slave.

In conclusion we may rightly say that to-day, although Islam is not propagated by the countenance and support of Czars, Kaisers, Emperors, and Commonwealths, and by the zeal and activity of European and American Missionaries, it is making appreciable headway in Pagan, Africa and China and is gaining a footing in England, the stronghold of civilization and Christianity—for is not the king the Defender of the Faith?—where it has sympathizers and converts. To crown all, during the last 10

years the Mohamiedan population of Bengal alone has increased by 5,000,000 souls. Truly a glorious record.

MIRZA HASHEM ISPAHANI.

### MEMORIES OF MUNRO.

OF all the makers of Modern India none is more revered than Sir Thomas Munro, the subaltern who rose to be the Governor of Madras; the man who, coming out to India when Haidar had formed his famous coalition with the Mahrattas, the Nizam and the French and threatened the destruction of the English, remained long after to repair in no small measure the injury done by him wherever his arms had been felt; and the statesman who for the first time in Southern India realised that the security of the British rule lies in the peace and contentment of the population, and on that firm foundation reared the edifice of British Supremacy in India. His success was phenomenal and was the object of wonder even in his own days. His own subordinates admired him; his friends were amazed at him; his superiors formed the highest opinions of him, and Lord Canning proud of having selected him to the vacant Governorship of Madras declared in Parliament that "Europe never produced a more accomplished statesman, nor India, fertile as it was in heroes, a more skilful soldier." The Natives of India even now, though seventy-five years have rolled on since his much lamented death, cherish his memory as if he had been amidst them not very long ago, and it is no disparagement to any of his predecessors to say that in the popular heavens no star shines with greater brilliancy than that of Munro. While most of them have become forgotten worthies and receded into the dim vestiges of the past Munro is yet a living figure in the present and his name resounds wherever you go in all Southern India. The very things he said, the very acts he did and the very places he wandered or lived in have become consecrated in the memories of the people, and his very advent into this mortal world has been explained on grounds of divine necessity. "The Natives of India are not destitute," writes a distinguished biographer of Munro, "of gratitude nor are they deficient in the capacity to discern and appreciate the qualities which characterise a just, firm and beneficent ruler." How true these words are will be manifest in the following pages which are based upon personal conversa-



tion with the peoples of the various localities with which Munro was, in his long and useful career, connected.

Munro spent seven happy years of his life time in the Baramahals, a part of the present district of Salem, as an Assistant to Colonel Read, the Principal Collector. The scenery of Tirupattur much impressed him. "There is nothing to be compared to it," he wrote home to his father, "in England, nor what you will think higher praise in Scotland. It stands in the midst of an extensive valley from ten to forty miles wide and sixty or seventy long, surrounded by an amphitheatre of mountains of every shape, many of them nearly twice as high as the Grampians. The country here among the hills has none of the cold and stunted appearance which such countries have at home. The largest trees, the richest soil, and the most luxuriant vegetation, are usually found among naked masses of granite at the bottom of the hills." This was written seven years before his death. But he had often visited it in his younger days when he was yet in the lower rung of the official ladder and a pretty story is told in connection with it. A great pedestrian, Munro took long walks into the country surrounding his Division, and in one of these ever recurring jaunts he enjoyed the most picturesque scenery in the taluk, that around the valley of Alangayam whose very soil looks like sugar. At this place the Yalagiri and the Javâdi hills approach so close that a rifle shot from the one could reach the other. Alangayam, named after the Moghul Emperor (?) Alamgir or Aurangzebe was, on account of its grand scenery, rechristened by Munro the Windsor Palace of India. The epithet was not ill-deserved, for here is what one of the first admirers of natural scenery in India says of it. "The valley," says Mr. Le Fanu, the Editor of the interesting and sometimes amusing Salem District Manual, "rich in detritus and humus from the hills, and watered by the streamlets from their sides, smiles with cultivation when the rest of the Taluk is burnt and bare. The hills on each side save the valley, in the morning and evening, from fully an hour of the scorching sunshine, and a twilight may be enjoyed here for nearly two hours which is unknown elsewhere in the district, except perhaps in the Manjavâdi Valley. Any one who cares for real English scenery will do well to strike due Eastwards the Javadis from Motur, when at the foot of the hills he will find a lovely park, whose grassy lawns, studded with giant tamarind trees, with the purple hills in the back

ground will recall to him many a forest glade in his distant home. In fact Kurasalapett to Alangayam and especially near Motur the taluk is worth coming hundreds of miles to see."

During his stay in the Baramahals Dharmapuri was the head-quarters of Munro, and not far away from it are some relics of his stay in that taluk. Adhamankote, which is seven miles to the south of it, lies on the roadside and the Traveller's Bungalow is conveniently enough put up there. Old villagers are more familiar with it as Orr's Bungalow and relate with virgin freshness the following story in connection with it. Long before a bungalow came to exist there a *Karivalamaram* (*Cacia Arabica*) was planted there by Munro. This tree is still in existence and its fine growth is attributed to the exalted qualities of its author and is the object of much popular talk and admiration. Further away, twenty miles distant from his residence, in the Thoppur Ghaut, he planted a fine garden of which the only relic now is the tank which is affectionately and popularly referred to by the people round about as "Munro tank." Both the garden and the tank are thus referred to by Munro himself in one of his exquisite letters to his sister. On the conclusion of his labours as Joint Secretary to the Mysore Commission Munro had been transferred from the Baramahals to Kanara and he, not unnaturally, resented it, and comparing his position in his old place with what it was going to be in the new one he said in reference to the former: "It is a romantic country, and every tree and mountain has some charm which attaches me to them. I began a few years ago to make a garden near Dharmapuri sheltered on one side by a lofty range of mountains, and on the other by an aged grove of mangoes. I made a tank in it about a hundred feet square of mangoes. I made a tank in it about a hundred feet square lined with stone steps; and the spring is so plentiful, that besides watering abundantly every herb and tree, there is always a depth of ten or twelve feet of clear water for bathing. I have numbers of young orange, mango, and other fruit trees in a very thriving state. I had a great crop of grapes this year; and my pine beds are now full of fruit. When I happened to be at Dharmapuri I always spent at least an hour every day at this spot; and to quit now goes as much to my heart as forsaking my old friends." The garden is no more and the tank he refers to is yet in existence, but alas! its condition is far from what it was when Munro penned his letter. It is hardly ever full and its water not always quite fit for drinking or bathing purposes. It

is on high level and that is perhaps why it cannot retain its water. But the spring that supplied it so abundantly must be there. It is not known why Munro selected this spot for his garden. Doubtless the picturesque scenery of the place attracted him to it. But the rustic folk around explain it in their own way by saying that it was for protecting the people from the fierce jungle beasts that he settled there. The tank deserves for more reasons than one to be renovated. Here certainly is something that might, with profit, be taken advantage of to keep fresh the memory of one whose name stands high in the roll of the makers of modern India. Munro's business often took him to the districts of the Mysore Province, and a story in connection with one of these visits throws a curious side light upon the ideas of the times. On one occasion he halted at Tumkur, perhaps the loveliest of the Mofussil towns of the State. Its situation is charming, being built at the base of a rising group of hills, on elevated ground, near the waste weir of a large tank. Its natural grandeur is enhanced by its being surrounded with gardens of plantains, areca-nut and cocoanut palms and betel vines, besides many groves of well-grown trees. As a lover of the picturesque Munro enjoyed Tumkur, occupying the Traveller's Bungalow. As the evening approached it was made known to him that the bungalow was 'possessed' and as such was not safe for the night. Quietly discharging the muttering servants to the tents further away, Munro retired to bed and ere long was fast asleep in the Central Hall. Sometime past midnight he suddenly awoke and a sombre figure of huge proportions and attired in native fashion from head to foot met his eyes. Breathless he sat up and felt for his rifle underneath his bedstead. Aiming at the slow-paced figure, whose very sight would have killed any one less brave, he declared in thundering tones "Who art thou? Answer or Vanish. If thou dost not quit this place within three days' time, take notice thou shalt be shot dead. Beware and begone." Rivetting its attention upon him for a while the apparition moved and all in a minute disappeared for ever. Almost instantaneously down jumped Munro from his couch and called out for his servants. His bed was re-arranged in the tents opposite and the first thing on the morrow that Munro did was the putting up of a billet to the door of the bungalow giving notice to the *genius loci* to quit and the last that the once terrified inhabitants of Tumkur heard of it was its fatal

conflict with good Munrolappa. Even the devils, observed one of my aged informants by way of moral, should obey the Circar. With him certainly it was not *Vox populi Vox dei* but *Vox regis Vox dei*.

The next incident takes us to Seringapatam. What follows has been often narrated to me in and about Mysore, some of the informants being the direct descendants of some of the personages mentioned in it. Munro, it is related, was once taken prisoner by the elder Sultan (Haidar), tied up to a post in the Seringapatam fort, given water and ration in a tin pan twice a day; and then marched out with others in heavy chains for the out door work of the day, which consisted in carrying basketfuls of mud on the head, apparently very much like our cooly gangs working on the Municipal roads. He minded not to ask for clemency of the Sultan, but once protested mildly to the Officer—One Auché Thippiah by name,—of the pain he felt in the forehead, being unaccustomed to the unusually rough task allotted to him. But, said the officer promptly and cruelly, it is the *hukku* of the Circar and there is none so bold that can gainsay it and survive. There is but to obey and die. However Munro's cause was taken up by the trusted Treasury Officer of Haidar, who urged with great force against the cruelty of the treatment meted out to Munro and his brother prisoners of War and of the utter uselessness of such means in curbing the power of the English nation. Events passed and Munro at last obtained his release and in the fullness of time attained to the position of Collector of the Ceded Districts. He forgot not to reward the kind interceder in the hour of his trouble and difficulty. He instituted inquiries, but alas! to his bitter disappointment he was informed that he had died at the hands of the Younger Sultan (Tipu) and that his family had suffered persecutions and banishment. But that his family had suffered further enquiries to be made with the result that some of the unfortunate officer's descendants were found hiding themselves away in the jungles of the Baramahals. One of them—a brother's son—was given, after a careful training in the lower ranks, a high place under him and was ultimately presented with a Jaghir in the Northern Circars. Nor did Munro forget the servant of Haidar who exacted the stipulated work of the day from him at Seringapatam. When he went to Mysore after he became Governor of Madras, he enquired for him and on his being sent to him, Munro on seeing him slightly bent

forward and pointing to his forehead said, "Well, Thippiah, my forehead badly aches," and looked him almost immediately in the face. Unmoved the man stood up before him for a while, and then replied, "Most Excellent Sir, Haider's was the Circar then and his orders were on thy servant's head. It is yours now and your words are commands to thy servant," and with that he joined his hands on his head. Munro was touched with the zeal of his late task-taker and warmly congratulated him on it.

This story of Munro's having been taken prisoner by Haider which has so much the air of truth about it seems, I fear, to have no foundation in fact. Munro was present at most of the engagements consequent on Haider's descent in 1780 and until after the definitive treaty with Tipu in 1784 he was cantoned in the neighbourhood of Madras and then joined his corps stationed near Madras. Soon after he was transferred to Garrison duty at Madras and after a year's stay each at Vizagapatam and Vellore he joined as Assistant in the Intelligence Department under Colonel Read. On the outbreak of the war with Tipu in 1790 and after the end of the war in 1792 and until the outbreak of the war again in 1799 he was employed in the Civil Administration of the Baramahal country. On the reduction of Seringapatam in 1799 he was appointed, by Lord Wellesley, Joint Secretary to the Commission for the Settlement of Mysore. He acted in this capacity until the conclusion of the Partition Treaty and the installation of the Rajah in July 1799 and was then posted as Collector of Canara, then newly Ceded to the British. Thus it seems clear that Munro was never taken prisoner in any of the Mysore wars nor was he ever taken prisoner at all during his life time. The story, though not true, has a merit about it. It shows well how myths gather round a popular personage.

Next to the Baramahals Munro best liked the Ceded Districts to which he was, to his intense relief and satisfaction, transferred by Lord Clive from Canara towards the close of 1800. The seven years of good that he wrought there was the subject of universal admiration. The natives of the country, the Subordinate Officers of the district and the Superior Officers of Government were all unanimous in their praise of his work. "Towards Munro," writes Sir Alexander Arbuthnot, "the ryots of Bellary and Cuddapah were led to entertain feelings of confidence and attachment which but few officials have been able to inspire, and when he left the province the people were so attached

by all classes of the population. Nor was the memory of his good work one of those transient recollections which often pass away so speedily. The appellation by which Munro was most commonly known to the people of the Ceded Districts was that of the 'Colonel Dora' with reference to the Military rank which he held during the greater part of his service as Principal Collector; and to this day it is considered a sufficient answer to inquiries regarding the reason of any revenue rule, that it was laid down by the Colonel Dora." While the Government commended his good work to the Court of Directors, the Civil Servants who served under him wrote in presenting him a cup that they "know that the Ceded Districts hold your name in veneration and feel the keenest regret at your departure." Colonel Wilks, the renowned Historian of Mysore, thus records of his "valuable friend Colonel Munro": "I will not deny myself the pleasure of stating an incident related to me by a respectable public servant of the Government of Mysore, who was sent in 1807 to assist in the adjustment of a disputed boundary between that territory and the district in charge of the Collector. A violent dispute occurred in his presence between some villagers and the party aggrieved threatened to go to Anantapur and complain to their father. He perceived that Colonel Munro was meant, and found upon inquiry that he was generally distinguished throughout the district by that appellation." Even now boys are named after him, ballads are sung to his praise and during times of dispute the ryots wish that he were back in their midst. But, perhaps, the most interesting thing is the deification of Munro by the inhabitants. Even now portraits of Munro drawn up in however crude a fashion by native artists are hung up in the devotional wing of homes and regular *poojah* is performed to them by offerings of flowers, &c. How this came to pass has been reported to me pretty often by various persons. During his seven years of Governorship Munro toured through the Ceded Districts twice, first in 1823 and once again in 1827 when he died at Pattikonda. The story of his deification relates to his last visit and is thus told. In the Adoni Taluk is the famous place of pilgrimage, Mancharla, which is the resting place of the famed Brahman Saint Sri Raghavendra. The village has a population of less than 2000, and an annual festival in honour of the Saint is held about the 14th of August to which the crowds

from various parts of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies and the neighbouring States of Hyderabad and Mysore, resort at great expense and trouble. The repute of the Saint is so great that even the Lingayats of Bellary and Dharwar Districts—who are as a class no friends of Brahmans or Brahmanical Saints—pay their devotions frequently to his shrine. Towards the close of Munro's Governorship it was brought to his notice that the lands enjoyed by the Saint's representatives were for one reason or another to be resumed by Government. Representations being made to Government that the very existence of the Saint's *mutt* was being thus jeopardised, Munro instructed the Board to stop further proceedings in the matter till he had himself made personal investigations. Accordingly on his tour he came to this place and asked of the *mutt* managers to show him where their guru was. He was shown the place from at a distance and Munro voluntarily leaving his boots out at a distance and with his hat in his hand proceeded to the place pointed out. There he was met by the Saint who emerging out from his tomb revealed himself to Munro. Both, it is said, conversed at length on the subject of the resumption of the lands. On parting Munro was offered consecrated rice, which he took in his hat, and on his return to his tents ordered his servants to use it in the preparation of his meal for the day. All the while the managers of the *mutt* and the large concourse of people who had assembled on the occasion and were not far away were hearing him talk, but they neither saw the Saint nor heard him talk with Munro. Ultimately Munro ordered that the resumption ought not to be made and, it is said, even recommended an additional grant towards the maintenance of the *mutt* and its charities. The report of his conversation with the invisible Saint, became known far and wide in the country, and it was remarked that if he were not an *Avatar* of some divine personage the Saint would not have revealed himself to him, a mortal and a foreigner. He was subsequently represented to be an *Avatar* of the great and reputed king and composer Mādhata, whose name an informant of Doctor Bradshaw, the biographer of Munro in the Rulers of India series, has confounded evidently with Mandavya Rishi. I have been told that even physically Munro bore a kingly characteristic of Mādhata: he was so long-armed that his hands reached his knees!

This is how Munro's memory is cherished wherever he was

employed. No name is more familiar with the masses than his. His friend and brother Governor, Mountstuart Elphinstone, said of him that he took the people along with him and made them share in his feelings and himself shared theirs. That was the secret of his success and that is why his name has been handed down as a rich legacy to posterity.

When will India look upon the like of him again?

"Nothing can cover his high fame, but Heaven;  
No pyramids set off his memories,  
But the eternal substance of his greatness;  
To which I leave him."

C. HAYAVADANA, RAO.

## A PLEA FOR A REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY IN COCHIN.

IN its forward march, every nation must, at one time or other, pass through a stage of political existence in which the rights and power of its upper classes are considerably modified and even absolutely curtailed, while those of the middle and lower classes are gradually extended. It is as an inevitable result of the doctrine of evolution in its workings upon society that we perceive all the time-honoured privileges of a law-protected minority one after another eliminated, all the sharp corners rounded, and all the invidious distinctions of birth and creed obliterated. The consensus of enlightened opinion of the 20th century points to the conclusion deduced by Mr. Kidd that "we are definitely entering upon a stage.....in which for a long period to come legislation will aim at securing to all the members of the community the right to be admitted to the rivalry of life, as far as possible, on a footing of equality of opportunity." \*

One unmistakable sign of this coming regeneration is the recognition of the principle of representation by those in charge of the body-politic. The body-politic, in Cochin or elsewhere, is composed of units differing widely from one another in race, religion and aspiration. A government and a set of laws are all that they have in common in Cochin. Whether these are adequate in themselves to ensure a good government for that State or are other circumstances necessary to render good government possible shall be the subject of my paper.

It would however be well to lay down clearly the exact position occupied by the governing class in Cochin. As in other Native States, we have a duality of authority vested in two different persons: (1) The Rajah, and (2) The Resident. The latter is intended to operate as a check upon and corrective to the former. No doubt, the Government of India, in the amplitude of their legitimate duties, are none the less solicitous of the welfare of the people committed to the care of the Native Rajahs and Chiefs. If matters are placed before the Supreme Government in their true light and colour they are sure to engage their attention. But whether they are so placed, or are allowed by

\* Kidd—Social Evolution,

those responsible for the administration of Cochin, to be so placed is rather doubtful.

Surveying the present political situation in Cochin, in its manifold aspects, what do we find? We see, at the top, a Rajah who is mad after expensive reforms, an officialdom subservient to the proclivities of the Rajah, a Resident who is satisfied with the exterior of things, a State driven to the verge of bankruptcy, and a subject population whose immediate wants and general welfare have been utterly neglected by those in power, but who are, as yet, ignorant of the mighty and effectual voice of constitutional agitation. That the present régime in Cochin has "reform" for its shibboleth is patent. How far the reform policy has attained its end requires to be looked into. No doubt, the administrative machinery has been reformed and re-formed with a vengeance. The Government office at Ernakulam, from one end to the other, is now tenanted by a set of men, many of whom were in their school-rooms during the previous régime. A Statutory Civilian—bureaucracy—was till lately at a finished product of the British bureaucracy—the work turned their head. Salaries, quite out of proportion to the work turned out and to the paying capacity of the Treasury, have been lavished upon them, just to do in the English language what their predecessors were doing in their mother-tongue. As an inevitable result, all the formalities of the British Official routine, one after another, have crept into the Cochin Huzur office. Whether these results could not have been achieved at a cheap outlay and whether the true interests of the subject population have been advanced by them, I leave to my readers to decide. There is no gainsaying, that every one of the reforms inaugurated by the new régime in Cochin, has directly or indirectly told severely upon the finances of Cochin, so much so that it now requires the supreme efforts of an eminent financier to avert the financial collapse that threatens the State. In a Native State like Cochin the meaning of the term "public money" appears to be imperfectly understood by those who spend it. That nature should have ordained that the duties of citizenship shall not go beyond the payment of rates and taxes seems to be highly improbable. That it should be the birthright of a ruler, be he as wise as all the gods on the Olympus put together, to spend the public money gratuitously seems to be also highly improbable. However, the present political situation in Cochin has rendered both the above circumstances not only probable but positive. All possible

means of coercion, even the extreme ones allowed by law and usage, are mercilessly employed and the taxes to a pie are realized. As to what is done with the money so realized, the payer is given neither the facility to know nor the privilege to question.

'Their's not to reason why  
'Their's but to pay and die:'

The representative of the Paramount Power is shown only the bright side of the picture. The dark side is muffled in official secrecy, and even where dim glimpses of it are caught, the glitter of the other side renders its impression at once indistinct and hazy.

Such or nearly such are the relative positions of the rulers and the ruled in Cochin. Let it be remembered to their credit or discredit that the former have made a record of expenditure in a length of time quite unique in the history of Cochin. The accumulated savings of the past 50 years—the legacy of administrations condemned in the most unqualified terms by Messrs. Rajagopala Chari & Co., have been spent and, what is more appalling, a debt of 13 lakhs of rupees has been imposed upon the people of Cochin. I use the word "people" advisedly, as they are, more than any one else, responsible for its liquidation. Has the Cochin Darbar in the last 5 years in which it developed this tendency to spend beyond its means, thought for a moment that the money it was spending was the people's money?

Every important administrative measure of the Cochin Darbar has its own jeremiads and I fear I would be taxing the patience of my readers were I to indulge any longer in them. To come to the point raised in the paper, *viz.*, the plea for a representative assembly, it may be repeated that the present political situation in Cochin is such as would give no small anxiety even to cool-headed statesmen. Many useful and much needed measures have been put off by reason of the strain caused by the incubus of a Railway. The Educational, the Medical, the Sanitary and the P. W. Departments which, if better administered than they are at present, are calculated to give a greater measure of benefit to the people of Cochin than the Shoranur-Cochin Railway, have been partly neglected while the scientific department has been abolished *in toto*. Another and a still more

serious charge of wilful neglect of duty which may be brought home against the Darbar is that it has done nothing to improve the irrigation and agriculture of the State. Cochin, like the rest of India, is an agricultural country, and, although the droughts about which we hear so often from Northern India are of rare occurrence in Cochin, there is still ample evidence to show that monsoons are now early and now late and the rainfall sometimes too much and sometimes too little, the combined result of all these being, that there is such an untimely and uneven distribution of water that a really good harvest comes in only once in 8 or 10 years. Considering the general fertility of the soil and the untiring industry of the ryots of Cochin the harvest they get is very inadequate. Irrigation by means of tanks, wells, reservoirs and aqueducts is what is necessary and is just what the Cochin Darbar has not yet concerned itself with. The money that could have been utilised for these and other really good purposes has been sponged out of the Treasury by the Shoranur-Cochin Railway and the Forest Tramway; and there is hardly any other means of accomplishing these ends than by a resort to additional taxation. It is even feared by some that funds are wanting to keep the administrative machinery going. Perhaps. That machinery is now like the frog in the fable which outgrew itself to bursting dimensions.

Now that the Settlement operations have been started and that ere long a full-timed Settlement Officer and a host of his subordinates are to be let loose upon Cochin, the necessity arises for the presence of an accredited organ to safeguard the interests of the tax-payer. The rate of assessment now obtaining in Cochin is lighter than that in British India, but slightly in excess of that in vogue in Travancore. It cannot be supposed that the Cochin Government would cease to be erratic with effect from the commencement of the Settlement operations and become infallible in the matter of classification and assessment and that the people of Cochin would have nothing to say against what is imposed upon them by their Government. Much heart-burning is sure to be caused and questions of unusual difficulty are very likely to crop up, as where they have not cropped up when settlement operations were in progress. It is therefore indispensable that there should be a medium between the Government and the governed by whose wholesome influence the two may be brought closer to

each other to their mutual advantage and made to work, each sharing in the full, the sympathy of the other.

The Cochin Darbar would do well to remember that the Native States, by their presence, not only exemplify the British fidelity to treaties and engagements but serve, in the eyes of the Paramount Power, as an index to the self-governing capacity of the Indians. The subject of a Native State occupies a position which it would take untold of years for a British Indian to attain. The reason is not far to seek. The latter by being a denizen of the illimitable British Empire, is inextricably entangled in the wide imperial interests of his Government. Whereas, the subject of a Native State could be either as unbounded in his privileges as a citizen of the United States or as circumscribed within narrow limits as a prisoner in the den of his solitary confinement.

I would also remind the Cochin Darbar of the wholesome advice which Lord Curzon gave to the Native Chiefs in general when he visited Gwalior. It cannot be that the advice was meant for deaf ears; nor that the criterion of survival therein fixed was but fustian and tinsel. Those words, pregnant with wisdom and warning and coming as they did from none other than Lord Curzon of Kedleston, deserve to be imprinted in large characters on the *tabula rasa* of every Indian Chief's mind. In the case of Cochin, the mainstay of the State has been crippled; many things which ought to have been done for the good of its people have been left undone; the figure of His Highness the Rajah has been known well enough at Coonoor and Madras, and His Highness has masterfully shown himself to be the master of his people, but not their servant. To crown all, a debt of 13 lakhs of rupees has been contracted without any near possibility of clearing it easily. Many new appointments with high salaries, many old appointments with salaries so revised as to benefit their present mercenary tenants, some high-paid and unnecessary temporary establishments, wholesale destruction of valuable forest trees without any attempt at planting new ones, an incomplete Railway and Tramway of doubtful issue are a few of the many far-reaching results of a progressive administration that we had in Cochin for the last five years. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof!

From the foregoing it will be clear that the present régime in Cochin has failed to fulfil its mission. There has been no endeavour at all on its part to perform the sacred duty of im-

proving the condition of the subject population. It is therefore as a matter of expediency rather than as a luxury that I suggest the institution of a representative assembly. Such an assembly shall advise not only the Government in all matters connected with the wants and welfare of the people, but the people as well in the true interpretation of the measures of Government. His Highness the Rajah of Cochin might well be proud of the day that an assembly consisting of the elite of his subjects, the accredited representatives of the people of his State, shall meet him on affairs of State, as that will be regarded as a red-letter day not only in the annals of Cochin but of the whole of British India. That there is nothing novel or revolutionary in this suggestion the history of the civilised world most emphatically shows. In every age of the world's history and in the history of every civilised country and nation, representative institutions of different degrees of excellence are met with. They existed in Athens even before the days of Solon. In ancient Rome, in the *Comitia*, in the Middle Ages, in the three estates of the Lords, Clergy and Commons and in the ancient English *Witan*, we find the distinct embodiment of the principle of representation. Even in India whose ancient political science viewed unmitigated despotism as nothing more than a visitation of Nature and whose conception of the king persisted in his apotheosis, the idea of representation is exquisitely preserved in the village *Panchayath*. It may, however, be contended that the people at large are yet unprepared for so good an institution as a representative assembly; but 'to kindle a desire for it is a necessary part of the preparation.' "To recommend and advocate a particular institution and set its advantages in its strongest light, is one of the modes, often, the only mode within reach of educating the mind of the nation not only for accepting or claiming but also for working the institution." \* The history of modern Italy furnishes an apt illustration of this principle.

As "every kind and degree of evil of which mankind are susceptible may be inflicted on them by their government and none of the good which social existence is capable of, can be any further realised than as the constitution of the Government is compatible with and allows scope for its attainment and as a representative constitution is a means of bringing the general standard of intelligence and honesty existing in the community

\* Mill—Considerations on representative government.



“and the individual intellect and virtue of its wisest members,  
 “more directly to bear upon the Government and investing them  
 “with greater influence in it than they would in general have,  
 “under any other mode of organization, though under any, such  
 “influence as they do have is the source of all good that there is  
 “in the Government and the hindrance of every evil that there is  
 “not and as the greater the amount of these good qualities which  
 “the institutions of a country succeed in organizing and the  
 “better the mode of organization the better will be the Govern-  
 “ment and lastly as a Government is to be judged by its action  
 “upon men and by its action upon things, by what it makes of  
 “the citizens and what it does with them, by its tendency to  
 “improve & deteriorate the people themselves and by the  
 “goodness or badness of the work it performs for them and by  
 “means of them,” a plea for a representative assembly in Cochin  
 becomes imperative. His Highness the Rajah who is, above all, a  
*constitutional* Rajah and not the creature of war and conquest  
 and who has made one real move in the direction of progress  
 by the abolition of the Choultries or Brahmin-feeding houses,  
 would, it is hoped, make another in the same direction and call  
 into being the institution for which this humble plea is made,  
 thereby placing his State on a par with Pudukotta and far  
 ahead of Travancore.

PLURIBUS UNUM.

## THE MUSLIM RELIGIOUS ORDERS IN THE DECCAN.

THE Fakir is not such a simple individual as he appears to be at first sight. At first blush, it would appear that one has to take a bowl of clay or wooden tray to play the role of a fakir; but the history of the individual would reveal that he is the product of a well-organized machinery, a member of a society, with regular rules and regulations, the breach of which involves his being “drummed out”—a way of ostracism that appears to be popular amongst them as in the army. According to some jurists every Mussalman, man or woman, is bound to follow the lead of a spiritual director—a *Pir* answering to a *guru* amongst the Hindus. There is no direct authority in the Quran enjoining the following of a lead. In fact the democratic spirit of Islam would appear to be against all confessionals and guru-worship; but texts are quoted as supporting the ceremonials connected with the *baiyut* such as “Obey God and obey His Prophet and such as those placed in authority over you.”

“Oh believers, fear God and seek a means (to approach) Him.”

“Whoever did baiyut to you (Oh Prophet) has verily done baiyut to God, for verily God's hand is on their hand.”

“Oh believers who have brought faith in God, bring faith in God (once again). The ceremony of *baiyut* (i.e.) striking the palm of one's hand on the palm of another person's hand appears to have been the sign of sealing an agreement. The Prophet took under a tree the allegiance of some of the people of Madina who had invited him to their city and performed this ceremony. The spirit of Islam seems to be for man to have direct communion with God, so much so that all the intermediaries whose existence is acknowledged are lost sight of in the communion of man with God. There is no angel-worship in Islam, otherwise Islam like Hinduism would have its 33 crores of gods (or *devas* or the intermediary beings who manage the affairs of the world). Such being the case it would seem as if incredible that Islam should enjoin saint-worship. The *Ghari muqallidins* do not believe in the *baiyut* if it means more than making of a promise to a saintly

person, to keep away from the ways of sin. However, most Mahomedans perform this ceremony and attach themselves to some one Pir or other.

The ways in which a man performs the *baiyut* are different. The *murid* performs two *rakat* namaz. If he is illiterate, the Pir leads in the namaz, and the candidate simply follows him. Then he sits before his Pir four-square and they join hands. If a woman is to become *murid*, she takes hold of one end of a turban-cloth, while the Pir takes the other end; or a basin of water is put in front of them and they dip their hands at the same time and say the same prayers. The Pir says "I take you as brother or sister in religion and ask you to accept the allegiance of all the Pirs up to the Prophet." Then they read the *Fatihah* and conclude the ceremony. Then again there is a stage at which a man renounces the world and joins some order of Dervishes or fakirs.

Asceticism is foreign to the teaching of Islam which openly proclaims "that there is no asceticism in Islam." Still several orders of fakirs have arisen. There are people who have honestly given up the world; and there are people who have made a show of doing it, with the object of gaining more of it. When a person wishes to become a fakir, he must become a *murid* first, and then presents himself before the chief of an order called *sirguru*. He has first to prove that he is circumcised. The Pir takes a pair of scissors and cuts off three hairs from his forehead. This is cutting off the three vices of ignorance, pride and selfishness. The latter then gets himself completely shaved and has a bath. The Pir then gives a strap of leather—2½ hands long, also a *lungutee* (3½ hands by 1½ hands) and a *lungi* (lower garment) and a long cloth like a shroud and a cap for the head. If all these latter are not within his means, he merely gives him *lungutee*. The ceremony is then performed before the assembled fakirs. The *murid* is then clad in these garments, while the necessary texts are chanted aloud. A cup of sherbut already partaken of by the Pir is then given to the *murid* to drink. A dinner is to be given to the assembly by the candidate or the Pir; if this is not possible they are satisfied with a mere cup of sherbut each. After this, the candidate becomes a regular fakir. The Pir then teaches him the names of the four Pirs and fourteen *Khanwadas* and how the different ceremonies connected with the initiation arose and on what authority they are based. The shaving of the eye-brows originated with Jam-

aluddin Savochi and is based on the texts "Am I not your Creator, they all said 'Thou art our Creator.'" The binding of the strap originated with either Belool or Meran Kheel or Hazrath Ali. The *lungutee* arose with Abdullah, the standard bearer, and is based on the text "They shall enter into it (the Heaven) for ever."

The *lung* arose with Khaja Uvis-i-Kharni and is based on the text "you will never reach virtue, unless you spend all of what you love." The ceremony of bathing arose with Khaja Hasan Basri and is based on the text "ye are to die and they are to die." The ceremony of wearing the cap and giving sherbut arose with the Prophet and they are based on the text "God is the light of the heavens and the earth" and "then gave them their Creator the purest wine" and so on. Every ceremony is traced to some saint and is supposed to be based on some text of the Quran.

The chief seat in this Presidency where the several bands of fakirs are organised is Penukondah, a Kusba town in the Anantapur District. Each year on the 1st day of Juma-di-us-Sani, the fakirs of all orders, Banava, Rafai, Madari, Malang and Shah Jalal congregate at this place and select their office-bearers to go on a two-year pilgrimage to the tombs of the Saints in the Presidency. The Banava order was founded by Ghulam Ali Shah of Delhi and is traced to the Saint Abdul Qadir Jeelani. The Rafai order was founded by Saiyid Ahmad Kabar Rafai, D. 756 A. H. and is traced to Khaja Junaid of Bagdad. The Madaris order was founded by Shah Budruddin Kutub-ul-Madar. He seems to have come from Syria and to have travelled over a large part of North India and made thousands of converts to Islam, D. 840. A. H. His order is traced to Tyfur of Syria—said to have been a desciple of Jesus Christ. The Jalalis order was founded by Saiyid Jalal Bokhari D. 699 A. H. They wear a sash and bear a horn of deer, and the seal of Nabuat on their shoulders. The selection of the chief of each of these orders was so long in the hands of the fakirs themselves. Now it appears that the *sujjada* of Penukondah has this selection taken in his own hands. The latter is said to be descended from a brother of the local saint Baba Fuquddin and has got nine villages attached to the tomb. Out of the proceeds of two of these he has to celebrate the annual festival. The *Sirguru* is the ruler of each order and has domination over all fakirs of his order in whatever part of the Presi-

dency. The *Sirguru* of Banavas must be a bachelor and must have some knowledge of Tasawuff (the Esoteric Philosophy of Islam). But very often he is a mere ignoramus. He has the power of drumming out or excommunicating a fakir from his order for breach of discipline.

Next in rank to *Sirgeru* is the *Bhandari*. He is the Prime Minister of the Order, collects and spends money in behalf of the band. He is the money-bag man and distributes the money-share of each fakir to him. Then comes the *upkari*. He looks after the cooking and meals; the *kutwal* has to look after discipline and to accompany the *Sirguru* in his itinerations. The *Nakeeb* has also to accompany and chant verses all along. Out of a collection of Rs. 100 (say) the *Sirguru* takes Rs. 5 and two shares, the *Bhandari* has no commission, but is entitled to 1½ shares, the *Upkari*, *Kutwal*, and *Nakeeb* each take 1½ shares and one share is allotted to each fakir in the rank and file. These bands go on their two-year-round in the Southern Presidency starting from Penukondah. The *sirguru* holds four *chouks* or *durbars*, viz., at Penukondah, Matarwangan, Trichinopoly, and Nagore.

At Penukondah there is the tomb of Baba Fuqrud-din. He is said to have been a king of Sistan a province of Persia and a disciple of Nathar Auliya (Muzheruddin), the saint of Trichinopoly.

On the 11th Jami II, the *sandal* ceremony is performed at Penukondah, on the 12th the *uras*; and on the 13th the *asas* (staves) are taken round. From Penukondah, visiting small tombs *en-route* and collecting their fixed *mamools*, the fakirs go to Matarwangan, 22 miles from Kolar. Here is the tomb of Haider Safdar, another disciple of Nathar Auliya of Trichinopoly. Some of the orders fall off from this place, the Banavas fakirs however proceed further. At times some of the remaining fakirs of the other orders select their fresh chiefs for the remaining journey. At Trichinopoly there are the tombs of Nathar Auliya and his two disciples Shumspurran and Shumsgoyan, Nathar Auliya is also said to have been a king who became a saint. From Trichinopoly they go to Nagore, where there is the tomb of Qadir Walli. The last stage of the journey is the tomb of Buddu Shahid near Pallavaram. These fakirs have their *mamools* in each place, *e.g.*, at Dindigul (at the tomb of Saidani Bi), the *mamool* is one dinner and Rs. 10. At the mosque of Tirumangalam, they get, Rs. 5;

at the Shivaganga mosque Rs. 30; at Tinnevely 5 day's meals and Rs. 150 and so on. A curious ceremony in connection with the four *Chouks* mentioned above is that they make the *Malang Sirguru* sit four-square, and tie raw thread round his toes, so that he is not to go even for the call of nature for 5 days at Penukondah and Matar Wangan and three days at Trichinopoly and Nagore; and then the fakirs tread on fire in his presence.

The *salaam* amongst these bands is not the ordinary Mussalman *salaam*. Amongst Banavas, it is "Love of God" Answer "Love to All." Amongst Malang and Madaris, it is "Hukk Alla Muhammad Madar" Answer "Dum Peer Shah Madar." Amongst the Rafais "Love of God." Answer "Love of Muhammad the Prophet." When the order is on the move, the *nakib* leads the band and calls out "Hush bar Dum," "Nazar-bar-Kadam" (*i.e.*, wakefulness on breath and eye on foot). These two are the terms of the Naksha-bundi-order. "Wakefulness on the breath" is akin to the Hindu Pranamaya. Each breath that goes up is said to voice forth, "Lala Ila" and the one that goes in "Il. Alla," "No God, except God," *i.e.*, in breathing out, they negative all existences, and in breathing in they acknowledge the only existence of God. "Eye on the foot," appears to be a fitting watchword in marching and has for its object the concentration of attention. Esoterically it is intended to put each man on his guard regarding the observance of the footsteps of the particular Prophet he may have chosen for his model.

KHAJA KHAN.

## THE SUGAR QUESTION.

THE purpose of this paper is to describe the sugar question as it exists at present. Sugar has now become the cheapest of all luxuries. It is considered as a necessary of life even by the poorest in almost all parts of the globe, but was a substance unknown to the classical nations of antiquity. Formerly chemists called everything sugar, which had a sweet taste, but the term, later on, came to be restricted to the sweet powers in vegetable and animal juices. Until 1619, only cane sugar was known as a pure substance, but, in 1747, a Berlin Apothecary, named Marggraf, made the important discovery that the sugars of the juices of beet, carrots, and certain other fleshy roots are identical with one another and with the sugar of cane.

Cane sugar was originally a product of Eastern Asia (Indo-China and the valley of the Ganges). The cane and the mode of extracting sugar from it, were introduced by the Arabs first into Egypt, and then, in the ninth century, into Crete, Sicily, and the other islands of the Mediterranean. Now, the cane is cultivated throughout the tropical, and many sub-tropical countries. In India, the production is three times as much as that of Cuba.

A few years before the nineteenth century, another Berlin Chemist, Achard, devised a method of extracting the sugar from beet; but the attempts were not commercially successful. Later on, great improvements were introduced in the method of extraction by the French, and since 1820 the manufacture of beet-sugar became a national industry in many countries in Europe.

The cultivation of sugar-cane is easier than its modern rival sugar-beet. Sugar-cane is a tall plant growing from ten to fifteen feet, and the stalks attain a thickness of an inch. The stalks are cut down yearly before flowering, but the root stock is perennial, and continues to throw up fresh shoots every year which are sufficiently remunerative for 30 years. Not only has sugar-cane this advantage over its modern rival sugar-beet, but it also surpasses the latter in the easy culture and in the amount of sugary juice obtained from a certain quantity of raw material as well in the relative amount of sugar capable of being got from the

juice. Sugar-cane cultivation demands hardly any attention, but beet suffers under the disadvantage of requiring very high cultivation. The plant must be replanted year by year. It, however, yields a refuse material of much higher value than sugar-cane, known as beet-pulp, which is used as fodder for cattle.

With respect to the competition between the two at the present day, the most important factor lies in the superiority of the methods and machinery employed in extracting sugar from beet. In the sugar-cane, a considerable quantity of juice is left in the cane after crushing.

I shall deal with the question of sugar as an article of commercial importance. During the past half a century, the cultivation of beet has speedily increased in Central Europe, Sugar is manufactured on a large scale in these countries, and are exported under a drawback of duty to the countries where cane-sugar is manufactured. This drawback serves as a bounty on sugar. Bounties, in fact, form the basis of the whole sugar industry in Europe. The International Conference held at Brussels in 1898, defines bounty as the advantage granted to manufacturers and refiners by governmental fiscal laws, and supported directly or indirectly by the State Treasury. The legislation on sugar in the different countries of Europe has the common features of (1) promoting production, (2) limiting home consumption, and (3) promoting foreign consumption. These results are obtained in France by premiums on production, granted in a direct and open way; in a disguised form in Belgium and Russia; by direct export bounties in Germany and Austria-Hungary; and by a production bounty in Holland.

The several conferences held to adopt a form of legislation on Sugar Regime, have, so far, proved abortive, except the Paris Conference of 1864. Those held in 1872 and 1873, resulted in nothing, as also the Brussels Conference of 1875. England attempted to convene one in 1880, but without success. The agitation in England against the premiums granted on sugar by the continental countries resulted in the London Conference of 1887-88, convened by Lord Salisbury. Germany, Austria, Belgium, Italy, but the representatives of Germany, Austria, Belgium, Italy, Netherlands and Russia signed on the 30th August, 1888, a convention, of which the leading clause is that "the high contracting parties bind themselves to take such measures as would

"entirely and absolutely guarantee that no premiums, direct or indirect, will be given to the manufacturer or exporter of sugar." These measures adopted to suppress bounties have not proved successful; another International Conference was held at Brussels from the 7th to the 25th of June 1898, to which France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Spain, Great Britain, Netherlands, Russia and Sweden had sent representatives. This Conference was dissolved without results owing to the opposition of French and Russian Governments, who, willing to abolish the direct bounties on export, declined to allow the internal legislation of both countries to be discussed. As the French Government was determined to maintain production premiums, which had been abandoned by Germany and Austria-Hungary, the Commissioners of the latter countries met in Paris in October, 1900, to come to an understanding with the French Government on a New International Conference. At this meeting, it was agreed by the three States to revive the Brussels Conference, which, in 1898, had to be adjourned as the various countries, which met in Brussels, could not agree. The tripartite arrangement concluded at Paris, provided for the total abolition of bounties on sugar by Germany and Austria-Hungary, whilst France was to be permitted to retain a portion of her indirect bounty, her direct export duty being entirely abolished.

The International Conference which met at Brussels in December, 1901, is, therefore, only a link of that of 1898; all the beet-sugar producing countries of Europe, except Russia, were represented at this Conference. Italy and Roumania, whose sugar industries have attained a flourishing condition, were also invited. As the United States were not represented at the last Conference, no invitation was issued to them.

The powers assembled at Brussels had agreed (a) to abolish all bounties direct or indirect on sugar, (b) to reduce the surtax (on imports) to 6 fr. per 100 kilos; (c) to check over-production until September 1, 1903, when the convention comes into force. England had undertaken not to grant any bounties to her own colonies during the term of the convention, nor to frame preferential tariffs in favor of British grown sugar.

This agreement is believed to result in the equalisation of the conditions of competition between cane and beet-sugar of different origin.

The task of the Conference would have been easy if there

had existed only direct bounties on export in the different countries of Europe. Besides the direct bounties, there exist in the three leading sugar-producing countries of France, Germany, and Austria-Hungary, indirect bounties, which, prior to the conference, were unknown to the outside world. In France, the excise on sugar is assessed on the weight of roots; this duty applies to a yield intentionally assumed too low; the sugar produced in excess of this yield is exempt from duty. In Germany and Austria-Hungary, the excise duty is levied partly on the roots, and partly on the sugar delivered for home consumption. In these two countries import duty on foreign raw sugar represents about 100 per cent. of the market value of sugar in bond. Both the mill owners and refiners have founded "Cartels," by which they are enabled to sell sugar in the national market at an extortionate margin of profit. Owing to these legislations, the producers have, not only the assurance of the sale of sugar in the home market at an artificially high price, but also, in consequence of the heavy surtax on importation, they are enabled to dispose of the excess of their production at prices much below the cost of production in the foreign market.

In view of the season at which sugar contracts were made, no date earlier than 1st September 1903, could be fixed for the operation of the convention. Therefore, in order to guard against the Indian markets being flooded with European bounty-fed sugar, within the time the Brussels convention comes into force, the Indian Government found it essential to levy a further countervailing duty to neutralise the effects of the 'Cartel' system. This new tax is about Rs. 2-13-9 per cwt. on German, and Rs. 3-3-9 per cwt. on Austro-Hungarian sugar.

Here should be mentioned the events which led to the modification of the Indian Tariff Act in 1899, owing to the heavy imports of bounty-fed beet-sugar, and the state of the sugar market since then to the present time.

On looking through the import schedule of the different ports in India, it is observed that sugar has enormously increased in import in the last 25 years. Until 1895, Mauritius supplied the bulk of India's demands. Sugar from China, Java and the Straits was also received. In 1894, when all articles of import were taxed in India, an import duty of 5 per cent. was levied on sugar. The planters of Mauritius declared that, owing to this duty, the importation of sugar from their colony would cease;

immediately thereafter, no considerable decline was observed in the sugar imports from Mauritius and Java although China and the Straits suffered a little. It was not this new tariff that proved an obstacle to the sugar planters and refiners of the above colonies to deal with India, but it was the production of beet-sugar at a diminishing cost in Germany and Austria-Hungary. The chief production of beet-sugar, the reduction of freight owing to the arrival of the direct German lines of Steamers in India, and the State aid given to the German and Austro-Hungarian manufacturers and refiners of sugar, have enabled these two States to place their production on the Indian markets at cheaper rates than Mauritius and Asiatic cane-sugar.

The cane-sugar refiners in the West Indies, Mauritius and India, seeing that it is absolutely impossible for them to compete with beet-sugar, sent representations to the Indian Government to take immediate action to check this unfair competition. Shortly before this, Germany and Austria were shut out from supplying sugar from the markets of the United States owing to the imposition of countervailing duties under the Dingley tariff. The heavy stock thus left in these two countries was shipped to India, and the Indian markets were supplied with a very heavy stock of continental sugar. In March 1899, the Government of India, therefore, found it necessary to impose countervailing duties to the extent of the bounty granted in the countries from where the sugar was exported. The imposition of duty was followed by a considerable decline in the imports of German and Austrian sugar, and a consequent increase in price for this article. The increase in price was partly accountable for the general rise in the level of prices for all articles, which took place about this time.

A few months later, the imports of sugar from Hamburg and Trieste, again resumed their original dimensions, thus the objects for which the countervailing duties were imposed were frustrated. There was, however, a slight reduction in the imports of German sugar, but its place was more than taken up by the Austrian production. This, probably, accounts for the superiority of the latter. It was a puzzle to specialists in this trade as to the course the market had taken. The investigations of the Brussels Conference placed beyond doubt the fact that the competition of the foreign sugar in Indian market, was due to the additional bounties enjoyed by the German and Austrian sugar

under the operations of the Cartel system. As the operation of the convention will come into effect only in September 1903, and as there seems to be a clear danger of the inundation of Indian markets in the meantime with foreign Cartel bounty-fed sugar, the Indian Government passed a legislation on 23rd May 1902, imposing extra duties on continental sugar to countervail the indirect bounties through the Cartel system. The duties came into force for all shipments on or after the above date. This date of imposition entails great hardship, and will probably cause ruin among many native dealers throughout India. If the dealers had any idea of the imposition of this extra duty, they would have refrained from making forward contracts. The loss to these dealers would be about Rs. 21 per cwt. which means ruin to many of them.

The bill, however, greatly benefits the Indian sugar producers and refiners. The Viceroy's advice with regard to the improvements to be carried out in the methods of production and refinement of Indian sugar, if carried into effect, will enable India to compete with any of the sugar-producing countries of the world.

C. GOPAL MENON.

## THE CHOLA ASCENDANCY IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

### THE CHOLA GENEALOGY FROM VIJAYALYA THE FOUNDER TO RAJARAJA III.

(Cir. 900 TO 1243 A. D.)

I. Vijayalya.

II. Aditya I.

III. Parantaka I, Ko-Parakesari Varman, Viranarayana.  
(Cir. 900—940 A.D.)

IV. Rajaditya. V. Gandaradityan. VI. Arinjaya or Arjunadeva.  
IX. Madhurantaka. VII. Parantaka II alias Rajendra

VIII. Aditya II alias Karikala. Kundavaiyar, M. Pallava King Vandyadevar. X. Rajaraja alias Rajakesarivarman, Rajasrya and Mudikonda Chola, (985—1016 A.D.)

XI. Rajendra Chola, alias Ko-Parakesari Varman, Madhurantaka, Gangaikonda Chola, (1011—1032 A.D. at least). Kundavaiyar M. East. Chalukya King Vimaladitya. XII. Rajadhiraja alias Jayankonda Chola, (1018—1052 A.D.) XIII. Rajendra alias Parakesari Varman, Rajendra Choladeva, (Cir. 1050—1062). Ammangadevi M. Vishnuvardhana VII.

XIV. Ragamahendra. (Cir. 1062—1064 A. D.) XV. Virarajendra alias Rajakesari Varman. (Cir. 1064—1079 A. D.) XVI. Adhirajaraja (Cir. 1069—1070 H. D.) A daughter M. West Chalukya Vikramaditya VI (1076—1126 A. D.) XVII. Rajendra Choladeva alias Kulottunga Choladeva I (1070—1118 A. D.) XVIII. Vikrama Chola (1118—1132 A. D.) XIX. Kulottunga Chola II.

XX. Rajaraja II. XXI. Tribhuvana Vira Kulottunga III (1178—1211 A. D.) XXII. Tribhuvanachakravartin Rajaraja III (1216—1243 A. D.) and Tribhuvanachakravartin Rajendra Chola.

- (1) The Roman Nos. before names indicate order of succession.  
(2) Since writing the above Prof. Kielhorn's astronomical calculations give the following initial dates for the Kings mentioned below :—  
Rajaraja I. between 25th June and 25th July 985 A.D.  
Rajendra Chola between 26th November 1011 and 7th July 1012 A.D.  
Rajadhiraya between 15th March and 3rd December 1018 A.D.  
Rajendra between 28th May 1052 A.D.  
Veerarajendra between 11th September 1062 A.D. and 10th September 1063 A.D.  
Kulottunga I. between 14th March and 8th October 1070 A.D.  
Vikrama Chola, the 29th June 1118 A.D.  
Kulottunga Chola III. between 8th June and 8th July 1178 A.D.  
Rajaraja III. between 17th March and 13th August 1216 A.D.

## THE CHOLA ASCENDANCY IN SOUTHERN INDIA. 301

MUCH of the information contained in the following paper will be found scattered through the volumes of South Indian Inscriptions published by Dr. Hultzsch. Not to encumber the paper with too many foot-notes, references to these volumes have been given up. It is only where other sources of information are availed of that occasional references to authorities are given. Except in one or two instances this paper merely summarises the results of epigraphical research. Time and circumstances permitting, the writer hopes to supply on a future occasion something of the flesh and blood to make these dry bones of History more presentable.

Whatever was the condition of South India before the time of Samudragupta, about the middle of the fifth century of the Christian Era, it had thence been an ever-shifting mosaic of States of varying extent and power. These States were often at war with one another either singly or in combination and in consequence, now the one state and then another achieved a pre-dominance only to sink into a secondary position in a Century or two, perhaps to rise again. We find three great powers contending for supremacy in India when the Chinese traveller Hsien Tshang was touring through the country. These were Harashavardhana or Siladitya II of Kanouj in Hindustan; Pulikesan, II in Mid-India; and Narasimhavarmman Pallava of Kanchi. The former two powers often fought in Central India with varying success, while the latter two were engaged again and again in wars so much so that once the Pallavas under Narasimhavarmman I had burnt the Chalukya capital of Badami and left their dominions without a ruler for thirteen years after Pulikesan II. Of these two powers, the western Chalukyas were overthrown by the Rashtrakutas or Rattas about the middle of the eighth century to rise again into power after suffering eclipse for a couple of centuries. The Pallavas were overthrown perhaps a century later, but never to rise again. The decline of the Pallavas brings the Cholas into prominence in South India and what follows is a mere outline of what is known of this dynasty.

At this time of History South India was thus divided politically :—The Rattas were ruling, from their capital at Malkhed in the Nizam's Dominions, an extensive territory embracing what are now the Southern and Central divisions of the Bombay Presidency with a part of Mysore. East of this power and on either side of the Eastern Ghats were the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi



with their capital at Rajamahendry. Immediately South of Vengi was the Pallava territory now under the Cholas and West of this was the territory of the Ganga Kings of Mysore with their capitals at Kolar and Talakâd. South of the Gangas again were the Chêras whose territory touched the Sea on the West and whose capital city was Karur (on the West Coast). South and West of the Cholas were the Pandyas and the Kêralas; and East of the former the people of Iam or Ceylon. Thus surrounded the Cholas ruled from their capital at Kori or Uriayur what was properly the Chola country and much of the Pallava country.

The Cholas were, perhaps, in existence in the days of the Mahâbhârata, but they were a power with whom Emperor Asoka entered into a friendly treaty much as he did with the Greek Rulers of the West. Kerala, Chola, Pandya and Ceylon were the four Southern powers friendly to him. The Samudragupta Pillar Inscription does not mention the Cholas as a power, because the Inscription professes to name only such powers of the South as were conquered and released by Samudragupta although even this cannot, perhaps, be literally interpreted. This brings us to the sixth century of the Christian Era when the Pallavas were in the ascendant in South India. During the period of the Pallava ascendancy the Cholas appear to have played a minor part in History and their fall brings them into prominence for which we find them prepared. The authentic History of the Cholas begins from then, so far as we know at present.

At the outset, we are beset with the difficulty common to all early History of conflicting statements among the authorities available for the period. These, so far as the Cholas are concerned, are most of them later works written during the reigns of later Sovereigns; and it is no wonder that the accounts given of the early Cholas differ materially.

Setting aside the mythological ancestors of the Cholas, the offspring of later imagination with Pauranic help, we have to dispose of four names, *viz.*, Chola, Kôkilli, Karikâla, and Kôchin-gan. That the first is not a historical character does not admit of doubt as this eponymous hero is not peculiar to the Cholas alone. Such names are found to be the connecting link between the Pauranic and historical ancestors of Indian Rulers is proved in the case of several Indian Dynasties.\* Perhaps in this case it had been put in to explain the surname of the Rulers. The remaining three keep a hold in popular tradition and it is quite

\* The Guptas, the Vallabhas, and the Western Chalukyas.

possible that they were ancient Chola Rulers. Of these, Karikâla the hero of the two poems Pattinappalai and Pprunarâruppadai is reputed to have built embankments on the Kaveri River and even the story goes that he used coins of leather to pay the labourers, in consequence of which there was a dust-storm which brought destruction upon his territory. The next Kôchengan is one of the sixty-three Sivite devotees and the hero of Kalavali by Poygaiyar. He is stated to have paid a visit to the Tirunarayur temple in the Nalayiraprabandham which further says, as does the Kalavali, that he defeated a Chêra King, and that he built seventy temples dedicated to God Siva. Except such references as we find in Tamil literature on the strength of which the Hon. Mr. Kumaraswami of Ceylon would place Karikâla in the first century of the Christian Era, we know nothing of these personages.

Passing over these ancient Rulers, we come upon *terra firma* of fact when we begin with Vijayalaya, the founder of the dynasty which achieved so much distinction in the centuries following 900 A.D. Of Vijayalaya and his son Aditya \* nothing more than the name is given and this is just as it is in the case of other dynasties. The truth seems to be that as soon as a person achieved distinction he gave his name and those of his ancestors for two generations as is necessary in all Hindu documents, thus giving us two names before that of the distinguished personage. So we would not be far wrong if we regard Parantaka I as really the founder of the Chola power on the extinction of that of the Pallavas of Kanchi. Perhaps, the Cholas fell from the high estate, to which the ancient Kings had brought them, on the rise of the Pallavas and were restored to their former splendour by Parantaka I. This seems to be the more reasonable view of the case than dismissing the ancient Kings as fictitious merely on the ground of later writers ascribing mythical achievements to them. There are besides a few inscriptions of Parakesarivarman and Rajakesarivarman which are ascribed to predecessors of Parantaka I on paleographical grounds. If this is fact, it would then refer to a line of rulers before Parantaka, perhaps not his own ancestors in the direct line. Be this as it may, Chola's greatness begins with Parantaka I, and we derive a good deal of reliable information concerning him and his successors from epigraphical sources alone.

\* The kongu Chronicle ascribes to this Aditya, the son of Vijayalaya, the conquest of the Chêras. J.R.A.S., Vol. VIII and Madras Journal of Literature and Science, Vol. XIV.

Parantaka I (900—940 A.D.):—The period of this King has been fixed from a consideration of the known dates of some of his successors among whom his son Rajaditya lost his life in battle against the Western Ganga King Butuga II, a feudatory of the Ratta Krishna III (940—956 A.D.) and his great grandson Rajaraja I (984—1016 A.D.). He ruled, from his capital at Uraiyur or Kori near Trichinopoly, over the Chola and Tonda mandalams as the inscriptions, as yet published of his time, are found in the Pallava country. He married a Kerala Princess and was known by the titles Koparakesarivarman, Madhurantaka and Viranarayana. He is credited with having defeated in succession two Bara kings (known also Mahavalis) with their capital probably at Vanapuram near Tiruvallur in the North Arcot District. The territory thus acquired, he conferred upon the Ganga-Bass-King Prithvipathi Hastimalla, son of Marasimha I. He conquered besides a Vaitumba king, the Pandya Rajasimha (hence the title Madhurantaka) and the king of Ceylon (hence the birudu Sangrama Raghava). He guilded, or, at least, renewed the guilding of the hall in the temple of Chidambaram (Vyagrâgrahâra). † During a long reign of 40 years he brought the Chola power to a pitch of eminence which brought down upon his successors all the might of the Rashtrakuta emperor Krishna III who invaded the Chola territory after Parantaka's death.

His eldest son Rajaditya, who succeeded Parantaka, marched northwards to the frontiers of the Ganga territory before the enemy set foot upon Chola soil. After offering a resistance quite worthy of his purpose, he fell in battle at Takkolam (a victim to the treachery of Butuga II) ‡ in the North Arcot District before 949 A.D., Butuga II claiming credit with Krishna III for this defeat and death of the Chola King. It was after this disaster to the Chola arms that Krishna III § invaded Chola territory and invested Kanchi and Tanjore, which latter perhaps, had already become one of the capital towns of the Chola, though not the capital as yet.

Rajaditya was succeeded by his younger brother Gandaradityan who has left behind him a town he founded and the 5th of the Tiruvisaippah, a Sivitic devotional work. In this, he calls

\* Prof. Kielhorn's recent calculations give the equivalent of the 40th years of Parantaka, as either 919 A.D. or 945 A.D.

† Large Leyden Grant. Arch. Survey of South India, Vol. IV., p. 217.

‡ Atakur Grant in the Bangalore Museum. Ep. Indian, Vol. VI.

§ Epi. Indica, Vol. III., pp. 282-283.

himself king of Tanjore perhaps because he had shifted his capital to Tanjore. He left behind him a son Madhurantaka II who was perhaps an infant and was succeeded by his younger brother Arimjaya or Arjunadeva. His son was Parantaka II whose single achievement, we know, was a battle at Chevir (not yet identified). His son was the great Rajaraja. From the death of Parantaka I to the death of his namesake Parantaka II, the Cholas had done all they could do to stand the onsets of the Rashtrakutas. Before the accession of Rajaraja, however, there was a turn in the tide and the Rashtrakutas had to grapple with difficulties at home which threatened their very existence. This dynasty was overthrown by Taila II (973—74 to 996—97 A.D.), the founder of the house of the western Chalukyas of Kalyani. This misfortune to the Rashtrakutas, energetically seconded by the efforts of the Cholas themselves, made the latter the chief power in South India up to 1200 A.D. at least.

Parantaka II was succeeded by his eldest son Aditya II \* Koparakesarivarmen, Karikala; whose single exploit was his killing Vira Pandya, in youth. After him ruled Madhurantaka II, son of Gandaraditya, who was in turn succeeded by Rajaraja I.

Rajakesarivarman, Rajaraja, Rajasriya and Mummudi Chola began his career in 985 A.D., as settled on astronomical grounds by Prof. Kielhorn. † He was the greatest ruler of this dynasty and well he deserves the distinction. An inscription of his 7th year ascribes to him no great achievement. It is, probably, after this date that he began his career of conquests by the destruction of the Chera fleet in the roads of Kândalur (probably on the West Coast). And by the 14th year of his reign, he had effected the conquests of the following places:—Vengi, the kingdom of the Eastern Chalukyas, north of the Pallava territory. Here was an interregnum of 27 years in Vengi ending 1003 A.D. This and the marriage of Vimaladitya, the second ruler after the interregnum, with Kundavvai, the daughter of Rajaraja, make the conquest quite probable. The next place conquered is Gangapadi 96,000, Southern Mysore, which was under the Ganga rulers during the reigns of the successors of Parantaka, whose feudatory Prithivipathi was. They appear to have changed their allegiance to the Rattas under Krishna III in consequence of which Rajaraja might have attacked and brought them under his rule, the more

\* According to the Kongu chronicle referred to before, this was the ruler who cut out the irrigation channels from the Cavéry.

† Epigraphic Indica, Vol. IV., p. 66.

so as their supporters the Rashtrakutas were, about this time overthrown. The next conquests were Kudamalai Nad or Coorg; Kollam or Quilon in Travancore. He had by now overcome the Pandyas and assumed the title of Mummudi Chola, "Chola of the three Crowns." By the 16th year, Kalingam (the northernmost part of the Madras Presidency and part of Orissa) was conquered and by the 20th year Ilam (Ceylon). Between the 21st and 25th years he had conquered, according to his inscriptions, the Ratta 7½ lac Country. His career of conquests now came to an end about 1001 A.D., and the remaining fifteen years of his life, he spent in peace having had at least one son Rajendra Chola, created Yuvaraja in 1011 A.D. to continue his conquests and to administer the most important frontier province during the lifetime of his father. With respect to the above conquests of Rajaraja it must be said that Rattapadi was never conquered by the Cholas. Along with them must be grouped the Pandyas, the Keralas and the kings of Ceylon. There were several expeditions led into the territories of these powers and several battles fought. Perhaps they were on many occasions defeated and even lost their lives, but were never brought altogether under the rule of the Cholas. This much is certain, however, that Rajaraja fought with the Western Chalukya ruler of Rattapadi by name Satyasrya, and each of the rulers claims to have won a victory over the other. Leaving aside these outlying kingdoms of doubtful allegiance, if ever they owed allegiance to the Chola, the Chola territory proper may be thus described. Beginning from the Yedatore Taluq of Mysore, if a line be drawn first to the Tungabhadra and the line be continued along the course of this river till it falls into the Krishna and then follow the latter to the sea, we have the Northern boundary of the Chola kingdom. Extending the same line Westwards to the Western Ghats and then descending South along the Western Ghats we have the Western boundary except perhaps that the Chola territory touched the sea through the hollow of the Palghat gap. South of this, the boundary line varied according to the fortunes of war and the character of the ruler at headquarters—sometimes the enemies were driven into the interior of their territories, at other times venturing forward even into the Chola territory proper as the sequel will show. Ceylon was wavering in allegiance till near the end of the reign of Rajendra Chola when he conquered Kedaram in the Ramnad Zamindari and thus secured a naval base against Ceylon. Raja-

raja was the ruler who made Tanjore the Capital of the Empire, built the great temple there and provided it with everything on a scale of magnificence not known before. Tanjore must have been already a capital city in the days before Rajaraja, as Krishua III invested it along with Kanchi, and as Gandaradityan calls himself king of Tanjore. Having built the temple early in his reign, Rajaraja caused to be inscribed on stone, in the 26th year of his reign, all the grants made to the temple from the day of its consecration, by himself, his elder sister the Pallava Queen residing in Tanjore, and his own queens. This example was followed by his successors and these inscriptions are the source of the knowledge we have of the Cholas.

Rajaraja was succeeded by his son Rajendra Chola who was already installed in 1011 A.D. He ruled up to 1042 A.D. at least, as we have a grant of his dated in the 31st year of his reign. Early in his life he seems to have seconded with energy the efforts of his father to extend the Empire, and the conquest of Gangapadi seems to be all due to him, as many of the inscriptions give him the title Gangaikonda Chola. He was the first ruler to reside in the Gangaikonda Cholapuram and he must, therefore, have built that city. From inscriptions of his sixth year it is clear that he was already engaged in war, as he is there said to have conquered Yedatore Nâd, Vanavasi, Killippakkai, and Mannaikadukam. Yedatore in the Mysore District is the Banavasi frontier of Rattapadi, Banavasi or Vanavasi is the province of that name in Rattapadi embracing the North-West part of Mysore; Kollippakai is one of the capitals of the Rattas, perhaps on the same frontier. Mannaikadutam is the Ganga frontier fortress in the Nelamangala Taluq of the Bangalore District. These four places indicate the frontier line between the Rattas and the Cholas where they had been constantly at war all through the period when the two dynasties were in existence. Before the tenth year of his reign he claims to have defeated the Chalukya Jayasimha II at Musangi or Muyangi (identified with Uchchengi). The same Jayasimha II \* claims a victory over the Chola, and in 1024 A.D. makes a grant of a village in Yedatore Nâd 2,000, which is the bone of contention between the two potentates. It is impossible, therefore, to believe in the conquest of Rattapadi by the Cholas. The two powers had constantly been at war often on the banks of the Tungabhadra and occasionally on the frontier between

\* Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Pt. M, p. 436.

Gangapadi and the Chola territory. Of Rajendra's other conquests there are the usual Pandya (giving him the title Madhurantaka) Ilam or Ceylon, Kerala and many other "ancient lands." By the 9th year of his reign he had conquered in addition Santimat Island on the West Coast. By the 12th year, he had conquered "the high mountains of Navanedhikula, Chakragottam belonging to Vikrama Vira; Namanaikouam; Panchapalli belonging to Venjilai Vira; Masunidesam after defeating Dhīrarata of the lunar race at Adinagar; Odda Vishaya (Orissa); Kosalanād (the Southern Kosala embracing the upper valley of the Mahanadi); Dandabhukti after defeating and destroying Dharmapala in battle; Dakshina Latam (Southern Guzerat) from Ranastira; Vengaladesam (Bengal) from Govindachandra; defeated Mahipala of Sungakottam on the sea; Uttara Latam (Northern Guzerat.)" How much of this tale is true is hard to decide, but that there is much exaggeration in this does not admit of doubt. Rajendra Chola's daughter Ammangadevi was married to the Eastern Chalukya Rajaraja already perhaps his sister's son. This makes it possible for Rajendra to go as far North as Kalinga and even Orissa. This expedition ought to have been undertaken during the life-time of his father who was living till the 15th year of Rajendra. If Kalingam had been conquered by Rajaraja, his son might have advanced a little further. As to his conquests of the Central Indian States, Bengal and Guzerat, we can only say that the Panegyrist is responsible. By the 19th year of his reign, he had added to his dominions in another quarter. This was the conquest of Kedāram and other places adjoining it in the Ramnad Zamindari of the present day, after a naval victory over Sangrama-Vijayōttungavarman, son of Māravijayōttungavarman. He thus acquired in Kedaram, presumably on the sea-coast, a naval base on the continent to hold Ilam in check.

Taking away from his conquests, all that appears to us improbable, his dominions still embraced a vast extent of territory with a long line of frontier liable to the attacks of his enemies. Having in parts rectified the frontiers bequeathed to him by his father, his territory embraced much of what is now the Madras Presidency with parts of Mysore included in it, though perhaps Travancore and the extreme South were never brought under Chola rule. The ground was prepared and the seed of empire was sown by Parantaka I, and the seedling had to stand wind and weather under his immediate successors, be-

coming under Rajaraja and his worthy son, a hardy plant, the vigorous growth of which was thus ensured by the weeding out of their enemies. This Chola power was to last, unharmed in spite of internal dissensions, till the rise of the Hoysalas just at the meeting place of the Chola and Ratta (or Chalukya) frontiers, chiefly through the energy displayed by a long line of rulers who succeeded Rajendra.

Rajendra was succeeded by Rajadhiraja who ruled from 1018 A.D. to 1052 A.D. That Rajadhiraja and his immediate successor Rajendra were brothers is admitted on all hands, and Mr. Rice regards these two evidently as brothers again of Rajendra Chola; but he does not assign any reason for the view he takes.\* From the statement made as to the break of succession by the death of Rajendra (by mistake for Rajadhiraja) in the battle of Koppam, it would appear that these two brothers were the sons of their predecessor as otherwise the succession need not be considered as having ceased in the regular line. The two brothers succeeded Rajendra one after another. Rajadhiraja had an uncle (a younger brother of his father) and an elder brother; and that he succeeded Rajendra Chola in 1018 while yet the latter was alive would confirm the view he was the son of his predecessor. Of this ruler a Western Chalukya inscription at Annigere in the Darwar District of 1071 A.D. states that "the wicked Chola who had abandoned the religious observances of his family, penetrated into the Beluvola country and burned the Jaina temples which Ganga Perumānadi, the lord of Ganga-mandala while governing Beluvola, had built in Annigere nād," and that "the Chola eventually yielded his head to Somesvara I in battle, and thus losing his life broke the succession of his family." This quotation shows that the Chola conquest of the Ganga country is no mere idle boast; that the Gangas who had become the feudatories of the Western Chalukyas did not acquiesce in the conquest; and that at one time, at least, the Cholas carried fire and sword through the Southern part of the Ratta country. Rajadhiraja, wherever he was engaged before, had to use all his energies in keeping his frontiers quiet as soon as he became independent ruler after 1032 A.D. There seems to have been a general tendency to throw off the yoke on the part of their subject allies. He began his reign by conferring upon his uncle, elder brother, and four of his younger brothers the

\* Epi: Carnataka, Vol. IV, p. 31, Introduction.

dignities of rulers over the Cheras, the Chalukyas, the Pallavas, the Gangas, the Pandyas and the people of Lanka. These were perhaps so many provinces which carried along with them the responsibility of Lords of the Marches. As to the Lord of Kanouj it is only a title, perhaps taken from the victory over a king of Ceylon, who is reputed to have come from Kanouj. This done he marched upon his enemies in succession taking the easiest first and meting out exemplary punishment to the traitors. He attacked the three allied Pandyas, one of whom fell in battle, another suffered decapitation by an elephant and the third had to flee the country to Mullaiyur. He destroyed one of the kings of Vēnad or Travancore and wearing the garland of Vanji (symbolical of his going to war) put to flight the Chera king and won a naval victory in the roads of Kandalur.

He next turned his attention to the Chalukya frontier and this time acted through his general Kēvudan. The Chalukyas had to retreat under the princes Vikramaditya, Vijayaditya and Jayasinha leaving the two generals Gandappaiyan and Gangadaran dead. The victorious Cholas took advantage of this victory, pressed on the retreating force and set fire to Kollippakkai, one of the Chalukya capitals. Having disposed of his other enemies, he could now turn to Ceylon where four successive rulers suffered disgrace and death at his hands. They were Vikramabahu, Vikrama Pandu, Virasālumegan and Srivallabha Madanarajan. Since the Mahavamso concedes these victories over the Ceylon Kings, Rajādhiraja may be credited with these achievements. On his return from Ceylon, he defeated in an expedition Northward, Gandadinakaran, Nāranan, Ganapathi and Madhusūdanan before entering Chalukya dominions and destroying their gardens and palaces at Kampili. Collecting the tributes from one and all of these powers without remission and collecting his sixth share of the produce, he could well assume the title of Jayamkonda Chola and enjoy a brief respite before he lost his life in the battle of Koppam on the Tungabhadra, which would better suit the circumstances of the case than Koppam on the Palar. This tale of the conquests of Rajadhiraja shows that but for his energetic action the empire built by his two predecessors would have gone to pieces. He brought all the revolted provinces back to their allegiance and handed the empire down intact, but it was even now that we find among the feudatories of the Chalukya Somesvara I the name of the Hoysala Vinayaditya

in whose line is to be born Virasomesvara who is to play the rôle of protector of the Cholas when their empire was fast crumbling through internecine dissensions and the onsets of the Pandyas. But we are anticipating. Rajadhiraja was succeeded by his younger brother Rajendra who was present at, and played a prominent part in, the battle of Koppam where his brother fell. The earliest of his inscriptions, that of his third year, mentions his achievement at the battle and so his reign could not have begun much earlier. This does not debar his having been associated with his brother in his career of conquest. An inscription at Heggadedevanakotte in the Mysore District couples Saka 984 with the 12th year of Rajendra's; this would give Saka 972 or 1050 A.D. for the commencement of his reign, and this date may be taken as the year of the battle of Koppam. Rajendra then ruled between 1050 and at least 1062 A.D.\* His chief achievement is the restoration of the fortunes of the Cholas in the battle of Koppam which proves to be the turn in the tide of the Chola conquest. Perhaps already trouble was brewing at home, and there might have been others who would have contested the succession. His other achievements are a reconquest of Ceylon, but certain discrepancies in the names of the conquered Ceylon rulers would lead one to suppose that the achievements of Rajendra might have been only what he did perhaps on behalf of his brother Rajadhiraja. That he was in Ceylon is borne out by inscriptions of his reign being found there. Rajendra is credited with the erecting of a Pillar of victory at Kollapuram † (the modern Kolhapur). His daughter Madhurantaki was married to the Eastern Chalukya Rajendra Chola who on his accession to the Chola throne assumed the title of Kulottunga Chola Deva.

Rajendra Deva was succeeded by Rajamāhendra of whose reign nothing is said except that he dispensed justice even better than Manu.\* We have so far only an inscription of the second year of his reign. He was succeeded by Virarajendra whose reign must have come to an end before 1070 A.D. There is, at present, nothing that would make the relationship of these two rulers to their predecessors clear. What is known of them goes to prove that these were not of the same family. Virarajendra must have ruled, at least, seven years as there is an inscription of his 7th year; and even allowing that his son was

\* According to Prof. Kielhorn Rajendra's reign began in 1052 A.D.  
† No. 115 H. G. vol. IV. Ep. Carnataca.

installed during his life time as was the practice among the Cholas, he must have begun to rule, at least in 1063 A.D. So Dr. Fleet's Annigere grant of Somesvara<sup>\*I</sup> dated 1071 A.D. will have to be explained otherwise. It may be a later record of an earlier grant made on the return of Somesvara from the battle of Koppam.\* Virarajendra is said to have fought with Ahavamalla Somesvara and this must have taken place before 1068 A.D. when Somesvara I died. Then he took part in the dissensions among his sons Somesvara II and Vikramaditya VI before his own death in 1070 A.D.

Virarajendra began his career of conquest by the defeat of the Keralas at Udagai and by defeating the Pandyas and other chiefs of Gangapadi, Driving back the Chálukyas who had occupied Gangapadi and Nolambapadi across the Tungahbadra he inflicted on them a defeat at Kudal Sangaman (the junction of the Tungahbadra with the Krishna.) This must have taken place when Somesvara I was still alive; for, when next he appeared there, he transacted business of a very different character. At the instance of the Chalukya Prince Vikramaditya who brought him there to parley under the guise of a challenge, he entered into a treaty with Vikramaditya who married his daughter in ratification of the treaty. Vikramaditya had already formed the plan of overthrowing his elder brother Somesvara II and was moving about his brother's dominions to gauge the temper of the Mahamandalesvaras anent his usurpation, though Bilhana gives altogether a different version in the Vikramarkadevacharitra. Virarajendra's inscriptions clearly indicate that he crowned Vikramaditya, at least so far as he could do it. Virarajendra then led an expedition into Vengainad and having conquered it after defeating the enemy at Visayávari (Bezгада) appointed Vikramaditya's brother Vijayaditya as viceroy over Vengaimandala. These acts of Virarajendra show clearly a complete reversal of the traditional foreign policy of the Cholas, who had been friendly to the Eastern and hostile to the Western Chalukyas. On Virarajendra's return to his dominion, after subjugating Kalingam and Chakragotta, he moved towards the capital Gangaikonda Cholapuram where he died. Vikramaditya now interfered and

\* In H. G. 115. This is said to be done in conjunction with his brother before the battle of Koppam.

This must have been fought according to Prof. Kielhorn early in 1052. (99-100) Rep. Sec 20. See No. 21. Vol. III Pt. I South Ind. Inscriptions. (1899-900) Rep. page 10, Sec. 22.

helped to place his brother-in-law on the throne. This coupled with Virarajendra's policy towards Vengi brought down upon Adhirajaraja, Rajendra Chola Deva of Vengi who had entered into an alliance with Somesvara II as a counterpoise to the union between Vikramaditya and Virarajendra. Rajendra Chola, the son-in-law of Rajendra, ascended the throne of the Chola Mandala as Kulothunga Chola Deva, after overthrowing Adhirajaraja the "Mannar Mannavan" of the Kalingattu Parani. Vikramaditya VI overthrew his brother Somesvara II and ascended the throne at Kalyani shortly after and the normal position of international relations was restored.

Succeeding to the rule of Vengi in 1063 A.D. Kulothunga acquired the Chola kingdom in 1070 A.D. and ruled the Chola country to at least 1118 A.D. His long reign of near 50 years was essentially a peaceful régime. He governed Vengi through his viceroys who were in succession his uncle Vijayaditya and his younger sons Rajaraja II and Vira Chola. As heir-apparent he is credited with the conquest of Chakragotta from the king of Dhara and with seizing the Dhara elephant Vajrákara. That he conquered (rather reconquered) Kalinga also does not admit of doubt as there are inscriptions of his at Sinhallem in the Kalinga territory. It is this achievement through his general Karunakara Tondaiman that forms the subject of the poem Kalingattu Parani. His next achievements were against the Pandyas and the Keralas and in this connection he is said to have planted colonies in the agricultural parts along the road to Kottaru in Travancore territory near Cape Comorin "to strike terror into the hearts of the enemies and keep a firm hold on the conquered territories." He is said to have beaten back an invasion of the Chola territory by the feudatories of the Chalukya Vikramaditya, but it is one of these feudatories Vishnuvardhana Hoysala in 1117, the year before the last known of Kulothunga Deva, drove the Chola feudatory Adiyaman across the Kavery and captured Talakad. Thus Gangapadi, the Mysore territory of the Cholas from the days Rajaraja I, was lost not to be recovered again. Excepting this, the Empire passed on to his son and successor Vikrama Chola (1118-1132 A.D.) Vikrama Chola's first achievements were a victory he won over the Telunga Bhima of Kolanu (Ellore on the Kollair lake) and the burning of Kalingam. This latter perhaps is only the conquest of his father transferred to the son. He was in Vengi like his father before going to the Chola Mandalam. On his

accession "the Seriyas (the Pandyas) entered the jungles; the Cheralas (the Cheras) entered the sea; Simhālas (the Ceylonese) were afraid; the Gangas paid tribute; the Kannadas turned their backs; the Kongus retreated; the Konkanas fled; and the kings of other regions worshipped him." He is the hero of the Vikrama Cholan Ula. He was succeeded by his son Kulottunga Chola II, whose successor appears to be Rajaraja II from a consideration of certain names occurring in inscriptions of Kulottunga II and Rajaraja II on the one hand; and Rajaraja II and Kulottunga III on the other. So the two predecessors of Kulottunga III must have ruled in succession between the years 1032 and 1178 A.D.\* when he came to the throne. From the last years of the reign of Kulottunga I, the Cholas appear to have acquiesced in the conquest of Gangapadi 96,000, for the Hoysalas by their general Gangaraja before 1117 A.D. In the years succeeding this the Hoysalas had all they could do to make themselves independent of their liege lords, the Western Chalukyas of Kalyani. The rise of this power between the Cholas and the Chalukyas for a time did away with the contests of these powers, while the Hoysalas could not as yet assume the aggressive in their turn. So the Cholas were undisturbed on this frontier. It was under these circumstances that the last powerful Chola ascended the throne in 1178 A.D. and ruled till 1217 A.D. He is credited with the conquests of Ilam, Madhura and Karuvur. His territories extended to, at least, as far North as Nellore. It was either during his reign or during that of his successor that the Chola power declined. At any rate, during the reign of his successor Rajaraja III, the Chola country became the battle-ground of contending powers for supremacy, just as, in the period immediately preceding, the Mysore country was.

Kulottunga's reign is synchronous with the Kalacharya usurpation of the Empire of the Chalukyas. Taking advantage of the revolt of the Hoysalas and the Yadavas on the one side and the defeat of the Chalukyas by the Kâkatiyas on the other, the Kalachuri Bijjala completed his usurpation about 1162 A.D. This led to opposition from the other Mahamandalesvaras of whom one at least, Brahma or Bamma, restored the last Chalukya Somesvara IV to power once again after the death of Bijjala.

This was all to the advantage of the Bellalas who, under Vira Bellala II, claimed about 1190 A.D. to have defeated Bamma

\* Rep. Sec. 23.

and acquired some territory. Coupled with the encroachments of the Yadavas, the growth of Hoysala power, drove Somesvara IV, into the North-Western part of his dominions, and nothing further is known about him. Just about this time the Pandyas had had time to develop their resources and strike in for their own share of the disintegrating Chola dominions. The only other element requisite to complete the destruction of the Chola power, was incompetence of the ruler for the time being, and civil discord in consequence. Rajaraja III's accession in 1216 A.D. supplies the want to a degree. Rajendra Chola Deva claims to be Chola ruler about the same time and the transactions of the feudatories among themselves show the anarchical condition of the Chola dominions. Offensive and defensive alliances among Chola feudatories, are unmistakable signs of anarchy. This internal weakness was taken advantage of by the Pandya king Maravarman Sundara, who restores the Pandyas to their original position which lasted till they were overthrown by the Muhamadaus. The Kâkatiyas were pressing on the Chola frontier in the North. In this predicament the Cholas were not loath to seek help wherever available. The Hoysalas intervened against the Pandyas, first Narasimha II, and then Vira Somesvara who established himself near Kannanur on the island of Srirangam. Even the Telugu-Choda chief Tikka was invited into alliance to avert the occupation of Kanchi by the Kâkatiyas.

"It were long to tell and sad to trace,  
Each step from ruin to disgrace."

Thus ended the power of the Cholas which was founded by Parantaka I, and which reached its grand climacteric under Rajaraja the great and his immediate successors.

S. KRISHNASWAMI AYYENGAR.



## THE TRAVANCORE HINDU RELIGIOUS ENDOWMENTS BILL.

A LEGISLATIVE measure, which is of considerable interest to the people of British India, is now pending before the Legislative Council of Travancore. Its author is a well-known official of that State, Mr. V. Nagam Aiya, who has attained the summit of official life, being next in rank only to the Dewan. He is, we believe, a Travancorean by birth; has had his education in the State; and has long been one of the most conspicuous officers of the Maharajah. His knowledge of the country and his sympathy for the people must necessarily be such as would entitle him to be heard with respect on such a delicate subject as the management of Hindu religious endowments; and while on the one hand his strictly orthodox instincts and leanings may be expected to ensure thorough respect for the religious feelings and interests of the Hindus of the State, on the other his inherent sense of justice and his habit of forming impartial judgment afford a guarantee that he will duly respect all existing rights. In a legislation affecting religious endowments the religious feelings of the people concerned and the vested interests of those who have in their hands the management of existing institutions are the two most important forces to be counted with; and in regard to both the author of the Bill stands in a particularly fortunate position. Yet where vested interests are concerned there are difficulties which even the highest sense of justice and the most impartial adjustment of conflicting claims cannot easily remove; and there are, further, considerations of public policy in regard to which people even of the highest wisdom and largest experience are bound to differ. Hence Mr. Nagam Aiya has not found the course of his Bill as smooth as could have been expected. He was opposed by men of the highest eminence and authority in the State, even by no less a person than the retired Dewan, Mr. Sankarasubba Iyer, C.I.E., on grounds the most forcible, if not altogether unanswerable. The Bill formed the subject of a most animated debate in the Council itself, with the result that in its most essential point it underwent modification before it was referred to the Select Committee.

The Bill, as originally framed by Mr. Nagam Aiya, contained a provision (Section 5) enabling the Government of His Highness to assume the management of Hindu religious and charitable endowments in the following cases: (a) in the event of misappropriation, malfeasance, misfeasance, and gross negligence in the administration of the trust; (b) on the application of the present trustees or donors; (c) in cases where the Government have the right to take part in the management by appointment of certain officers or servants according to existing usage; and (d) in cases where Government have succeeded to the right of management wholly or in part by reason of escheat of trustees. The debate on the principle resulted in clause (a) of the above being given up and the legislation being confined to cases covered by clauses (b), (c) and (d). This was agreed to on the special recommendation of the Dewan Mr. Krishnaswami Row who, though convinced of the necessity of retaining clause (a), agreed to the compromise "in deference to the strongly expressed views of my friends here present, and in consideration of the various difficulties which attend specific and definite legislation as regards cases covered by clause (a)." The main point of the Bill thus abandoned, there remained very little which implied interference with the existing arrangements. In this state the Bill went before the Select Committee which was consisted of such eminent officials of the State as the late talented Chief Secretary Mr. Thanu Pillay and the able and experienced High Court Judge Mr. Kunhi Raman Nayar in both of whom the public of Travancore had absolute trust and confidence. And it speaks much for Mr. Nagam Aiya's tact and persuasive power that, in the Select Committee, he was able to bring round his colleagues to an acceptance of the original principle of the Bill though in a modified form. In the Bill, as amended by the Select Committee, clause (a) which was at first given up is so recast as to admit of Government exercising such superintendence in the management over religious endowments as to best fulfil the objects of the trust, if the trustees have failed to carry on their duties properly and to the best interests of the institution. Hence although the Government may not assume direct management, it can make arrangements for such management as will secure the object aimed at in the following manner. It may, if satisfied that the removal or dismissal of a trustee or trustees is necessary in the best interests of the institution, remove such trustee or trustees,

and where such trusteeship is hereditary, shall appoint a competent member of the family in which such trusteeship is hereditarily vested, and in other cases shall make the appointment in consonance with the scheme of management, if any, existing in such institutions at present, or the usages of such institutions. This ensures that hereditary trustees will not be interfered with otherwise than by appointing another member of the family in place of the one found incompetent to manage the institution; and all lawful rights are thus duly protected. But when the trust is not hereditary and the management is inefficient or dishonest, the Government will have it managed either by its own officers or by a Committee consisting of officials and non-officials in accordance with such rules and regulations as it may frame. In many cases, the actual assumption of management by Government officials or Committees may not be necessary; for the very possibility of Government exercising its power of interference may operate as a check on the idiosyncrasies of trustees and managers, and the latter may take every care to give as little cause as possible for Government interference. But where gross mismanagement is persistent, it will be in the interests of all that a change in the management should be effected.

With the vast number of religious institutions which the Government has already to manage, it is not likely, without clear necessity, to take up the management of more institutions. But where it may be compelled to do so, it makes every provision to avoid possible hardships and injustice. In all cases of interference the Government will first cause an inquiry to be made through one of its officers not inferior in rank to that of a Dewan Peishkar; and if, on his report, and after hearing the parties interested or affected, the Dewan be satisfied that the assumption of management or other interference is necessary in the interests of the trust, then he shall pass such orders as he may think fit in the special circumstances of each case and with special reference to the nature of the institution. No such order, however, will be carried into effect except after the expiry of four weeks after the publication thereof in the Government Gazette and except with the previous sanction of His Highness the Maharajah. The parties affected by any such order or procedure may establish their right in a Civil Court, but no action for damages will lie against the Government or its officials or any

Committee appointed in this behalf for anything done in good faith. It is necessary to add that from the Bill, as amended, all trusts relating to purely secular charitable endowments have been excluded; and the institutions which will come under its scope will, therefore, be mostly temples. In principle it is impossible to object to the Bill in its present form, since the interests of hereditary trustees are sufficiently safeguarded, while trustees who have no such hereditary right and whose duty it is to honestly and efficiently manage the trusts vested in them on behalf of the public have no right to complain if they by their own acts necessitate the interference of the Government.

Nevertheless there will be opposition to the measure, as there has been hitherto; because all those who have hitherto been managing their trusts in any way they like without let or hindrance and who have been long accustomed to regard those trusts as their private property, cannot reconcile themselves to the new situation created by the Bill; and perhaps the greatest care will have to be exercised by the Government in order to avoid the injustice of confounding hereditary trusts with those which are not hereditary. The trustees who may be ejected from the management may be very poor men unable to engage in a costly litigation against the Government which has all the resources of the State at its command; and any hasty or inconsiderate interference may mean ruin to them and poverty and misery to their descendants. To suddenly take away from a family the sole means upon which they have been depending for generations will be like abolishing all ootpuras in Travancore upon which numerous Brahmin families have been depending, although the number affected in the one case may be smaller than in the other. We hope, however, that with the safeguards provided in the Bill, any such unfortunate hardship will be averted.

Objection has also been raised on the ground that the temples already under Government management are not satisfactorily managed at present and that therefore it is not expedient that it should take up the management of more temples. This objection is raised not only by temple trustees but by others who have some authority to speak. Even Mr. Sankarasubba Iyer is of this opinion. So far as we can see from the published speeches in the Council no adequate answer has been given to this argument. At the same time there is no reason to assume that it is beyond the power of Government to make adequate arrange-

ments for the efficient management of all the institutions brought under its direct management and control. It may enlarge the machinery at its disposal, and may make it more efficient. The Bill pre-supposes much a preparation, and we are unwilling to believe that the Government has not calculated the contingency.

There is the more reason to insist on this condition since the extent of endowments to be brought within the operation of the new law is particularly large. On Mr. Nagam Aiya's own showing, the total value of the endowments to be dealt with is about two crores of rupees. There are, according to the Census of 1875, so many as 7,758 temples beyond the pale of Government management, while the number actually managed by it is only 1,549. In other words, of all the existing temples 17 per cent. are under the management of the Government while 83 per cent. are outside it. As regards the property owned by the latter temples Mr. Nagam Aiya gives the following account: "According to the settlement of 1912 (M.E.) which comprised only the settlement of garden lands, these private Devaswams owned 54,155 gardens, tax-free. The temples within the boundaries of Adhigara Olivu and Desa Olivu tracts are excluded from this calculation. The assessment rental of these 54,155 gardens came to Rs. 79,496. It can be safely estimated that the present assessment on them will come to 1½ lacs of rupees. Multiplying this sum by 25 we get the figure 37½ lacs of rupees—the capitalised value of those gardens. The paddy lands of the same may be estimated to be worth about 60 lacs of rupees—in all, the landed property of the Devaswams whose welfare it will be the object of this Bill to promote, may be put down as one crore of rupees. The movables of these temples may be valued at ¼ of a crore, excluding the buildings. These are the properties known to the public accounts before 1912. Properties purchased since then in the name of those temples, or properties dedicated to them, or other charities before that date if paying the Sirkar tax, cannot be discovered from the Sirkar accounts. These also will swell the property of these institutions. I may not be far wrong if I estimate that the total value of the endowments to be dealt with is about two crores of rupees." This gives some idea of the extent and magnitude of the trusts which it will be the duty of the Government under the proposed law to watch and to control. The task will by no

means be light, and the responsibilities of the Government will be very much increased. But in many cases, as we have said, actual interference may not be needed, the moral effect of the law being sufficient to make the trustees alive to their duties and responsibilities. Yet in view of possible contingencies the State will have to equip itself with an extra staff of officials and servants no less for enquiry and report than for actual management and control, and a Hindu State, which is bound to protect the religious interests of the people, need not perhaps spare the extra exertion that the new legislation will necessitate.

Mr. Nagam Aiya has taken infinite pains to make enquiries, to collect opinions, and to frame the Bill; and his efforts in this direction, in themselves commendable, are deserving of wider appreciation than they might receive in Travancore. The question of religious endowments has been long with us in British India. We have done everything we could to persuade our Government of the necessity of more effective legal protection. The Madras Government has gone with us in this matter. Yet we have not succeeded. Is it likely that the example of Travancore will influence the policy of the Indian Government? In this our chief interest lies. We are, however, not very hopeful on this point. The fact of a Hindu Government intervening for the protection of Hindu religious endowments may not furnish a justification for an alien Government to do likewise; while the fact of the same Hindu Government declining to include in its legislation any non-Hindu endowment may afford it a justification for its policy of non-intervention. So far then we cannot expect even any indirect advantage from the Travancore legislation. Nevertheless we appreciate Mr. Nagam Aiya's sincerity and singleness of purpose and his earnest and patriotic efforts. He has had a difficult task, rendered still more difficult by the clamour of conservatism and self-interest no less than of reason and sentiment. Even practical statesmanship has denounced his measure in a pure spirit of prudence and justice. We hope all these fears will be allayed by the cautious and discriminate application of the law, and that the religious institutions of Travancore will be really benefited by its mere existence, if not by its operation.

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# THE MADRAS REVIEW.

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## A CHAPTER OF TRAVANCORE HISTORY.

**D**URING his visit to Travancore in October last, His Excellency Lord Ampthill made a reference to an interesting period of Travancore history. Replying to the address presented by the students of the Trevandrum College, His Excellency said that he was "glad to see that the rising generation of Travancore are keeping alive the tradition of staunch friendship and loyal devotion to the British Crown, which began at the time when the British arms saved this beautiful country from being devastated and ravaged by the ruthless hordes of Tippu Sultan." Lord Ampthill had in mind and referred to only what British arms had done for Travancore; we will endeavour to give an account of what the Travancoreans did for their country and their Ally.

When Hyder started on his conquest, Travancore had been consolidated by conquest and annexation; the work of fortifying the frontiers began with the appearance of Hyder, as a possible enemy. The Mysorean had invaded and over-run the northern portion of the Malabar country from Cannanore to Ponnani. He had overwhelmed the Rajahs and Chiefs by his superior force. The opposition of the Nayar Chiefs and the resistance of the Zamorin had proved ineffectual to check his rapid progress. All the petty States had surrendered. Most of the Rajahs and Chiefs had fled. The Zamorin had committed suicide along with some of his relations and courtiers. The Rajah of Cherakkal had pursued a similar course. They dreaded nothing more than the defile-

ment of their religion. For the sake of religion they died or fled. They would have fought with a Hindu power at any risk. But the risk of conversion to Mahomedanism was something which they could not think of without horror and dismay. So those who could not escape by death sought refuge in Travancore. Hyder was thus left in possession of the entire country abandoned by the several Rajahs and Chiefs including the Zamorin. He was not, however, able to maintain his position in Malabar as he had an enemy in the British East India Company whose soldiers repeatedly defeated him in several engagements. He was therefore not allowed time to consolidate his authority and power in the new found territories. But the Rajah of Cochin had submitted in anticipation of conquest. Fearing the approach of Hyder he had offered his allegiance to and become a tributary of the Mysore Chief. This encouraged the latter to carry his exploits to Travancore and conquer that beautiful country. But between Travancore and Cochin there was the Dutch who being friendly both to Hyder and Travancore proved an obstacle to his progress southwards. Hyder accordingly desired Travancore to follow the example of Cochin and pay tribute. This the Maharajah refused, and informed him that Travancore was already a tributary of the Nabob of the Carnatic and had besides formed an alliance with the East India Company. Hyder returned disappointed to Mysore. Defeated repeatedly by the British, he sued for peace; and the treaty of 1769 was the result, whereby the Company secured the safety of Travancore against invasion by the Mysorian. The Maharajah did not rest content with this, but watched the movements of Hyder and entered into an agreement with the Rajah of Cochin and the Dutch East India Company to combine their armies and co-operate with the Travancore force stationed at the northern frontier in case of an attack by Hyder against the terms of the treaty with the British East India Company.

In 1774 Hyder again entered Malabar, and commenced his devastations. The then Zamorin thereupon fled from his country with his relations and dependents and sought and secured protection in Travancore. Hyder's rage knew no bounds. He was enraged that one whose country he had invaded and taken possession of had been received in Travancore and given protection there. He then marched on to Travancore; but the Dutch again proved an obstacle; they resisted his march

through their territories. Hyder remonstrated and threatened vengeance, but the Dutch remained firm, and communicated with the Maharajah asking him to join them in offensive operations against Hyder. But this was impossible in the face of the alliance which the Maharajah had formed with the Nabob of the Carnatic and the English. He therefore said that he had already taken measures for the protection of his frontiers, and for that purpose, and that purpose alone, he would join them. Obstructed in his march by the Dutch, Hyder proceeded through the territory of Cochin, compelling the Rajah to acknowledge his vassalage to him, and to pay additional sums of money and an annual tribute of half a lakh of rupees. The Maharajah of Travancore heard this, and in conjunction with the Dutch resisted the progress of Hyder's force through the Dutch frontier. In the meantime information of Hyder's proceedings reached the British Government, and a general war against Hyder ensued. The Maharajah co-operated with the British Government, supplying ample men and money; the war was continued; and the Travancore troops were "universally allowed to have behaved remarkably well." Travancore troops were also at this time co-operating with the Bombay Army at Calicut and with the Madras Army in Tinnevely. The "Zamorin Nairs" also, as they were called, had thrown their lot with these. The war continued for several years; but Hyder dying in the interval, in 1782, Tippu succeeded him. Two years later, in 1784, Tippu concluded peace with the East India Company who secured, among other things, sufficient guarantees for the protection of Travancore. The Maharajah was pleased with the intelligence that the Company did not forget his friendship and steady and uniform fidelity and attachment to them. His Highness was included in the treaty as an ally of the Company, and felt relieved at the prospect of peace. He devoted his attention to internal reform and progress; and the country was immensely benefited by his reforming activity. Peace and order prevailed; and people enjoyed contentment and prosperity. This state of things, however, continued only for a short period of four years, at the end of which Tippu commenced his ravages in Malabar and threatened the safety of Travancore. Like his father, he cast his longing eye on this splendid kingdom, and every day grew jealous of the prosperity of Travancore and the reputation of its king.

At this time Travancore had lost its great Minister Rama

Iyen Dalawah. His achievements as a soldier and statesman had been great; a great deal of the work of conquest and consolidation had been effected by him. His daring, his wisdom, and his practical statesmanship had secured for Travancore unique strength and glory. He was a native Malabar Brahmin born and brought up in Travancore. He remained unmarried all his life, and had consequently no family encumbrances to interfere with his soldierly instincts and exploits. His whole career was one of devotion to his country and sovereign. He lived and died in the service of the State. Wise and far-seeing as he was, he had looked for a successor to him, and discovered the man he wanted in a young Travancore Nayar who was then rising into eminence by his genius and capacity.

This young man is known in Travancore history as Rajah Kesava Das, in consequence of the title conferred on him by the Governor-General of India, Lord Mornington. In his earlier years he was known as Kesava Pillay. A youth of humble birth, unnoticed among the crowd of boys of his age, Kesava Pillay was never thought to be marked out for any great achievement. In these days when a University degree is the only passport to success and distinction, Kesava Pillay would have been lost to the country. But he had the good fortune to be born at a time when genius had free play even without the assistance of a systematic education. Universities had not been heard of in India; competitive examinations had not been thought of. Kesava Pillay had apparently been taught reading and writing; for he began his career as a writer in the palace. He was very young when he attracted the notice of the Maharajah. Having apparently no better place to sleep in, Kesavan one night took to the portico of the palace. He had a single piece of cloth with which he had covered his body, and was awakened next morning by the approach of the Maharajah who was then the heir-apparent. His Highness finding a boy in his nudity started back, and injured his head by striking against a nail. His Highness was incensed at the cause of his mishap. The first sight he had seen that day was the boy, and his first experience was an injury. Those were days for summary punishments; the boy was ordered to be removed and chastised; and nobody knew what form the chastisement might take. The boy was, however, not the least confused. He maintained his presence of mind. When he was being taken out, he

said he had a word to speak to His Highness, and insisted on speaking it personally and not through an intermediary. He was forthwith taken into the Royal presence, and a word was enough to turn his fate. He said that it was true that the first sight His Highness had seen that day was his humble self, but that the first sight he himself saw was His Highness. The Maharajah understood the drift of the observation, and was struck with the intelligence of the boy. His Highness enquired of the boy whether he knew how to read and write, and being told that he did, ordered Kesavan to the writers' room to do a writer's work.

The gods now smiled upon Kesavan. Everybody in the palace was impressed with his great intelligence; and the Maharajah himself had opportunities of testing his capacity and genius. His Highness had by this time ascended the throne; and Travancore was then in the throes of war and turmoil. The great Rama Iyen Dalawah was engaged in war, away from the capital. He had daily communications to make to His Highness and to obtain advice and orders. The Maharajah was seriously perplexed one night about an important matter. He reflected and reflected, but could not determine upon a proper course. It was 3 o'clock in the morning; and Kesavan was called in. Asked to draft a reply to the communication from the Dalawah, Kesavan with a ready resource and clearness of vision wrote out what was to be the royal writ. His Highness read it, was pleased, and admired the intellectual resource of the youth. The document had to be despatched at once, and for that purpose had to be signed by a duly authorised officer. Kesavan was still a writer, and consequently had no authority to sign. His Highness, therefore, ordered him to write a royal order appointing him as State Secretary or Samprathy as the officer was called. This done, His Highness took it from him and affixed his signature, and handed it back to him. Nor was this enough. Royal messages were signed not by the Samprathy, but by the Sarvadhikariakar; and Kesava Pillay had therefore to be appointed to that post in the same manner as he was appointed as Samprathy. With the authority of the new title he signed the loyal writ, and it was duly despatched. Rama Iyen who had not till then known even of the existence of the young man in the palace, wondered who the signatory could have been that displayed such resource of statesmanship, and on knowing all the particulars about the young man, the great minister declared that there was after all



one man to take his place. The forecast was not falsified; for Kesava Pillay daily rose in favour at court and in the country, and showed himself equal to any emergency. Rama Iyen Dalawah died in 1788; at this time Kesava Pillay was the ablest official of the State and the fittest to succeed to the office of Prime Minister. Considerations of seniority, however, prevented his immediate elevation; and one Chempaka Raman Pillay, then Sarvadhikariakar, was accordingly appointed as Rama Iyen's successor. This person, however, died shortly after; and Kesava Pillay now became Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief of the Travancore force. Every man in those days received a military training in the early youth; and specialisation had not been carried to the extent of separating the military from the Civil Service. It was fortunate for Travancore that there was at the time a great statesman and soldier like Kesava Pillay at the head of the administration; for it was he that saved the country from the ruthless hands of Tippu Sultan. His keenness of intellect, his ready resource, his daring and strategic skill stood him in good stead when Tippu descended upon Travancore with his powerful hordes.

About the time that Kesava Pillai was appointed Dalawah (a title for Prime Minister which he for the first time changed into the modern and more ambitious one of Dewan), Tippu had commenced his incursions into the Malabar country now known as British Malabar. Though Hyder had before him devastated the country and committed outrages on the religious feelings of the people, he had never gone to the length to which fanaticism and love of conquest drove his less far-seeing son. Tippu's proceedings in Malabar were of the worst description. He was determined to spare no Hindu, high or low, male or female, who did not embrace his faith. His agents and emissaries were everywhere, and they were as relentless as himself. Many were forcibly converted; many were killed; temples and houses of the higher classes were either demolished or reserved to be converted into mosques. All the high caste Hindus fled from the country in search of protection. The Rajah of Cochin could not afford them asylum as he had already acknowledged himself a tributary of the Sultan. They accordingly fled to Travancore, and begged for protection at the hands of the Maharajah. The Zamorin of Calicut, the Rajahs of all the minor independent principalities, all the Nayar Chiefs, the Nambudries, and all the

high caste Hindus generally took refuge in the territory of the Maharajah. They proved a heavy burden on the bounty of the Maharajah; for His Highness had to house and feed all these refugees in a befitting manner according to their respective position and circumstances in life.

Well might the Royal House of Travancore be proud of this episode in its history; for it had afforded protection to all who had fled for their religion and their lives. But the Maharajah ran serious risks by his act of generosity; for Tippu was highly incensed that refugees from his dominions had been afforded protection in Travancore. He claimed them all as his own by right of conquest; and but for the help they received in Travancore they would have been compelled to submit to his will, to embrace his faith, and to acknowledge allegiance to him. He thought, therefore, that he had a right to protest against the act of the Maharajah, and sent remonstrances accordingly. He insisted that all the refugees should be sent back at once, and not allowed to evade his authority and power. The Maharajah's reply was polite and friendly. He said that he had not brought them into his territory. They had come there and chose to remain. If they desired to return, they might; but he did not think it either just or lawful to compel them to leave. In fact it was against the traditions of his house to turn back men and women against their will. The Sultan was enraged, but deeming it prudent to conceal his rage, tried persuasion to get back and punish the leaders among the refugees, on whom his Sirdars had vowed vengeance. The attempt proved unsuccessful. Tippu now summoned the Rajah of Cochin; and his obedient tributary, as the historian of Travancore calls him, proceeded to Palghat and there paid his homage. Tippu's desire was to find out a pretext to provoke the Maharajah of Travancore to a war through His Highness of Cochin, and with this view suggested to the latter that he should lay claim to the districts of Alangad and Parur, and that on refusal should commence hostilities in which he would be supported by the Mysore Army. The Rajah felt embarrassed, because he had ceded the district to Travancore in return for valuable services rendered for the defence of his country, and they had long formed part of Travancore territory. Tippu laughed at the timidity of the Rajah, and assured him that he could reduce Travancore in a week. The Maharajah of Travancore, he told him, could not resist his power, and it would

therefore be well to persuade him to become a vassal of Mysore. The Rajah offered his mediation with reluctance and promised to do his best, the Sultan also on his part undertaking to forward a friendly message to the Maharajah. The latter was then in the north of Travancore inspecting military stations, and here the Rajah of Cochin conveyed to His Highness the Sultan's wishes and informed him that the messengers of the Sultan were on their way with letters and presents. The Maharajah expressed his inability to treat with Tippu without the knowledge of his allies, the English and the Nabob of the Carnatic, and resolved to have nothing to do with him except in the presence of a British Officer. His Highness accordingly informed the Governor of Madras and requested him to depute an Officer to his Court. Major Bannerman was then ordered to Travancore, and on his arrival the Maharajah received Tippu's messengers before him in open Durbar. The Sultan's letter stated that he had learned from the Rajah of Cochin that His Highness of Travancore was a good and great prince and desired to cultivate friendship with the Mysore Sirkar. "As you are wise and well-informed," the letter continued, "it must be manifest to you how advantageous my alliance will be to your interests. My trusty servants..... are charged with this letter and will convey to you my present of a dress, some jewels and a horse. They come to you on a friendly mission and will communicate full particulars." The Maharajah received the Sultan's messengers with all courtesy and consideration, but they were not pleased at the presence of the British Officer. His Highness dismissed them with suitable presents and promised to send a reply with his own officers. This was done without delay. His Highness thanked the Sultan for his offer of alliance, but said he regretted his inability to accept it without the knowledge and consent of the English. Translations of the correspondence with Tippu were immediately despatched to the Governor of Madras who was highly pleased with His Highness' sagacity and resolution and his unfeigned attachment to the English.

The Maharajah's envoys, who took His Highness's letter to Tippu, now returned with the intelligence that the Sultan received them kindly, but that they had reason to think that he was preparing for war. The Maharajah who never trusted Tippu now pushed on his frontier fortifications and strengthened his military forces. Tippu now appeared with a large force at

Palghat intent on marching against Travancore. Here he sent for the Rajah of Cochin; and the latter was perplexed at the summons. Tippu was then in the zenith of his power; he was angry at his ill-success in his negotiations with Travancore. There was no knowing what he might do against him. He might punish him with imprisonment; he might compel him to renounce his faith; he might banish him from Cochin; he might annex his territory. The Rajah trembled for his liberty, his life, his religion, and his throne. The situation was critical. Finding no way of escape he sought the advice of the Dutch and the Maharajah. They thought his fears were justified, and he would do well not to go. The Rajah pretended illness, sent many apologies and excuses, and assured his obedience to further orders. The Sultan professed his sympathy with the Rajah in his illness, and sent his envoy to ascertain the nature of his illness and to ask him to send his heir-apparent of a minister possessing his confidence. The envoy arrived at the capital of the Rajah; but the latter shut himself up in his room, and his pretended illness prevented him from seeing him. The envoy resided in Cochin and obtained all information about the frontier fortifications and Military arrangements of Travancore, and conveyed it to his master who was still stationed at Palghat. Tippu, disappointed and incensed, threatened the forcible seizure of the Rajah's person and the annexation of his territory. But the Maharajah of Travancore allayed his fears by assurance of protection and support.

At this time Travancore was confronted with an unexpected difficulty. Among the steps taken for the defence of the country was the purchase of the Dutch forts of Aycottah and Cranganore situated at the northern frontier of Travancore. These forts formed a strong defence against an invading army, and consequently the Maharajah had been negotiating with the Dutch. If they passed into the hands of Tippu, the safety of Travancore would be endangered. The Sultan might either capture or purchase them, and the Maharajah accordingly lost no time to purchase them himself. He deputed Dewan Kesava Pillay to consult and arrange with the Dutch Governor for the purchase of the forts; and soon the purchase was effected through the Dewan for a sum of three lakhs to be paid in instalments. The Maharajah was pleased at the conclusion of this transaction and informed the Madras Government of it. In the meantime

Mr. John Holland who had succeeded Sir Archibald Campbell as Governor of Madras, had received information of the intended purchase, and wrote to the Maharajah to say that as the Dutch held the forts in question under the Rajah of Cochin and as the latter was a tributary of the Mysore Chief the purchase would tend to irritate the Chief against the Maharajah and would lead to serious consequences. Mr. Holland told His Highness that the Madras Government would not support him in any contest he might engage himself in beyond the limits of Travancore. The tone of the letter was stern. It was received only after the transaction had been concluded and the Maharajah had written his letter to the Governor. On the receipt of the letter a further communication came from the Governor which denounced the transaction in unqualified terms, and desired that the places purchased from the Dutch should be immediately given back to them if he desired to avoid a conflict with Tippu in which he would not be supported by the British. The Maharajah was very much discouraged, but hoped to satisfy the Government by a representation of the true bearings of the case. His Highness submitted his vindication to the Governments of Bengal, Bombay and Madras, pointing out that Aycottah and Cranganore originally came into the possession of the Portuguese by right of conquest; that the forts were built by them so far back as 1523; that the Dutch conquered them from the Portuguese in 1663, and had held uninterrupted possession of them till the date of the transaction; that neither Cochin nor Mysore had therefore any right over them; that British Officers on the spot had approved and urged the necessity of the purchase in view of the great danger to which Travancore would be exposed if the forts fell, by force or purchase, into the hands of Tippu, a danger which even the assistance of the British would not help to avert; that the late Governor had concurred in this view; and that His Highness's object was not the extension of territory, but only the security of his country. The Maharajah added that if the surrender of the forts was necessary, he could surrender it to no other than the British.

The attitude of the Madras Governor was extremely ill-advised; for it encouraged Tippu to claim the forts on the very grounds urged by Mr. Holland himself. Tippu started from Coimbatore with a large army of 30,000 men, 5,000 horse and 20 pieces of cannon. He sent one of his Sirdars with a threatening letter

to the Maharajah. Dewan Kesava Pillay met him, at Parur, took him to the Maharajah at Mavelikarai; and there the Sultan's letter was delivered. He demanded the immediate surrender of all the chiefs from Malabar who had taken refuge in Travancore, and insisted upon giving up to him the forts purchased from the Dutch and the demolition of the fortifications which crossed the territory of Cochin. It was impossible to concede these demands, at once so preposterous and so menacing, and the impudent Sirdar departed in pique threatening vengeance. The Maharajah sent a politic reply to Tippu, but told him that with all his desire to maintain friendly relations with him, His Highness could not concede his demands which were unjust and founded upon no legal right. This elicited a rejoinder, more insolent than the original letter. But the Maharajah thought it useless to continue the correspondence and intimated all facts and full particulars about Tippu's warlike preparations to the Government of Madras. Tippu now began his operations. With his powerful army he attacked the Northern Frontier of Travancore towards the close of December 1789, but the attack was powerfully resisted by the Travancore Battalion stationed at Parur. The next morning Tippu's troops paraded in front of the line, and the pioneers were directed to clear a part of the ditch where the wall was not guarded. Even during the night the work could not be completed, but a successful attempt was made to effect an entrance within the walls. The entrance gained, a considerable extent of the ramparts was taken possession of. The Travancore troops now retreated before Tippu's army which was marching along the wall towards the gate. Here, however, the Travancore garrison opposed its progress. Tippu thereupon ordered reinforcement; but the fates now turned against him. His force was thrown into confusion, in the midst of which twenty men of the Travancore garrison, stationed at a corner of the rampart, threw in a regular platoon on the flank killing the officer commanding, and threw the corps into hopeless disorder and flight. The advancing relief was gallantly met and checked; and the rest of the story may be told in the words of Mr. Shan-gooney Menon, the historian of Travancore: "The panic now became general and the retreating men were borne to the ditch, while others were forced into it by the mass which pressed on from behind. Those that fell into the ditch were, of course, killed. The rear now became the front. The bodies that filled the

ditch enabled the remainder to pass over them. The Sultan himself was thrown down in the struggle, and the bearers of his palanquin trampled to death. Though he was rescued from death by some of his faithful followers, yet he received such injuries that he never forgot this episode in his invasion of Travancore. Tippu's State sword, signet ring, and other personal ornaments fell into the hands of the Travancore army; several officers and men were taken prisoners, and of the former, five were Europeans, and one a Mahratta. It is inexplicable how the "Tiger" escaped from capture. However he learned a bitter lesson, the first in his life. He had paid for his impudence, and was shorn of his glory. He retreated in shame and chagrin, his spirit subdued, and his ambition crushed.

The man who led the Travancore army against Tippu, and to whom belonged the honour of victory was no other than Dewan Kesava Pillay, the great soldier and statesman. Kesava Pillai returned to Trevandrum in triumph taking Tippu's sword, shield and other belongings, as trophies. The Maharajah was exceedingly pleased at his success. His Highness at once communicated the joyful news to his allies in Madras, the English and the Nabob of the Carnatic, and received their hearty congratulations. At the special request of the Nabob, His Highness sent the trophies, which included Tippu's sword, shield, dagger, belt, and palanquin, to Madras where they are perhaps in the keeping of the Carnatic family.

Tippu's ambition could not, however, be restrained by one defeat. He prepared for a retaliation on Travancore. His claim to the forts of Aycottah and Cranganore had not been admitted by the British Government. In spite of the adverse attitude of Governor Holland, Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General, had approved of the Maharajah's action in purchasing the forts. The British Governor therefore warned Tippu against the untenability of his claim and of the consequences of his invasion of Travancore. In the meantime the Tiger had been defeated, and had to prepare for fresh undertakings. Remaining in the vicinity of the Travancore frontier, he concentrated a huge army determined again to attack Travancore. The Maharajah, assured of the assistance of the British, began strengthening his frontier. He enlisted recruits, and replenished the arsenals. Yet his resources were quite disproportionate to those of the Sultan; and to add to his anxieties, the Madras Government remained in-

active and apathetic. The feeble policy of Governor Holland disgusted even his own officers and subordinates. Mr. (afterwards Sir Thomas) Munro wrote bitterly of this inactivity. Tippu had an army large enough to conquer the whole of India; and in an open war the Travancore force could not cope with it. The British was bound by treaty to co-operate with Travancore in resisting the invasion of the Sultan; but the Madras Government under Mr. Holland persisted in its inactivity. Tippu commenced operations against Travancore. On the 2nd of March 1790 his battery opened destructive fire, but the wall resisted it for nearly a month, and at last a breach of three-quarter of a mile in length was effected. The defence became useless, and the Travancore army retreated. A portion of the Maharajah's troops under Captain Flory, which was defending the fort of Canganore, had also to abandon it into the hands of the enemy. Tippu's force now demolished the fortifications and captured another fort. The whole line now fell into the hands of the Sultan who grew jubilant over his success. While this destructive warfare was going on, the British army of two European and two native regiments which were stationed in the neighbourhood remained passive spectators because they had no orders from the Governor of Madras to engage in war with the Sultan. The indifference of the British encouraged Tippu all the more in his onward career. He marched into the interior and commenced his devastations. His lawless force was let loose on the villages, and carried fire and sword into every house and hamlet. Hindu temples and Christian churches were desecrated and demolished; the dwellings of the rich and poor were burnt to ashes. Atrocities were committed on men and women. The whole of Alangad and Travancore was laid waste, and no Hindu or Christian could be seen in this devastated area. The ferocity of the invaders spared no man or property. The Sultan now with his main army marched southward and reached Alwaye where unexpected difficulties confronted him. It was the month of June, and the south-west monsoon burst in all its fury and flooded the river. Tippu had no experience of a Malabar monsoon, and was bewildered when he found the whole area of his intended operations under water. The army could not march in that flood, and was left without shelter. The ammunition and accoutrements got wet, and even the food supplies were washed away, the impetuous current of the flooded river carrying everything

before it. Tippu was in an awful predicament. God had now certainly turned against him, and retribution had come. The very houses, temples, and churches which he had destroyed would have been useful at this time; but he had not spared any. To add to his troubles, epidemics broke out in his army, and there were not even provisions. Many perished by disease and starvation. Dewan Kesava Pillay was now at Parur at the head of a strong force, and leaving it, he strengthened the garrison at every military station, erected stockades at every backwater passage, and fortified the line and batteries. Civil and Military Officers were posted at different places; and irregular militias were raised at intermediate stations, and armed with whatever weapons that could be got. Kesava Pillay then proceeded to Trevandrum and informed the Maharajah of all that had happened and had been done. His Highness, though depressed in mind, was relieved by the assurances and encouraging words of the Dewan. The latter was immediately ordered back to the north to attend to the safety and protection of the numerous families that had taken refuge in Travancore. As we have said, most of the families of Malabar were already there; and the Rajah of Cochin had now sent his royal family to Trevandrum for safety, trusting in God and in the Maharajah.

Lord Cornwallis had before this recognised the obligation of his government to declare war against Tippu for having invaded the territory of their ally. He had been appraised of Tippu's first attack on Travancore and his defeat by Kesava Pillay, and had written to the Madras Government expressing his hope that war had been already declared. His Lordship said that he was determined "to exact a full reparation from Tippu for his wanton and unprovoked violation of treaty," and repeatedly urged war as the only honorable alternative. Governor Holland, however, remained unmoved by these orders; and all remonstrances from Calcutta for having discouraged a faithful ally in the defence of his country availed nothing. This perverse policy of inaction on the part of Mr. Holland enraged the Government of Lord Cornwallis so much that they determined to assume the Government of Madras themselves. The appointment of General Meadows as Governor of Madras, however, averted this extreme step. No sooner had General Meadows assumed the Government of Madras than he declared war against Tippu. In reply to a protest from the latter, the

Governor informed him that they had always looked upon war as declared the moment he attacked their ally, the King of Travancore. The firmness and determination shown by General Meadows was beyond all praise. He at once informed the Maharajah that his Government was bent upon punishing the Sultan for his wanton violation of the treaty, and requested His Highness to prevail upon the Malabar Rajahs and Chiefs who had taken protection in his country to join the English in subduing the tyrant of Mysore. Tippu, still impeded in his movements at Alwaye, received intelligence of the preparation for war. The forces of nature were still overwhelming him. The rivers were full. The country was under water. He therefore determined upon a hasty retreat which was accelerated by the close pursuit of the Travancore army under Dewan Kesava Pillay. The Travancore army was now joined by the British force, and they jointly carried on the war against Tippu until it was terminated by the treaty of Seringapatam which was effected in the presence of Dewan Kesava Pillay.

Tippu's power was now broken, and peace was ensured for Travancore. Yet there were difficulties to overcome. By the treaty of Seringapatam Tippu was to cede half his dominions to the English. In the portion to be ceded he tried to include three Taluks of Travancore, Alangad, Parur and Kunnathnad. But these belonged to Travancore by right of ownership and possession. The dispute could not be settled without the intervention of the Governor-General and an enquiry by a Commissioner. The Rajah of Cochin also put in a claim to these Taluks, which was, however, abandoned, for want of any evidence to support his claim. The enquiry into Tippu's claim resulted in a verdict for Travancore, and with this all complications with Tippu were at an end. The only other difficulty that remained was raised by the Madras Government which insisted on Travancore paying the expenses incurred by the East India Company in protecting Travancore against Tippu. Two British regiments had now been stationed in Travancore at the expense of the State, and the East India Company had bound themselves to defray the cost of any additional force that might be necessary to protect the Travancore frontier against the designs of an enemy. The Maharajah, therefore, little expected this demand, and his treasury had been depleted by the war. His Highness, however, was anxious to avoid an unseemly dispute, and man-

aged to pay up seven lakhs in several instalments. Still the Governor of Madras imposed upon the Maharajah the payment of ten lakhs of rupees per annum as a contribution towards the expenses of the war, besides the charge of His Highness's troops employed with English armies. No arguments availed with the Madras Government; and Dewan Kesava Pillay managed to pay another seven lakhs. It was impossible to do more, and a further representation was made to Lord Cornwallis who, after an impartial consideration, relieved the Maharajah from the obligation of paying more.

There now remained the Malabar Rajahs and Chiefs who had taken refuge in Travancore and whose affairs were in confusion. The duty of controlling all their principalities and restoring them to their respective princes and chiefs was assigned to the Maharajah by the Madras Government. The task was a difficult one. The entire country had been devastated and laid waste; and the Sultan's followers had not spared anything they could lay their hands on. The Chiefs and all their men were in Travancore. They were summoned before His Highness and sent back with advice and presents. Dewan Kesava Pillay was entrusted with the duty of settling their affairs and restoring them to their respective principalities. The Dewan was occupied in this work for nearly a year, moving about from place to place in Malabar, and did his work satisfactorily. Those who could not manage their affairs had ministers appointed for them, while all disputes about titles, &c., were settled by the Dewan himself. Kesava Pillay was at this time the sole dictator of the entire Malabar province, and the Madras Government recognised the right of the Maharajah and his distinguished minister to the supreme control and direction of its revenue administration.

Though Travancore had been for a long time engaged in war, the internal administration of the country was not in the least neglected. After the settlement of Seringapatam the country developed on all lines. Dewan Kesava Pillay was not only a great statesman and soldier, but a man of large views on commercial affairs. Bent upon improving the commercial prosperity of Travancore in which he found the future of the country lay, he directed his attention to the improvement of seaports. He visited all the coast stations in the state, established new ports, and improved the old ones. New industries rose in these ports; and new inhabitants began to come in. There was then no port

at Alleppy which was overgrown with jungles and bushes. He had the sea examined, and found the existence of a good anchorage protected by a bank. He had the jungles removed, built warehouses and shops, and invited merchants to establish themselves there. A few rich and influential merchants were brought in from Bombay, and others came in from some of the neighbouring districts. To secure a permanent settlement of the Hindus, a temple was also built, besides a Huzur Cutcherry and a palace intended to add to the importance of the place. All the hill produce of the country was brought in and stored there. In a short time Alleppy became an important port, a centre of much commercial activity. The Dewan also ordered a few ships to be built to carry the staple products of the country to Bombay and Calcutta. These measures brought in a large additional revenue to the state. To facilitate intercommunication canals were also constructed. The Dewan then proceeded to Trivandrum; and public works of utility now began. Roads and bridges were constructed; bazars and markets were established; new irrigation works were opened. The temple at Trivandrum was repaired and greatly improved. A new coinage of both gold and silver was introduced. The fortifications were improved. Arms and ammunition were manufactured. Palaces were built in different parts of the country. Temples all over were repaired and improved. The State enjoyed unprecedented prosperity. The war debts were mostly cleared. The people became prosperous, and several of them wealthy. The credit of all this was due to the genius and resource of Kesava Pillay, the great Dewan, who combined in himself the qualities of the statesman, the soldier and the penman. A minister of versatile talents, he is said to have handled the pen and the sword with equal skill. Such devotion and such disinterestedness as he showed were uncommon in those days and are equally uncommon in our time. He declined a jagir which the Maharajah conferred on him for his brilliant services, and refused to take any money beyond what he received from the treasury for his expenses. His fame, however, had proceeded much beyond the limits of Travancore. He was known to, and was in correspondence with, high European officials all over India. The Company's Government had formed very high opinions about his genius, statesmanship, and soldierly skill. In acknowledgment of their great regard and esteem the Earl of Mornington conferred upon him the title of

"Rajah Kesava Doss," and to this day he is known as Rai or Rajah Kesava Dass. \*

### THE CHOLA ADMINISTRATION. (900-1300 A.D.)

IN a paper which appeared in the August number of the *Madras Review*, I brought together the facts available from epigraphical sources mainly, bearing on the history of a dynasty of the Cholas who held the chief power in South India for nearly four centuries. In this paper I propose to bring together some facts bearing on their administration, so as to give us an idea, imperfect as it may be, of the character of their rule. I have drawn largely from the same source of information here, as in my last paper, except that here and there I make use of some information derived from literature.

To follow in the wake of Sir William Lee-Warner, I shall begin with the unit of administration of the Cholas which was the village-community, composed either of a single village, or oftener, of a group of villages. This union was called in Tamil a 'kūrram' (or sub-division). Each one of these sub-divisions had an assembly of its own called the mahāsabha. This assembly, though subject to supervision by the divisional officers or intendants (Adhikārins), exercised an almost sovereign authority in all the departments of rural administration. To illustrate this rural administration, I shall take as a specimen the village of Ukkal near Māmandur, on the road between Conjeeveram and Wandiwash. The fourteen published inscriptions from this place give us a better insight into the rural administration than any equal number I could choose. I extract the following, therefore, from the records.

Ukkal\* was in Pāgur nādu sub-division of the Kāliyur kōttam in the Tonda—or the Jayangonda Chola—mandalam. According to other records Ukkal belonged to its own sub-division of the same kōttam (Sans-koshtaka).

No. 1. The assembly received 200 kalanju of gold from Tiruvikrama Bhatta alias Brahmādhirājar, one among the commissioners of Uttaramêruchaturvêdimangalam (Uttaramallur) for feeding 12 Brahmans before the God of Puvanimānikkavinnagar received his noonday offerings.

\* Vol. III. Pt. I., South Ind. Inscriptions.

\* The facts in this article are mainly as stated in Shangooney Menon's History, while the early incident in the life of Kesava Das has been related to the writer on the authority of the Maharajah who died in 1055 M. E.



No. 2 States that the assembly received 550 kuli of land measured by 'the graduated rod,' made over to them by Nārayana Rājasimha, a native of the Chola country, to supply the God with 4 nali of rice daily. "Having received the revenue of this land and having exempted it from taxes for as long as the moon and sun exist, we, the assembly, engraved this on stone."

No. 3 Records that a certain Perrān A'dittan, of the Chola country purchased two pieces of land, the first from a private person and the second from the village assembly and made over both pieces to the villagers for maintaining a flower-garden. "The same person had purchased from us, the assembly, for a flower-garden 500 kuli of land measured by the graduated rod to the west of the irrigation channel, &c." "Having received in full the purchase-money and the revenue of the land..... and having exempted the flower-garden and (the land assigned) for the maintenance of the garden from taxes for as long as the moon and the sun exist, we, the assembly, engraved this on stone." "Having been present in the assembly and having heard this order, I, the arbitrator, A'yirattunūrruvan *alias* Brahmaganākhara Vidhyāsthāna Mangalāditya Samanjasapryan, the son of Nālayiravan wrote this."

No. 4 Kannan A'rurān of the Chola country and a servant of Rājaraja who got a well sunk and a cistern constructed by the roadside in the name of his royal master made assignments of paddy for the upkeep of this charity. In order to supply this paddy we, the assembly, of this village having received from him the revenue and the purchase-money, and having exempted the land from taxes, &c. ....

No. 5 "We have received 1,000 kâdi of paddy from Sadayan. We the assembly shall close (the sluice of) the tank (to collect water for irrigation) and shall cause 500 kâdi of paddy to be supplied every year as interest on those 1,000 kâdi of paddy. The great men elected for the year (the Perumakkal) shall cause the paddy to be supplied."

No. 6 "We the great assembly of Sivachulamanichaturvêdimangalam, including the great men elected for (the management of) charities during this year.....in our village, and the commissioners (in charge of the temple) of Sâttaṇi in our village." They make a grant to the temple of Mahāsâsta. "The commissioners of the temple of Sâttaṇi shall protect this charity." "The great men elected for the supervision of the tanks shall be

entitled to levy a fine of one kalanju of gold in favour of the tank-fund, from those betel-leaf sellers in this village, who sell (betel-leaf) elsewhere but at the temple of Pidāri."

No. 7 "The inhabitants of our village.....the lands, everything else that is not the object of deeds of gift, in the environs of the village the common property (madhyama) of the assembly." "We shall sell this land which has thus become common property (of the assembly) to those inhabitants who promise to pay taxes on each kuli. No person shall be allowed to produce deeds of gift or deeds of sale (âvanam) in order to show that the land thus sold belongs to himself. We, the assembly, shall levy a fine." "Those inhabitants who do not submit to this, shall be liable to pay into Court (Dharmāsana) a fine of 108 kânam.....per day." "If through indifference though..... was thus given to those who pay the fine, and they themselves have fined them, they are not able to remove the obstacles to the possession, the great men elected for the year shall be liable to pay an additional fine of 24 kânam."

No. 8 The assembly received 400 kâdi of paddy from Sadayan to feed 2 Brahmans from its interest of 100 kâdi.

No. 9 "The Lord Srî Rājarajadeva, being graciously seated in the college (kalluri), on the south of the painted hall (chitrakuta) at the great hippodrome gate in Tanjore was pleased to order as follows :—

"(The land of) those landholders in villages of Brahmans, in villages of Vaikānasas (a section of Vaishnavas), in villages of Sramanas (Jains) in Sônâdu, in Tondanâdu, and in Pandinâdu *alias* Rājarajavalanâdu who have not paid on the land owned by them, the taxes due from villages, along with the other inhabitants of those villages, for three years of which two are completed between the 16th and the 23rd year of my reign, shall become the property of the villages and shall be liable to be sold by the inhabitants of those villages to the exclusion of the (defaulting) landholders. Also (the land of) those who have not paid the taxes due from villages for three years (of which), two are completed, from the 24th year of my reign shall be liable to be sold by the inhabitants of those villages to the exclusion of the (defaulting) landholders." "Accordingly having been written by the royal secretary, Rājakēsarinallur Kilavan, and having been approved of by the chief secretary Mummudi-chôla Brahmamârāyan, and Mummudichola Pōsan (Bhoja), this

order was engrossed from dictation on the 143rd day of the 24th (year of my reign)."

No. 10 "We have sold and executed a deed of sale for (i) 3,000 kuli measured by the rod of 16 spans beginning (to measure from the west of land which was the common property of the assembly ..... (ii) five levers to the east of this land, &c." "Having received in full the purchase-money and the revenue of the land we, the great assembly, sold it free of taxes and executed a deed of sale." "Having been present in the assembly and having heard the order I, the accountant and arbitrator of this village, Pôrrikuli Kalidêvan *alias* Irandâyirattunûrruvan wrote this."

No. 11 "We, the great assembly, including the men elected for the year, and the great men elected for the supervision of the tanks, assigned at the request of Chakrapâni Nambi ..... "Half a measure of land in the fresh clearing (Puduttiruttam) on the west of the village of Sôdiambâkkam."

No. 12. We, the assembly of Sivachûlamanichatûrvedimangalam, (ordered as follows). "To the god of Puvanimânikkavishnugriham in our village shall belong, as a divine gift (devabhôga) the village called Sôdiambâkkam, &c." "We shall not be entitled to levy any kind of tax from this village. We (the great men) elected for the year, we (the great men) elected for the supervision of the tanks, and we (the great men) elected for the supervision of the gardens, shall not be entitled to claim at the order of the assembly, forced labour (vetti), vedili, vâlakânam, from the inhabitants of this village." "If a crime or sin becomes public the God (temple authorities) alone shall punish this village."

No. 14. A cultivator named Sênai granted one patti (Sans. nivarthana :—40,000 Sq. hasthas or hands) from the proceeds of which water and fire-pans had to be supplied to a mantapa frequented by Brahmans." The great men who manage the affairs of this village in each year shall supervise this charity."

This series of extracts, from inscriptions ranging in time through three centuries, say from 800 to 1100 A.D., shows clearly how rural tracts were governed during those centuries. The village assembly were the sole government of the village (or village-unions) in all its departments.

They were the absolute proprietors of the village lands. When fresh clearings were made the assembly became proprietor of the newly acquired lands. When lands were thrown out of cultivation,

the Sabha took over the lands to give them to others, who would pay the stipulated taxes per kuli. It was the business of the assembly to see that the actual cultivator was not molested in the possession of his holding. Failing in their duty "the great men of the year" laid themselves open to be fined by the general assembly. The assembly received deposits of money and grants of land for charitable purposes and administered the trusts by a board of commissioners specially appointed for the purpose from year to year. They often sold common village lands for these purposes and received in return the purchase-money and an additional sum from the interest of which the assembly had to pay the state dues upon the alienated lands made tax-free by themselves. They received all the taxes; and made independent grants of villages tax-free for purposes of charity and could waive all customary claims on landholders. They could take over the lands of villagers for default of payment of taxes, the collection of which, however, appears to have been made with great elasticity. This is not all; they could even transfer jurisdiction over villages to other corporations such as temple-authorities. Where they did not feel themselves competent to interfere they sought instruction from head-quarters as in No. 9. quoted above, where the lands concerned were those made over to other proprietors. This record is a copy of a circular order issued by Râjarâja the Great. It was drafted by the royal secretary on the verbal instructions of the Emperor himself and approved of by the chief secretary (Olainâyakam) Srikishnarâma *alias* Mummudichôla Brahmanârâyan and Perundaram I'râyiravan Pallavaiyan *alias* Mummudichôla Pôsan (Bhoja) and then despatched to the Mahasabhas. These sabhas had treasuries of their own, as would appear from the inscriptions of Râjarâja at Tanjore which refer to up-country treasuries.

The great assembly of the village (or kûrram) was divided into several committees. There were certainly three:—the great men elected for the year, (a committee of the assembly for general management), the great men elected for the supervision of the tanks (another committee to administer the tank-fund and see them in good condition) and those elected for the supervision of the gardens. There were besides the great men in charge of the temples, charities, &c. The work of this assembly was subject to supervision by the imperial divisional officers (adhikarins) often associated with the divisional commanders of the forces (sêna-

pathis). These officers moved through their divisions, asked for the accounts, examined them and made allotments out of the royal revenues which had, however, to be appropriated for the special purposes by the assemblies themselves.

No. 49, at Tiruvallam \* records that a certain Madhurântakan Kandârâdittan (Kandârâdittan, son of Madhurântaka), " while he stood in the temple observed that the offerings presented to the Alvar (God) were reduced to two nâli of rice, the offerings of vegetables, ghée and curds had ceased and the perpetual lamps had been neglected." He called the Saiva Brahmans of the temple and the assembly of Tikkâlivallam and said: " State the revenue and expenditure of the temple in accordance with the royal order and the royal letter." The rest of the inscription is unfortunately built in.

No. 57, at Tiruvallam † records that two royal officers, the magistrate (adhikari) Purân A'dittadevanâr alias Raja-râjendra Muvendavêlâr, and the Sênopathi, Rajaraja Parariparâkshasan alias Vîra Sôla Ilango (probably a prince of the blood) met at Gangaikondân Sôlan mantapa to the east of the temple of Tirumayânamudayâr (the lord of the crematorium, another name of god Siva) at Kañchipuram in Eyil nâdu sub-division of Eyil kôttam and called for the accounts of the villages which were the dêvâdânas (divine gifts) of the temple of the lord of Tiruvallam (Tiruvallamudayar).

" The magistrate Rajarajendra Muvendavêlân ordered as follows :—(The incomes) from the villages which are the ' devâdânas ' of this temple, viz., ûrkalanju, kumâarakachchânam, the fishing-rent, the rent of the goldsmiths and other minor taxes and rents, the cloth on the loom, vêlîkkasu, the tax on collecting rents (tandal), the sonship of the right-hand and the left-hand and the other internal revenue, which was being collected at the rate of 25 kâsu per 1,000 kalam (of paddy) had been entered in the register, and made over to this temple exclusively from the year which was opposite to (i.e., followed after) the seventh year of the reign of the Emperor Sri Vîrarajendrâdêva. Accordingly Kukkanûr a ' dêvâdâna ' of this god in Tuynâdu sub-division of Perumbânappâdi has to pay 38½ kasu or at the rate of 4 kalam of paddy by the Standard-measure (Rajakesari) per kasu, 153 kalams of paddy; and Mandiram in

\* South Ind. M.S. vol. III, pt. I.

† South Ind. vol. III, pt. I.

the same nâdu has to pay 26½ kasu or 153 kalams of paddy; altogether 65 kasu or 260 kalams of paddy were allotted to this temple for expenses not previously provided for and should be given from the third year (of the king's reign)." A large committee then assembled and made allotments from this revenue for various heads of temple expenditure. This is the kind of supervision to which the assembly of a sub-division was subject. Otherwise in all matters of fiscal administration the village assemblies were practically supreme.

In the administration of justice the village assembly exercised equal power, if not even more. We have a few inscriptions in which such exercise of power is clearly on record. The normal punishment for causing death was, of course, death as shown by some of the Chola inscriptions in Mysore territory\*; but the punishment depended usually upon the merits of the case. In three instances on record death was caused without intention on the part of the culprit and owing to pure accident. The Governor and the assembly which he convened for the purpose, in one instance, and the latter alone in the others sat in judgment and passed sentence that as death was caused unintentionally the extreme penalty of the law should not be meted out to the culprit; all the same the accused should not go scot-free. He was, therefore, ordered to burn a perpetual lamp in the village temple for which he made over to the village assembly 16 cows. This fine of 16 cows, which would have been of the value of a quarter of a year's maintenance of an ordinary family, must have been rather heavy but would certainly have acted as a powerful deterrent against crimes caused by negligence. In all three cases on record death was due to shooting accidents.† It is not out of place here to remark that the jury system which is believed to be the special birthright of Englishmen and spoken of generally as unknown in India, is found to have been in full swing. In the first instance above given, the Governor, it was that took cognizance of the case first; but he did not find himself competent to proceed without the assembly; whereas in the latter cases the assembly proceeded without even a reference to the Governor.

Such were the powers of the village assemblies in those days. Considering the extent of the country and the want

\* Hoggarddevanakote 18. Epigraphica Carnataka, Vol. IV.

† See 26 Govt. Epigraphists Report for 1900.

of rapid communication, and considering that the assemblies took great interest in the discharge of their manifold functions, (as the many references to the assembly having "met without a vacancy" would show), there is no gainsaying the fact that the administration was efficient and well-suited to the times. A number of these rural units constituted a district (or *nādu*) and a number of these again formed a *kōttam* (Sans. *kōshṭaka*) elsewhere but a *valanādu* (fertile country) in the Chōla country proper which, as far as could be made out, was divided into eight such divisions, viz., (1) Arumolidēva *valanādu*, (2) Kshatriya *sikhāmani valanādu*, (3) Uyyakondāra *valanādu*, (4) Rajēndrasimha *valanādu*, (5) Keralāntaka *valanādu*, (6) Rajāsraaya *valanādu*, (7) Pandya-kulasani *valanādu*, (8) Nittavinōdha *valanādu*. A number of these divisions went to make a province (*mandalam*) which had originally been an independent kingdom gradually absorbed into the rising Empire of the Chōlas. Each province was under a viceroy, who was either a scion of the dispossessed royal families or a prince of the blood. At any rate from the days of Rajādhāja it had become the fashion to confer viceroalties upon near kinsmen such as, uncles, brothers, sons, &c., perhaps because of the general revolt of the frontier provinces. We find, however, several Pallavas in positions of influence and trust. The whole Empire of the Cholas (except the Vengi country which occupied all along the position of a dependent ally) was divided into six provinces, each of which had, at least, two alternative names: (1) its original name as an independent kingdom and (2) a new name derived generally from the titles of the Emperor who conquered or from those of the viceroy whose rule over the province was specially distinguished. These provinces were:—(1) the Tondamandalam or Jayangondachōla-mandalam (the Pallava country, embracing the coast districts between the rivers the Southern Pennar and the N. Pennar, if not the Krishna. (2) The Chōlamandalam itself. (The districts of Tanjore and Trichinopoly. (3) Rajarajamandalam comprising a part at least of the Pāndya and the Kēraḷa country, (Parts of Madura and the Travancore country). (4) The Kongu country or Adhirajaraja mandalam, earlier Sōla Keralamandalam, (Districts of Salem and Coimbatore). (5) Gangaikondachōla Mandalam, (Districts of Mysore and Bangalore),—the western part of the Ganga country of Mysore. (6) The Nikharilichōla Mandalam embracing the

eastern part of the Ganga country of Mysore, the Bāna kingdom to the south-east and the Vaitumbā country to the north-east (District of Kolar in Mysore, a part of North Arcot and the Maharajavady Part of the Cuddapah District).

That the administration of the Chōlas was highly systematised early is amply proved by the fragments of their records that have come down to us on stones and copper. But the wonder is what could have happened to the records in the archives of the Government. Much earlier than the days of Rajaraja or even Parāntaka the Chōla administration had been reduced to some sort of system and the title of the Chief Secretary "*Olaināyakam*" shows that there were royal records on palmyra leaves (of which the epigraphical records were mere copies) kept at head-quarters. Besides these, as the inscriptions at Karuvūr and other places show, there were registers kept of the royal orders by each of the Mahasabhas. Regret as we may the disappearance of these records, we have, thanks to the untiring industry of the epigraphical department, enough of material before us to gain an idea of the general character of the Chōla administration.

We learn that the lands under cultivation were carefully surveyed and holdings registered at least a century before the famous Domesday record of William the Conqueror. The inscriptions of Rajaraja referring occasionally to "the book" show that the survey was correct to  $\frac{1}{52,428,800,000}$  of a *veli* of land which would approximately be equivalent to  $\frac{1}{50,000}$  of a square inch (a *veli* being 6½ acres). The unit of linear measure was the 'royal foot' (*Srīpātha* of Kulottunga) during the later period, from which was derived the unit measure of area. We find also graduated rods of 16 and 18 spans used in land measure earlier. Measured lands were entered either in *kuli* or in *vēli* in the Chola country proper; while the standard measure of other portions of the Empire varied a little from that of this part. The royal dues were taken either in kind or in gold or in both. These were fixed per *kuli* and the expressions "calculated" (*Karickkadan*) and "settled" (*Nichaiyetta*) produce occur in some records which probably meant the revenue as entered against the particular holding by previous survey calculation and that founded on actual yield (during revision.\*)

\* Here I beg leave most respectfully to differ from Dewan Bahadur Srinivasaragavaiyangar who surmises that these terms meant respectively the gross outturn and the Government share. He refers to an inscription of Kulottunga.

This latter must have been quite feasible as the revenues were collected by the village assemblies which could find out the actual yield to a nicety. If the Government dues were not paid the penalty was, of course, the taking over of the land by the village assembly to be disposed of otherwise, and the liability of the land holder ceased there. The person and the personalties of the man were not touched, as they are in our more civilized times. A record of the time of Vikrama Chola shows that the land revenue was not paid owing to floods and the villagers put the land up to sale by public auction and sold 2,000 kuli of wet land for 25 kasu and another bit of 4,250-kuli of dry land for 20 kasu. The same power was given to the sabhas over lands transferred to other proprietors by the circular order of Rajaraja above quoted.

The Emperors whether they were in their capitals or out in their progress through their dominions did transact office-business. In a number of inscriptions we find it stated that the Emperor was seated in a particular part of the palace and issued orders which were committed to writing by the Royal Secretary (corresponding to the Private Secretaries of our days).<sup>\*</sup> Whatever was the order it had to be approved of by the Chief Secretary (Olaināyakam) and by another high Dignitary (Perundaram) Irāyiravan Pallavaiyan in the days of Rajaraja and his son. Finally it was transmitted to the party concerned by the despatching clerk (Vidaiyadhikari) which again meeting the approval of the viceroy or governor and the assemblies concerned was registered and sent into the record office. In illustration of how this was done I quote the following

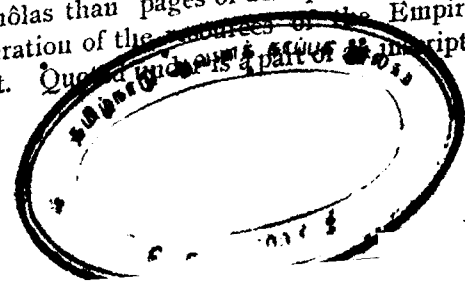
he first and finds that in some cases the revenue exceeds the outturn and in others it comes up to near two-thirds of the outturn. The former he explains away as due to errors of writing. A glance down the list given on the next page of his work shows as do a number of Rajaraja's inscriptions in the Tanjore Temple, that the overment demand came up to 100 kalams of paddy a veli. Kulottunga made a survey of the lands in 1086 A.D. (Epigraphist's report for 1900, section 25, page 10) and the record quoted is only a re-adjustment. Kulottunga had the reputation of having abolished the tolls (Sungandavirtachola).<sup>†</sup> Many of the figures quoted in the passage, as calculated produce, work up to 100 kalams a veli and in several there had been brought about a reduction. In others there was an enhancement, which would naturally follow a resurvey which was, as seems probable, undertaken to bring out an adjustment, as some lands might possibly have been over-assessed in consequence of the village assemblies receiving often the cost as well as the capitalized value of the revenue of lands made tax-free by themselves. One result of this might have been to enhance unduly the revenue payable by the tax-paying lands as the assemblies would have had to pay the same amount to Government, as would appear from the large number of extracts quoted above (vide Progress of Madras Presidency, appendix sec. I. D. and E., pp. 17 to 20).

<sup>\*</sup> Ep. Rec. and Vikrama Cholan Uta., verse 50. Indian Antiquary, Vol. xxii, p. 145.

from an inscription of Virarājendra:— "Being graciously seated in the royal bathing-hall within the palace at Gangaikonda Sōlapuram (the King) granted with libation of water, the village of Pākkūr in Vengāla nādu, (a district) of Adhirājaraja Mandalam, (and) was pleased to order that this village, excluding the tax-paying lands in the possession of the ryots, should become tax-free temple land from (the year) which was opposite to the third year (of his reign) including revenue, taxes, small tolls, eluvai, ugavai, the three fines called maurupādu, dandam, kūrām, everywhere where the iguana runs, the tortoise crawls, an ant-hill rises and sprouts grow, the grass for the calves and the lands enjoyed in full by the great village; that (this village) should pay to (the God) Mahādēva of Tiruvānilai (temple) at Karuvūr in the same nādu, the revenue hitherto paid by this village, viz., 303½ kalānju and one and one-twentieths manjādi of gold; and 3,531 kalam i tūni of paddy and that this village should be entered in the revenue register (vari) as tax-free temple land from this year forward."

"Accordingly the Royal Secretary Vānavan Pallavaraiyan, the lord of Tāli Tiruppanagādu and the Lord of Nērvāyil in Paniyūr nādu, a district of Kshatriya Sikhamani valanādu, having written that the king had been pleased to order (thus,) and the Chief Secretary Achchudan Rajarajan alias Tondamān, the citizen Uttamacholan alias Rajaraja Brahmadhirajan Araiyan Rajarajan alias Virarajendra Jayamurinādālvān, and Virarajendramangalappēraraiyan having unanimously approved (of this document) Virabhadran Tillaividangan alias Villavan Rajaran ordered:—"Let it be entered in our register in accordance with intimation received." In accordance with this order there was a meeting of a number of members, but here the record of their deliberations is unfortunately obliterated. "Our revenue officers having entered (this) in the revenue register in accordance with the royal order, let it be engraved upon copper and on stone (that this village was given) as tax-free temple land to the God Mahadeva of Tiruvānilai temple for the expenses of burnt offerings, oblations and worship."

This extract will give a far better idea of the administrative machinery of the Chōlas than pages of description. I shall now proceed to a consideration of the resources of the Empire and how they were spent. Quoted in part of the inscription of



Tribhuvanachakravartin Kōṇṇinmaikondān, which enumerates in the fullest available detail the numerous fiscal items of the Chōla rule. What detracts, however, from the full interest of the inscription is that at this distance of time we cannot understand the exact nature of any; nor even the general character of a few of these. The record is a gift of land free of taxes:—\* “These seventy-seven, six-twenties, and one-hundred and sixtieths (vēli) of land, which may be more or less, we gave: including the trees over ground, the wells underground, in the land and all other benefits (prāptis) of whatever kind, having first excluded the farmer owners and the hereditary proprietors, and having purchased (it) as tax-free property (Kāni) for the 106 Bhattas of this village, and for the two shares (of the image) of Sāmantañārāyaṇavinnagar Emberumān, from the rainy season of the 35th (year of our reign) as a meritorious gift (dharmadhāna) with libations of water, with the right to bestow mortgage or sell (it) as a tax-free grant of land to last as long as the moon and the sun.

(This grant) includes all kinds (vargas) of taxes (kadamai) and rights (kudimai), viz., the right to cultivate kār (a kind of paddy), maruvu (a fragrant plant: *origanum majoranum*), single flowers (orupu), flowers for the market (kadaipu) lime trees, dry crops, red water-lilies, areca-palms, betel-vines, saffron, ginger, plantains, and all other crops (payir); all kinds of revenue (āya) including tax in money (kāsu-kadamai) odukkuppadi, uraināli, the share of the village watchman who is placed over the vettis (paths), the share of the karnam who measures (paddy, &c.), the unripe fruit in kārtigai (month), the tax on looms (tari irai), the tax on oil-mills (sekkirai), the tax on trade (settirai),† tattoli, the tax on goldsmiths (tattārpāttam), the dues on animals and tanks, the tax on water-courses (olukkunir pāttam), tolls (vali āyam), inavari, (appears to be a tax on caste) the tax on weights (idaivari) the fine for rotten drugs (alugal sarakku), the tax on bazaars (angādipāttam) and the salt tax (uppāyam); [what follows is different from either of the above groups; and the bearing of the items is not known; I set them down here with the hope that some one who has the means may explain the terms correctly: panjupili (பஞ்சுபிலி) Sandhivigrahappēru (சந்திவிக்கிரகப்பேறு) ilānjinaiperu (இலாஞ்சினைப்-

\* No. 22, Vol. II, Pt. I.; South Ind. Inscriptions.  
† (Rather on profits).

பேறு) vāsalyinyogam (வாசல்வினியோகம்) padaiyilārmuraimai (படையிலார்முறைமை) kūrnilakkai (கூற்றிலக்கை) kadaikkuttilakkai (கடைக்கடிலக்கை) tandalilakkai (தண்டலிலக்கை) vidaipēr (விடைபேர்) mādihappadi (மாதப்படி) araikkālvāsi (அரைக்கால்வாசி) ūsivāsi (ஊசிவாசி) vilaittundam (விலைத்துண்டம்) nīrāni (நீராணி) kaverikkulai (காவரிக்குலை) dēvakudimai (தேவகுடிமை) nāttuppādhī (நாட்டுப்பாடி) ānaiṅkūdam (ஆனைக்கூடம்) kudiraipaudi (குதிரைப்பாடி). Thus in accordance with this order (ōlai) it shall be engraved on stone and copper.”

This is a long list of taxes and would stand comparison with the list of seigniorial dues of Europe before the French Revolution; but we are dealing with times about a 1000 years from us. That there were so many imposts and of such variety points to the conclusion that these were so many devices for increasing the income of the Government. The chief source of this income was the land revenue; and if this were capable of direct increase, the state revenue could be easily raised by taking a greater proportion of the gross outturn of produce without having recourse to the vexatious and roundabout way of gaining the same end. If the customary proportion could not be altered the only other course would be to devise a number of petty imposts which, though not the most economical, is still an indirect way of increasing the revenue and as such less seen or understood. We may then take what is actually stated in one of the inscriptions of Rājā-hiraja as true:—that the portion of the produce demanded and taken by the Government was one-sixth of the gross outturn. He is said to have taken the sixth and assumed the title Jayangonachōla as though the sixth were the most usual proportion. The additional taxes (āyas) were divided into two classes: the internal (anterāya) and external (other āyas). The latter must have been of the character of tolls and octroi generally. The incidence of the former was chiefly on land as even handicraftsmen were paid often in land for their customary work. This, we find, was commuted into one-tenth,\* in the inscription of Virarajendra at Iruvallam quoted above. The total demand upon land, therefore, would have come up to four-fifteenths of the gross outturn. From a number of inscriptions we find that the total revenue, on an average, from lands in the most fertile portions of the Tanjore and Trichinopoly Districts was 100 kalams per vēli by the Ada-

\* 25 Kasut is; but commuted into 100 Kalams at 4 Kulams per 1,000 Kalams. the days of Rājā-rāja Kasu = 2 Kulams.

vallan measure (equal to the Rajakēsari or Arumolidēvan, the standard measure of the days of Rajaraja) kept in possession of the temple authorities for safe custody. The Adavallan measure of paddy is found by Mr. Srinivasaraghaya Aiyengar to have weighed 192 tolas while its modern counterpart weighs 240 tolas. This would give the revenue per veli of six acres and two-thirds (2,000 kuli) at 80 modern kalamis of paddy (a kalam is about 3 maunds) and the gross outturn at 300 kalamis, a very high yield, perhaps not impossible as the lands in question are those that pay the highest revenue situate in the most fertile parts of the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts. All lands had not to pay the same revenue which varied from 50 to 80 modern kalamis of paddy or from 4 to 9 kalanju of gold. The village assemblies\* must have collected the royal dues with some elasticity as the order of Rajaraja quoted above would show.

One such act of clear-sighted statesmanship, it is, that got Kulottunga the First, the popular soubriquet of Sungandavirtachōla (the Chola who abolished the tolls), which is handed down to us in a suburb of that name in Tanjore town. In case of floods and other calamities remissions of taxes would appear to have been expected; but in one instance on record in Vikrama Chola's reign remissions were not granted in case of floods and some of the village lands had to be put up to public sale by the villagers, as referred to above. This would not seem to be enough to warrant the inference that "remissions were unknown" in those days.

It was stated before, that the royal dues were paid either in kind or in gold or partly in the one and partly in the other. Some of the minor taxes were paid in kasu. The unit of land was a veli of 2,000 kulis (six and two-thirds acres), ; of grain a kalam (about 3 maunds); of gold a kalanju (about one-sixth ounce Troy). The unit of currency was the gold kasu (seven-twentieths of a kalanju or about 28 grs. Troy). This coin appears to have passed for its metallic value; because the great Rajaraja got all gifts to the temple carefully weighed and appraised. All gold

\* The village assemblies often remitted taxes on certain pieces of land receiving its cost and the capitalized value of the revenues due. How they spent this money is not on record so far; but that the revenues might have been spread over the other lands is probable. Perhaps they applied the money for general improvements and making fresh clearings. In the latter case they began with a nominal revenue upon the lands in question gradually raising it through a term of years to normal proportion. South-Ind. Ins., Vol. I., 65.

ornaments among these are entered with their weights alone and no value, while jewels set with brilliants, &c., are entered with their weights (by the standard A'dvallān kāsukkallu) and their value in kāsū. We can safely infer that the kasu passed for its weight in gold although its value in grain and cattle might vary. Each kāsū was equivalent to 2 kalamis of paddy in the days of Rajaraja and his son, though it exchanged for so much as 4 kalamis about 50 years later. One buffalo, 2 cows and 6 sheep exchanged for 2 kasu in the former period. The total amount of revenue realized by the temple authorities was probably turned into cash, although it is possible that they kept a portion in grain alone. Much of the cash in the treasury, however, was lent out to village assemblies or even to individuals on the guarantee of the assemblies. Occasionally when they lent out to townsfolk, the loan was given on the joint responsibility of the relatives of the person or even the whole trade concerned. An interest of 12½ per cent. was uniformly charged whether in grain or in kāsū. Several of these loans were given for providing the temple with the daily and periodical requirements; but often loans were made for purely agricultural purposes. In the former case the debtors had to pay interest in ghee, oil, camphor, or any other commodity agreed upon beforehand, while in the latter the interest was paid either in cash or in kind.

The main heads of expenditure of the royal revenues were the civil administration, the maintenance of armies, the building and beautifying of temples and cities, and the carrying out of useful public works of a scale beyond the capabilities of local revenues and administrations.

The cost of civil administration was met from the rural revenues, the higher officers as well as the lower ones being rewarded by gifts of land or by assignments of revenue. Deducting this cost from the total revenue, the residue reached the royal treasury, to be spent on the other items.

The Chōlas appear to have had a regular army divided into sections according to the kind of arms they carried and according as they were mounted or otherwise. We find reference to the 'chosen body of archers,' the 'chosen footsoldiers of the body-guard,' the 'chosen' horsemen and the 'chosen infantry of the right hand.'\* I have not come across any reference to the infantry

\* Infantry recruited from the artisan class.



of the "left hand." Some of the princes are referred to as 'anai-chêvagan' (perhaps commander of an elephant corps). That they maintained an efficient fleet is borne out by references to the destruction of the Chera fleet at Kândalur, placed on the west coast by Dr. Hultzsch; the capture of Kedâram by Rajendra after a sea-fight, and several invasions of Ceylon. Besides this epigraphical evidence, ancient Tamil literature is full of details and descriptions of the sailing craft of those days. They also show abundant evidence of nautical experience by the figures and tropes made use of in the works. To give only one example in illustration; the author of the 'Epic of the Anklet' refers to beacon lights being placed on the tops of palmyra trunks in lamps made of fresh clay at Puhâr or Kaverypûmbattinam on dark nights when the sea was rough. No clear reference is available as to the administration of the army.

The Chôlas were great builders; builders not only of cities and temples (sometimes for strategic purposes, sometimes in obedience to the dictates of their vanity) but also of useful irrigation works. These may be divided into major works and minor works. These latter were probably constructed, and certainly looked after, by the P. W. committee of the sabhas. The former were made and perhaps maintained by the Government. "Passing over the ancient Chôla Karikâla and his more modern namesake reputed by tradition to have built the embankments on the Kavery and cut the main channels for irrigation respectively, we find works of the kind undertaken by later rulers. The names\* of most of the main channels of irrigation at present watering the Tanjore District occur in the inscriptions of this dynasty of rulers. The following two instances should suffice to give us an idea of the importance attached to artificial irrigation works† in those days.‡ Driving across the town of Tanjore along the road to Trivadi the first river we pass over is now

\* The agricultural class.

† The Peruvallavoy Channel, in the District of Trichinopoly the Arasalar, The Nattâr, The Kaduvayaru and the Pândavoyâru should suffice. Of the last two, the first is a branch of the Vettâr and the next from the Vennâr (vide any irrigation map of the Kavery Delta).

‡ "Madras can claim to have introduced, if not originated, a style of construction, which has been widely adopted within and without the Empire, and to have established a plan of dealing with deltaic lands which has not yet been improved upon. A portion of the credit for these achievements belongs to the native engineers of the days preceding the British advent. They had conceived the idea of controlling a river at the head of its delta, and of thus securing the regular watering of their lands."—*Irrigated India* by Hon. Alfred Deakin.

## HISTORY OF THE TRADE OF ANCIENT INDIA.

A GREAT deal of interest is at present centred in the trade routes between the East and West. The conflicting interests of the Powers in gaining the command of the highways of Central and Western Asia are already exhibiting themselves. It has been predicted of the twentieth century that the available resources of nations would be put forth to attain commercial eminence. Territorial aggrandisement has already been relegated to the background. The wars of the century are to be waged on behalf of the commerce and tariff rates. In view of the recent events in the Persian Gulf it would be interesting to know that the same motives, which are now guiding the movements of the Powers, also steered the course of events between the rival interests of the monarchies of antiquity. Twenty centuries ago, when the foremost nations tried to out-shine one another by lavishing their wealth on "munching and sparkling" and India had the reputation of being the land of the gods and the fairies, where flourished in spontaneous growth the spices that perfumed the royal tables and where the earth was so bountiful in its mineral resources that gold flowed with the torrents of its rivers and diamonds glittered on the mountain sides while pearls and coral reefs covered the depths of its seas. We should not be surprised to find in that golden age that the trade of India was a much coveted prize in the eyes of the nations who aspired to the supremacy of the earth. In this essay an attempt is made to set out the extent of the foreign trade of India in ancient times, without laying pretensions however to any original research or any independent opinions on disputed points.

2. In the very dawn of history the "nations" on the Southern Coast of Arabia traded with India. The first adventure upon record is the progress of an Arabian caravan consisting of "a Company of Ishmalites come from Gilead with their camels bearing spicery and balm and myrrh, going to carry it down to Egypt." The Southern Arabians, chief among whom the Sabaeans, long continued to be the principal trading agents

between the nations of the East and the West. The civilisation of ancient Egypt and the nautical enterprise of the Phœnicians are known to have first created in the West a market for the fine products of the East. They got their merchandise from Chaldaean and Babylonian merchants on the lower Euphrates along what is known as the Indo-Syrian trade route, which ran from oasis to oasis across the deserts of Arabia and Mesopotamia. At Damascus the route parted into lines, one leading to Tyre and Sidon and the other through Palestine to the East Coast of the Red Sea and into Egypt.\*

3. This was the most ancient route to India. The Red Sea route was not then fully explored. The only West then known to the merchants of India was the maritime town of *Eudaimon* (Aden). It was called *Eudaimon* (rich and prosperous) because in bygone days when merchants from India did not proceed to Egypt and those from Egypt did not venture to cross over to the marts further East, but both came only as far as this city, it formed the common centre of their commerce. This state of things appears to have been chiefly due to the unfitness for any considerable voyage of the ships of ancient times to the insecurity of merchants from the depredations of pirates and, to no small extent, to the superstitious aversion to sea-faring of ancient Egyptians. The traditions of ancient Egypt do not point to its ever having aspired to maritime supremacy. "They held all sea-faring persons in detestation as impious and profane, and fortifying their harbours they denied strangers admission into them."†

4. The Egyptian aversion to sea-faring allowed to the Phœnician mariners a free-hand at commerce. Navigation made its first efforts in the Mediterranean with the bold venture of the Phœnician Seamen and they appear to have carried their excursions as far as Cadiz. The success achieved by their enterprise in the Mediterranean prompted them to seize the command of the communications by sea with India and thereby secure into their own hands the entire trade of the Indo-Syrian route. They wrested from the Idumæans commodious harbours on the Persian Gulf and from these they traded with India. They at the same time took possession of *Rhinocolura*, the port in the Mediterran-

\* For a detailed account of the ancient trade routes to India the reader is referred to Sir William Hunter's History.

† Robertson, page 6.

ean nearest to the Persian Gulf. From this port goods were shipped to Tyre and thence passed on to the Nile valley or distributed over the Mediterranean Coast. The monopoly of trade thus secured poured into Tyre immense wealth, and soon that city attained to the premier position in the West.

5. At this time the Hebras Empire of David appeared on the scene and after rapid conquests seized the positions commanding the Indo-Syrian caravan route. The Empire founded by David was consolidated by Solomon. The Israelites got the mastery of the entire trade of the East. The Indian trade being the mainstay of Tyre the Phœnician King entered into a commercial treaty with King Solomon securing to that city the advantages of her maritime supremacy while to the Hebrew King was lent the assistance of the Tyrian seamen in order to seize the outlets on the Red Sea and the land track leading to Egypt. As a result of this alliance, King Hiram of Tyre manned with Phœnician seamen the fleet of Solomon on the Red Sea for the naval expedition to India.

"And King Solomon made a navy of ships in Eriongeber, which is beside Eloth, on the shore of the Red Sea, in the land of Edom.

And Hiram sent in the navy his seamen shipmen that had knowledge of the sea, with the servants of Solomon. And they came to Ophir and fetched from thence gold, 420 talents, and got it to King Solomon."

## II, KINGS X, 26—28.

The earliest mention of any mart in India which antiquarian research has set itself to identify on the West Coast is that of Ophir which supplied gold to the King of the Hebrews. From its name, its situation and its ancient greatness Ophir is identified with some certainty with the sea-coast town of *Supara*\* situated five miles to the north of Bassein. *Supara* is mentioned by Ptolemy and Arrian and appears to have been from the remotest times an important centre of trade. Among its ruins have been preserved some monuments which also attest its high antiquity. The *Jamint Tawarikh* of Rashi du-d-Din mentions *Sûfara* near Tang. *Supara* is said to have been the capital of the Konkan from 1500 B.C. to 1300 A.D. Under the name of *Shurparaka* it

\* Note.—Ophir is spelt in the Septuagint "Sophir" and Josephus says that Ophir is in the Aurea Chersonesus (the Bombay group of islands).

appears in the Mahabharata as a very holy place, where the five Pandava brothers rested on their way to Prabhas. According to Buddhist writers Buddha in one of his former births was *Bodhisat Sopara*, i.e., Bodhisattva of Sopara. "Jain writers make frequent mention of Sopara." Under the names of *Soparaka*, *Soparaya* and *Shorparaga*, it is mentioned in old Devanagiri inscriptions of the first and second centuries A.D. The author of the Peripplus of the Erythrean Sea mentions *Onppara* between *Barygaza* (Baroach) and *Kalyan* (Kalyana near Bombay) as a local mart on the coast. No wonder then that the fame of Sopara had found its way to the court of King Solomon in the 10th century B.C. But the ingenuity of antiquarians and the interests of speculators in gold booms have been so very active about locating this land of gold and have driven them in search of it to so many corners of Arabia, West and South Africa and India that we may aptly repeat with James Douglas, the author of "Bombay and Western India" that since its mention in Genesis X, 20, Ophir "has had a troubled existence, like the dove of Noah's Ark finding no rest for the sole of its foot."

6. To return to the history of trade, the next attempt at direct commercial intercourse with India came from neighbours nearer home. The Persian conquest of India in the 5th century B.C. brought the two countries into direct relations. The campaign began with the exploration of the Indus by the squadron under Scylax. But grand as the invasion was, like all things Persian, the Empire of Iran does not appear to have contributed to any appreciable extent to the development of the trade of India. On the other hand after the destruction of Babylon, the greatest commercial mart in the world, the Persian Empire never succeeded in reviving from her ashes a new entrepôt of the Eastern routes to take her place.

7. It was left to the genius of Alexander the Great to avenge the fall of Babylon and build on the ruins of the Persian dominion a colossal commercial Empire with its metropolis at Alexandria. During the struggle with the Tyrians, Alexander conceived a high estimate of the resources of maritime power and of the wealth acquirable by commerce, especially with India, which he found engrossed by the merchants of Tyre. With a view to secure this commerce he founded the city of Alexandria which soon eclipsed the ancient glories of Tyre and proved an emporium worthy of the illustrious founder's name. It is not merely as a

conqueror or the harbinger of western civilisation that the Macedonian came to India. His was a grand commercial design most discernedly concerted and dexterously executed. Though his untimely death nipped in the bud his scheme for the fusion of the East and the West, his trade policy was destined to leave its mark on the future history of the world. After the subjugation of the Punjab, Alexander fitted out a flotilla of nearly 2,000 vessels manned with his troops and his seamen, his experts in science and his chroniclers. The navigation of the Indus was explored and cities were established on its banks. Similarly on his return to Susa he surveyed the course of the Euphrates and Tigris and ordered the removal of the cataracts and dams erected by the Persians. Thus did Alexander open up communication between his Persian dominion and India on the one hand and along the Red Sea with Alexandria on the other.

8. With the break up of Alexander's Asiatic Empire the trade route of the Persian Gulf appears to have fallen into disuse and paled into insignificance until it was taken up again three centuries later. The commerce of India came to be carried on by that channel by which the gains of Alexander had destined it to flow. Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, established the seat of the Egyptian government at Alexandria and faithful to the designs of his great master devoted the resources of his country to the concentration of the Eastern trade at that emporium. Ptolemy Philadelphus completed the project which Alexander had set on foot. Viewing with concern the dangerous navigation in the northern half of the Red Sea he cut short the voyage by building the city of *Berenice* on the western shores of that sea almost under the tropics. This city became the staple of trade with India. From here the merchandise of the East was carried 250 Roman miles inland to *Coptos*: thence by navigable canal to the Nile and down that river to Alexandria. From *Berenice* to India the course taken by the ships was along the Arabian Coast to the promontory of *Syaqrus* or *Razalgad*, the south-east corner of Arabia, and thence along the coast of Persia to the mouth of the Indus.

9. When Egypt came under the sceptre of Rome the commercial growth of Alexandria received fresh impetus. Syria and Mesopotamia became Roman provinces too; and Rome set herself to revive the trade of the Indo-Syrian route. We find under the Empire the merchants of Tyre and Alexandria vying

with one another to supply the increasing demands of Rome and her colonies. The commercial activity thus fostered brought into prominence the city of Palmyra, an oasis in the desert of Mesopotamia, which reached such a height of prosperity that its ruling prince came to be recognised as a "colleague in the Empire." At this time it happened that Hippalus, the commander of a ship engaged in the Indian trade, encouraged by the regular setting in of the periodical winds from the east and the west of the Arabian Sea, stretching boldly from *Eudaimon* (Aden) across the broad Ocean, was carried by the western monsoon to *Musiris*, a harbour on the West Coast of India. The greatest discovery of ancient navigation was made. As a grateful tribute to the pioneer sailor his memory was perpetuated by calling the wind Hippalus, which enabled him to perform the voyage.

## CHAPTER II.

10. We have traced the history of Indian trade through more than ten centuries of its existence, but during all this period our knowledge of India is so limited that we have groped in the dark for the local emporiums of that trade. But with the dawn of the Christian Era the cloud hovering over the Indian region brightens up and presents to our astonished gaze its illumined outline. In the days of the empire we are introduced to an India with trading cities and ruling races which are now extinct and which should have been relegated to oblivion but for the fragments of the writings of Greek and Egyptian voyagers and Roman historians, such as Arrian, Ptolemy, Pliny, Strabo and Cosuros—authorities not unworthy of the purest times of Attic and Roman literature.

11. On the delta of the Scinthes (Indus) were two towns known to the ancients: *Barbarikon* (modern Bambhara and *Minagar*). The Periplus gives the following account of them: "The river has seven mouths all shallow, marshy and unfit for navigation except only the middle stream on which is *Barbarikon* a trading seaport. Before this town lies a small islet and behind it in the interior is *Minagar* the metropolis of Scythia which is governed by Parthian Princes who are perpetually at strife among themselves expelling each other." \* There are strong grounds to believe that *Minagar* is identical with *Patala* of Ptolemy (the modern Tatta sit. lat.  $24^{\circ} 44'$  N. and long.  $68^{\circ}$  E.)

\* Mc Crindle's Translation of the *Periplus mare Erythraeum*, p. 108.

now a small Municipal town in the District of Sindh, although it is contended that *Minagar* is the modern Hyderabad on the Indus. In support of the former view we have the account of Arrian that *Patala* was the greatest city on the delta of the Indus and that it was situated at the head of the delta where the two great arms of the Indus dispart and the statement of Ptolemy that "the insular portion formed by the bifurcation of the river towards its mouth is Patalene." *Patala* therefore was the chief city of the deltaic region called Patalene. Again we have it from the Periplus that "Minagar was the metropolis of Scythia, and Scythia was the name given to the lower region of the Indus." The situation of *Minagar* is also indicated with some precision in the Periplus. It coincides exactly with that of *Patala*. It is significant that *Patala* does not occur in the Periplus. One would find it hard to believe that in a detailed account of the trade marts of India, the author of the Periplus could have passed over *Patala* the chief city of Scythia on the Indus, if ever it were an emporium distinct from *Minagar*. The Jadeja Railputs of Gujerat derive their origin from Tatta (*Patala* of Ptolemy) which is to this day called by them *Siminagar*. The two names may be reconciled by our taking *Minagar* \* to be the appellation by which *Patala* was known to the Hindus.

12. In the spacious docks of *Patala* Alexander the Great found accommodation for his fleet of 2,000 ships. Here he remained for a considerable time. He strengthened it with a citadel and made it a military centre of his Indian dominions. The Empire of Alexander was dismembered by the inroads of the Scythians in about 78 A.D., who during the lifetime of their three successive dynasties, Saka, Indo-Parthian and Rushana, carried their conquests as far south as Maharashtra and east into Central India until they were beaten back by the combined resistance offered by the Guptas under Vikramaditya Chandragupta (circa 376 A.D.). When it is said that the Indo-Scythians were overthrown by Chandragupta we are not to understand that the former were entirely wiped out or even subjugated. They maintained their ascendancy in the upper and lower valleys of the Indus for several centuries later until, it is believed, they were lost in the teeming millions of India. In fact we have it from Tuhfat-l-Kiram, the Arabian Geographer, that in the 12th century A.D. *Minagar*

\* *Minagar* is derived from *min* the Hindu name for Scythians, and *nagar* (town).

was one of the cities dependent on Multan and was in the possession of the chief, by caste an *agri* descended from the Macedonian settlers of Alexander's time.

13. The trade of the country must have been very lucrative as appears from the presents brought to the sovereign to ensure his protection: plate, musical instruments, handsome girls for the harem, the best wines and the finest perfumes. Pliny wrote of this trade that every pound laid out in India produced a hundred at Rome. Egyptian ships imported into Tatta woollen cloth of a slight fabric, linnen in chequer work, precious stones, and some aromatics unknown on the coast, coral, storax, glass vessels, some wrought silver, money and wine. In return for these they received spices of various kinds, sapphires, and other gems, silk stuffs, silk thread, cotton cloth and black pepper. The emporium of the Tatta appears to have maintained her prestige till very recent times. When Nadir Shah entered Tatta at the head of his army in 1742, there were in the city 40,000 weavers, 20,000 other artisans and 60,000 dealers in various trades. The East India Company established there a factory in 1758 which was afterwards withdrawn. The present trade which is only a tithe of what it once was consists mostly of silk and cotton manufactures.

14. From the deltaic region of the Indus we pass on to Guzerat. The dangers attending navigation in ancient times are brought home to the modern mind by a description no less accurate than graphic which appears in the *Periplus Maris Erythreæ* of the Gulf of Kach—the *Canthi Finus* of Ptolemy. "The gulf has two divisions—the great and the little—both shoal with violent and continuous eddies extending far out from the shore so that before ever land is in sight ships are often grounded on the shoals or being caught within the eddies and lost. Over this gulf hangs a promontory which curving from Erimon first to the east and then to the south and finally to the west encompasses the gulf called *Barakê*, in the bosom of which lie 7 islands. Should a vessel approach the entrance of this gulf the only chance of escape for those on board is at once to alter their course and stand out to sea, for it is all over with them if they are once fairly within the womb of *Barakê* which surges with vast and mighty billows, and when the sea tossing in violent commotion forms eddies and impetuous whirlpools

\* Sir Henry Elliot's History Translation, Vol. I.

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in every direction. The bottom varies presenting in places sudden shoals, in others jagged rocks, so that when a anchor grounds its cable is either at once cut through or so broken by friction at the bottom." Nor was the sighting of the river mouth a source of relief to the ancient mariner, for its ebb and flow presented a phenomenon at the same time novel and fearful. Such were the difficulties that foreign merchantmen had to combat before effecting their passage through the narrow gulf of Barygaza and the mouth of the Nerbudda to the city of *Barygasa* (Baroach) the gate of Southern India.

15. The Dakhan is mentioned by Arrian as one of the divisions of the Indian continent. "From Barygaza the country stretches to the south, hence that district is named *Dachenabodes*, for in the language of the country the south is called *Dachanos*." About the 1st century A.D. the Dekhan comprised the following divisions:—

(i) *Larikê* corresponding to Guzerat and the Northern Konkan.

(ii) *Ariakê* including the Southern Konkan and part of Canara, and *Mahârdshtra* or Dekhan proper\* in the interior.

(iii) *Limirikê* or *Dimirikê* comprising the kingdom of Kerala which extended from Mangalore as far south as Cochin and to the east as far as Coimbatore.

(iv) The kingdoms of *Pandya*, *Chola* and *Chera* in the extreme south of the Peninsula.

(v) *Tondeimandalam* or the Pallava kingdom on the eastern coast, and

(vi) *Calinga* covering the entire sea-board from the Kistna to the Ganges.

16. *Larikê*.—It has not been found possible to make out whether *Larikê* extended far into the interior of the Peninsula so as to include the territory between the upper Godavari and Kistna known as Maharashtra proper. In this essay on the ancient trade of India, it will be convenient to treat of this territory side by side with the coast tracts. It would help to a better understanding of the subject to have a general idea of the history of this part of India in the earlier centuries of the Christian era. We have already (para. 12 *supra*) alluded to the supremacy of the Sakas or Indo-Scythians over the region of the Indus. From

\* Dr. Bhasdarker's History of the Dekhan, pp. 133-4, Vol. I, Part. II, Gazetteer of Bombay.

their base in the valley of the Indus they emerged on a career of conquest into Central and Western India. They annexed Guzerat, Kathiawad and Malwa in the latter half of the 1st century A.D. and made *Ozēnē* (modern Ujjain) their capital. Chasthana became the first Indo-Scythian Mahashatrpa (i.e., Viceroy). He belonged to the Kathiawad-Malwa family and is referred to by Ptolemy as ruling at *Ozēnē* (Circa 132 A.D.).\* But the march southwards of the Indo-Scythians was not unchecked. As early as 73 B.C. the Andhrabrityas, also known as the Sātavāhanas or Sālivāhana, had established themselves in the Dekhan and by rapid conquests had extended their sway in all directions and formed a compact Hindu kingdom with its capital at *Paithana* (modern Paitān) on the Godavari. Repeated attempts on the part of the Sakas to push their way into Mahārāshtra were foiled by the stout opposition offered by the Andhrabrityas. It was not long however before the conquering instincts of the Indo-Scythians asserted themselves. In the latter half of the 1st century A.D. the Salivahana dynasty was overthrown and the Saka prince Kshaharata Natapana took the reins of the Hindu Government in his hands. The foreign rule over Mahārāshtra lasted for just above half a century, at the end of which the Satavahana prince Gotamiputra Satakarni mustered strength and waged war against the Sakas. He drove them out of Mahārāshtra, and re-established the power of the Andhra family (between 124 and 132 A.D.)†. He then followed up his victories into the very dominions of the Sakas as far as *Ozēnē* their capital, subjugated them and dethroned the Maharashtra Jayadaman, son of Chasthana, and for a time held sway over the Saka territories. Subsequently "Rudradaman, son of Jayadaman, collected a band of followers, overthrew the Satavahanas, regained his lost kingdom and assumed the title of Mahashatrpa at *Ozēnē*. He is said to have conquered several of the provinces of the Hindu kingdom and to have twice subdued Yagnashri Satakarni, the Lord of *Dakshinapatha*, of the Satavahana dynasty. (Circa 154 A.D.) Rudradaman however did not exterminate the Satavahanas because it would appear that the latter had contracted a blood relationship with the Indo-Scythian Mahashatrpa family.‡ On

\* Journal. B. B. R. A. S., p. 375. Vol. XX.

† Dr. Bhandarkar's History of the Dekhan, p. 168, Gazetteer of Bombay, Vol. I, Part II.

‡ Dr. Bhandarkar's History of the Dekhan, pp. 160-161, Gazetteer of Bombay, Vol. I, Part II.

known Vadavāru (northern river). This river is called in the inscriptions *Vīrachōla* Vadavāru. (There is another *Vīrachōla* river branching from the Kavery a few miles below the bridge at *Kāmbakonam*). This was evidently cut out from the Vennār by *Vīrachōla* to feed a big irrigation tank in the now postal town of *Vaduvur* in the Maunārgudi Taluq, which has no other feeder channel and which waters a large area, else unfit for cultivation. The other instance is the large artificial reservoir at *Gāngai-kondāsōlapuram* in the *Wodiārpālyam* Taluq of the *Trichinopoly* District. I take the following from *Pharoah's Gazetteer of South India*—"It may also be mentioned that in *Wodiārpālyam* Taluq there is an embankment 16 miles long running north and south, provided with several substantial sluices and of great strength, which in former times must have formed one of the largest reservoirs in India. The tank has been ruined and useless for many years and its bed is now almost wholly overgrown with high and thick jungle. It is said traditionally that its ruin was wilful and the act of an invading army. Near the northern extremity of the bund there is a village now surrounded by a jungle, called *Gāngaikondapuram*; immediately in its vicinity is a pagoda of a very large size, and costly workmanship; and close by surrounded and overgrown with jungle are some remains of ancient buildings now resembling the mounds or 'heaps' which indicated the site of ancient Babylon, but in which the village elders point out the various parts of an extensive and magnificent palace. When this palace was in existence *Gāngai-kondapuram* was the wealthy and flourishing capital of a small monarchy † and the great tank spread fertility and industry over miles and miles of what is now trackless forest. Speaking of the noble temple of *Gāngaikondapuram* it must not be omitted that when the lower Coleroon Anicut was built the structure was dismantled of a large part of the splendid granite sculptures which adorned it, and the enclosing wall was almost wholly destroyed in order to obtain material for the work." This magnificent relic of past greatness and a forgotten empire was the work of the great son of a still greater father who built the temple at,

\* pp. 338-339 of Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai's "The conquest of Bengal and Burma by the Tamils" *Madras Review* for August 1902, pp. 247 et seq.

† Yes! Small indeed as it did embrace what is now the Madras Presidency and a part of Mysore. (For the extent of the Chola Empire see my paper on Chola Ascendency. August number of the *Madras Review* for 1902, page 306).

and fortified the city of Tanjore. The temple at Gangaikondapuram measures 372 ft. by 584 ft. The lingam made of a single block of polished granite is 30 ft. now unfortunately split in twain by a stroke of lightning. The main tower of the Tanjore temple is about 200 ft. high and the single block of granite which forms the minaret is  $25\frac{1}{2}$  ft. square,\* calculated to weigh about 80 tons and had been raised to its present position by an incline which rested on the ground 4 miles away from the temple. These structures are believed to be the outcome of absolute power commanding unlimited labour.† There is a tradition current, however, of Karikalachola (may be either the first or the second of the name, it does not matter for our purpose) that he paid the labourers on the Kavery embankments in depreciated coin (coins of leather, as it is said) in consequence of which there was a dust-storm which overwhelmed the capital and made him flee for life. This story has its value alongside of the inference that as these temples were years in building and of very great cost, they must have been the result of forced unpaid labour. The labour might have been forced or not, provided it had been paid. The builders of these structures ruled over what is now the Madras Presidency and half of Mysore; their administration was not very expensive; and as great conquerors they must have brought from their wars much of the accumulated treasure of other powerful and prosperous kingdoms.‡

Whether the labour was paid for or not, we owe to these Chôlas not only the grand structures, the temples and palaces (indirectly useful, at least, as providing material for anicuts) but also the great part of the network of irrigation channels in the Tanjore District and a part of Trichinopoly.

We have ample evidence of the country having been traversed by grand trunk roads. That armies could march to Kottâru near Cape Comorin at the one end and the banks of the Mahanadhi, if not the Ganges, at the other of the peninsula, and that trade was carried on largely by means of 'vessels' and 'vehicles'§ are enough to prove their existence. If more proof be needed we have it in the fact that Kulottunga planted agricultural colonies

\* Rajarajas inscriptions of gifts to the Tanjore temple refer to the captured Chera Treasure.

† Sewell list of Antiquities, Vol. I., p. 227.

‡ Progress of Madras Presidency, pp. 14 & 15.

§ Silappadhikaram and Pattinappalai.

"along the road to Kôttaru"; and in the references in some of the inscriptions to roads of 64 spans, &c. There appears to have been a regular service of ferries across rivers maintained either at public expense or by private charity.

We can form an idea of the standard of life in those days from the following few facts gleaned from a number of inscriptions. Rajaraja made allotments from the temple revenue for the several officials in temple service and their annual salaries were fixed as follows. The officer in charge of the temple treasury is mentioned, but the figure opposite his name is obliterated. An accountant got 200 kalam of paddy by the A'davallân measure every year; and an under accountant 75 kalam. Bachelor Brahman servants of the temple got each 61 kalam and 4 kasu, 61 kalam and 5 kasu, and 91 kalam and 4 kasu according to their work. These latter officials drew their pay at the city-treasury and the other officials above-mentioned at up-country treasuries. Each temple watchman was paid 100 kalam a year; and each temple woman 100 kalam. An allowance of 120 kalam was made for the annual enacting of the Rajakêsarinâtakam. The offerings to a particular image, regulated probably by the requirements of a temple priest, are put down at 130 kalam a year. These allowances were probably fixed with reference to the requirements of the family of the class from which the official came. If this had really been the case, we may take the 200 kalam of the Brahman accountant as representing the requirements of an average Brahman family (a temple priest has several perquisites over and above his salary); and the 100 kalam of the watchman, those of the Sudra family. If, with Adam Smith, we can take it that over a long period of time the value of corn does not vary however much its price may, and assume that these represent the value of an equal quantity of grain to-day, the average income of a family per month would have been sixteen rupees and two-thirds and eight rupees and one-thirds for a Brahman and a Sudra respectively, on the supposition of the average price of paddy at 1 R. 4 As. per modern kalam. We cannot form any definite conclusion on the slender evidence we have; but if this represents at all the standard of life of those days we have all that is possible for us to know at present.

\* Mr. Brinivasanaghava Aiyangar's figures per head are Rs. 3-12-0 and Rs. 1-12-0. The Government of India's Rs. 20 a year per head.



The Cholas were Saivas by religion; but there is no evidence of the Vaishnavas or the Jains \* having been persecuted as such, before the days of Kulottunga who appears to have driven out Ramanuja from Srirangam. Rajaraja and his son patronised the Saivitic devotional works by providing for their recital in temples on stated occasions. We find occasional reference to gifts to Vaishnava temples and to provision made for the recital of portions of the Naláyiraprabhadam. The great temple builder Kôchengan appears to have been a builder of both classes of temples.† Appar, Sundarar, and Sambandar are referred to in some of the inscriptions of Rajaraja and somewhat later we find reference to the works of Kulasêkhara and Tirumangaiâlvâr, two of the twelve Vaishnava âlvârs. The god at the temple of Ukkal is referred to by the name Tiruvâymodidêva and Dr. Hultzsch is of opinion that Nammâlvâr the author of the Tiruvâymodi must have lived 'centuries before 1000 A.D.' There is an inscription of Rajêndra of the battle of Koppam fame which makes provision for the enacting of the Rajakêsarinâtakam every year. Popular tradition makes Kulottunga and some at least of his successors great patrons of literature. This dynasty of the Chôlas encouraged Tamil literature, but for the date of composition of the great body of extant works we may have to look a little earlier. In the present state of our knowledge of Tamil history nothing conclusive can be hazarded about the most important and the greatest of them.

The above is what appears to me to have been the state of things under the Chola rule. The difficulty here is certainly not a glut of material but much rather a want. The little that is generally known of the past history of this part of India is my only justification for this imperfect sketch.

S. KRISHNASWAMI IYENGAR.

\* The Jains had to pay a tax but the other Hindus also had to pay such as the righthand and lefthand castes there is an 'inavara' which if it means anything, ought to have been a tax on caste.

† Mr. Fergusson writes of the Tanjore Temple:—One of the peculiarities of the Tanjore Temple is that all the sculptures in the gopuras belong to the religion of Vishnu, while everything in the courtyard belongs to that of Siva, an instance of the extreme tolerance that prevailed in the age at which it was erected, before these religious became antagonistic.

the contrary the Satavahanas were allowed to continue as rulers of Paithan till about 218 A.D., while the Sakas held sway over the Punjab, Gujarat, and Central India till 388 A.D., when Chandragupta Vikramaditya expelled them from Malwa and made Ozêné his capital; \* for chieftains of the name of Guttas (Guptas) of Guttal and the Dharwar district trace their descent through Vikramaditya specified as king of Ujjayini.†

17. We learn from the above history that during the earlier centuries of the Christian era there were two great capitals in the peninsula, Ozêné (Ujjani) in Central India and Plithana (Paithan) on the northern bank of the Godavari in the Aurangabad district of the Nizam's dominions; that Ozêné was the metropolis of the Imperial Sakas till 388 A.D., and subsequently the capital of the Guptas, while Paithan was the Salivahana capital. Barygaza (Baroach) on the Nerbudda was the port of Ozêné and Plithana. Although situated within the empire of the Sakas, Barygaza had attained to such an importance as a seat of trade that it took precedence over all the other sea-side emporia of the country and attracted the Traffic from all quarters of Northern and Southern India. Down the stream of the Nerbudda or by land carriage from the city of Tagara across high mountains the productions of the interior country were conveyed to it. Tagara is the Deogarh of ancient Hindu History and the modern Darlatabad in the Nizam's provinces ‡; and the high mountains across which goods were conveyed to Barygaza are the Balaghat range. Onyx stone in large quantities from Paithan, and ordinary cottons, muslins, mallow coloured cottons and other articles of local production from Tagara were carried in waggons to Barygaza and thence exported to foreign countries. Again the Periplus tells us that the trade of Kalliena was subjected to the severest restrictions so that if Greek vessels entered its port even accidentally they were seized and sent under guard to Barygaza. Kalliena (modern Kalyana), as we shall see presently, was a port of no little importance lower down the coast and was by its position a more natural outlet to the productions of Maharashtra. Yet it was content to hold a subordinate position under Barygaza. From its nearness to Ozêné—the metropolis in which the king

\* Journal of the R.A.S., B.B., Vol. XX., p. 390.

† Ibid., p. 398.

‡ Though generally accepted, the identification is not free from doubt. Vide foot-note on p. 18 of Nairne's History of the Konkan, Gazetteer of Bombay, Vol. I, Part II.

resided—*Barygaza* came directly under the protection of the powerful Indo-Scythian Viceroys and thus provided a safe harbourage to foreign vessels. As a safeguard against the dangers attending the navigation of the Gulf of Barygaza and the mouth of the Nerbudda, the Government provided pilots who took charge of incoming vessels at the entrance of the gulf and towed them safely to port. *Barygaza* was above all the port of *Ozêné* which obtained from the country around commodities from Northern India such as onyx stones, porcelain, muslins, ordinary cotton in large quantities and even the aromatic spikenard from distant Cabul—and passed them on to *Barygaza* for export to the Western world. From this port the markets of Arabia and Persia on the southern side of the Straits of Babelmandel were regularly supplied with the products of India, such as corn, rice, ghee, oil of sesamum, fine cotton called *monakhê* and a coarse kind for stuffing called *Sagmatogene*, sashes or girdles and “the honey of a reed called *sugar*.”\* Some traders undertook voyages for this commerce exclusively, while others, as they sailed along the coasts of Azania (the promontory formed by Cape Gardafui) exchanged their cargoes for such others as they could procure. Among the imports of *Barygaza* which were extensive are mentioned Italian, Greek and Arabian wines, brass, tin, lead, girdles or sashes of curious texture, melilot, white glass, red arsenic, black lead, and gold and silver coins.

18. According to local legend *Barygaza* was originally founded by the sage Bhrigu and was called *Bhrigupur*. The *Bhargav* Brahmins of Broach to this day claim to be descendants of the sage Bhrigu.† During the period of Indo-Scythian supremacy, it carried on a flourishing trade. We have already noticed that the commercial requirements of this city were attended to with a peculiar mark of favour by the Saka princes. In one of the principal inscriptions at Nasik we are told that the benevolent Ushvadata, the son-in-law of king Shaharâta Nahapâna, among his other public charities, constructed quadrangles, houses and halting places at Barygaza.‡ On account of its commercial greatness, it plays an important part in the history of the kingdoms of Badami and Valabhi § which succeeded the empire of

the Guptas. Early in the 7th century, *Barygaza* is said by the Chinese pilgrim Hsien Tsaung to have contained 10 Buddhist monasteries with 300 monks and 10 temples. Half a century later its importance attracted the hordes of Mussulman invaders. In 1616 a British factory and in 1617 a Dutch factory were established there. At that time its trade was so extensive as to supply the distant markets of Java and Sumatra in the east and those of Arabia and Egypt in the west. Later on the foreign trade of Guzerat centred more and more in Surat until in the end it was wholly absorbed by Bombay. The commercial eminence of this once great city has now dwindled to the meagre reputation of a coasting trade. The Parsis are supposed to have settled at the seat of trade as far back as the 11th century. Formerly ship-builders and skilled weavers, they suffered from the decay of both trades and migrated to Bombay in search of a better field of business. Speaking of the Parsis it would be interesting to note here the movements of their early colonisation. They are believed to have arrived in India about the end of the 8th century. After living for some years at Din they first settled on the continent of India at Sanjan, now an insignificant village. Here they were permitted to settle by the Rana who is supposed to have been subordinate to the Rajput kings of Sampaner or Patan. They then formed a settlement at Kalyan near Bombay. On the fall of Kalyan they appear to have shifted to Thana which towards the 10th century was fast growing into importance. They must have settled at Thana in large numbers, for in describing the customs of the people in the 14th century, Friar Odo-ricus refers to their fire worship and the casting of the dead bodies to the beasts and birds to be devoured by them.\*

### CHAPTER III.

19. The division of Dakhan known to the ancients by the name of *Ariakê* stretched to the south of *Larikê*. From Ptolemy we learn that in his time the country inland from the western coast was comprised of two divisions of which the northern was governed by Siro Polemios (Pulawayi of the Satavahana dynasty) while the southern provinces were ruled over by Balco-dynasty, while the southern provinces were ruled over by Balco-dynasty (identified with Vilivayakura). This ruler is supposed to be a viceroy of the Satavahana princes and to have been placed in charge of the country about Kolhapur.† At the time the sea-

\* Periponar Eryther. McCrindle's Fraud, p. 65.

† Imperial Gazetteer of India—Vide Baroach.

‡ Nasik Inscriptions, Journal B.B. R. A. S., Vol. VII.

§ Dr. Fleet's Early Dynasties, Gazetteer of Bombay, Vol. I, Part. II.

\* Nairne's History of the Konkan, p. 5.

† Gazetteer of Bombay, Vol. I, Part. II.

board with its prosperous trading communities had at the head of its Government a potentate belonging to the dynasty of the Sadaneis. The *Periplus* tells us that Sadaneis had made himself master of *Kalliana* (modern Kalyan) which had formerly belonged to the house of Saraganes the elder. The latter is supposed to be one of the great Satākarni of the Andhra dynasty. It is probable that the Sadaneis were a Saka dynasty and that the invasion of the territory by Sadaneis referred to in the *Periplus* is one of the episodes in the struggle between the Indo-Scythians and the Andhrabrityas for the overlordship of the trading cities. For we have it from the same authority that foreign vessels entering the roads of *Kallian\** were seized and sent under guard to *Barygaza* † which was then a possession of the Indo-Scythians.

20. Owing partly to the long stretch of unbroken coastline and the existence of safe natural harbours at convenient distances from one another and partly to their proximity to the nations trading from the west, the ports of *Ariakē* have from the earliest times been known to the outer trading world. We find the coast tracts of which we are now treating studded with a large number of emporiums coming into existence like mushrooms and after a short-lived fame dropping into insignificance and yielding place to others. This is a peculiar, but at the same time well-known, feature of the country, and we shall dwell on it at length later. We shall here refer only to such of the cities as have left a mark on the trade history of India. The most noted in ancient times were *Soupara*, *Sanylla* and *Kalliana*. *Soupara* is the modern *Supârâ* already described ‡ as identical with *Sophir* of golden fame. *Kalliana* (modern Kalyan) near Bombay is spoken of in the *Periplus* as a local mart which was raised to the rank of a regular mart during the rule of the elder Saraganes. It must have been a great seat of trade because the cave inscriptions at Kanheri and Junnar record donations from several merchants of Kalyan.§ *Cosmos Indicopleustes* in the 6th century attests to its being the seat of a Christian bishopric subject to the Persian metropolitan. He also describes *Kalliana* as a place of great trade whence the return cargoes to Ceylon consisted of native brass, sesamum, wood and articles of clothing. It is supposed that when

\* Dr. Bhandarkar's History of the Dakhan, *ibid*, p. 158.

† Mc Crindle's *Ptolemy*, p. 39.

‡ Para. 5, *Supra*.

§ Journal B.B., R.A.S., Vol. XX, pp. 318-321.

Hinen Tsiang had visited the Buddhist caves at Kanheri, on his return he embarked at Kalyan. Although a great religious and commercial centre, Kalyan is not conspicuous in the political history of the Konkan till the time of Shivaji. It fell under the sway of the Mauryas and the Western Chalukyas of Badami successively, but the decay appears to have set in as early as the 8th century A.D. The evidence of Arab writers from Suleiman (851 A.D.) to Ibu Batuta (14th century) points to the fall of Kalyan in that period. For it finds no mention in their writings while Tana in close vicinity to Kalyan is invariably referred to as the capital of the Konkan and a pretty seaport town. Of Tana Marco Polo (13th century) says that it is a great kingdom with a language of its own and a king of its own, tributary to nobody; and that many ships and merchants frequent the place. In its subsequent history, Kalyan follows the fortunes of the prevailing powers in the Dekkhan. It became part of the Bijapur kingdom and the settlement of a large Muhammedan population. In the 14th century Kalyan had a fine fort with a garrison of 1,500 men. When the Portuguese arrived they lost no time in burning the suburbs and carrying away a large booty from the place. On account of its strategic importance this city was often the scene of Shivaji's exploits against the Bijapur kings, the Portuguese at Bassein, and the English at Bombay. He made it the base of his operations against them. The province of Kalyan was one of his first conquests in the year 1648; and it was there that he first experimented his system of revenue management which he afterwards so ably carried out in his extensive dominions. In 1660 however Kalyan was taken by the Moghuls. But as soon as Shivaji returned from Delhi at the end of the year 1666 he recommenced hostilities and drove the Moghuls from Kalyan. From the state of continued warfare the beautiful city of Kalyan emerged a mere heap of ruins. Fryer who travelled in India about 1673 speaks of the remains of Kalyan then only recently destroyed as noble and striking and calls them the most glorious ruins the Muhammadans in the Deccan ever had occasion to deplore."†

21. *Semylla* is another seaport which finds a place in the writings of the ancient geographers. It is identified with Chanl, 30 miles south of Bombay. Ptolemy refers to *Semylla* as a mart

\* Nairne's History of the Konkan, p. 3, Gazetteer of Bombay, Vol. I, Part II.

† Nairne's History of the Konkan, p. 41, Gazetteer of Bombay, Vol. I, Part II.

and a cape and observes that he learnt some of his geography of Western India from people who traded with *Semylla* and had been familiar with it for several years.

Chaul was an important seaport of the Thana Silgharas who ruled in the Northern Konkan from 810 to 1260 A.D. During the 4th great Muhammedan expedition into the Dekkan, commanded by Malik Kafur, in the year 1312, Chaul with the rest of the Konkan ports fell into the hands of the Muhammedans; and in 1347 when the Bahmini king asserted his independence it formed part of his kingdom. In the Bahmini invasion of the Southern Konkan in 1469 the army of the capital was assisted by troops from Dabhol and Chaul. These dates from history help us to work with more or less certainty the time of the Muhammedan settlement in Chaul, which developed into a fine town and largely contributed to its commercial eminence. Feroz Shah Bahmini who in 1406 overran the Southern Maharashtra country, is said to have despatched vessels every year from Goa and Chaul to procure manufactures, and productions from all parts of the world and to bring to his court persons celebrated for their talents.\* The growth of the Muhammedan town can therefore be placed in the latter half of the 14th century.

Chaul kept up a considerable trade with Persia and the shores of the Red Sea by which route all the Indian traffic towards Europe was conducted. The Muhammedan city was famous for its weavers of silk and as a market for horses. At a time when the length and breadth of India was overrun with the clamour of war and internecine fights, while kings trembled on their thrones at the thought of the ever impending expeditions of Mussulman conquerors, the maintenance of cavalry regiments, ready to go to battle at a moment's notice or to fall back upon impregnable positions in their flight from the ravages of the conquering hordes, became a prime factor in the military equipment of every Indian state. The mountainous nature of the country towards the west only emphasised the need for horses. The supply of horses was a matter of the highest importance to the kings of the Dekhan, and every endeavour was made by them to maintain the traffic in horses from the ports of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. This fact is borne out by the history of the Portuguese trade; for stipulations as to the importation of horses find a place in every treaty of the Portuguese with the

\* \* Briggs, II, 368.

kings of the Dekhan. Chaul was also a well-known centre of silk manufacture. It is said that the quantity brought out in this city alone was sufficient to supply all the Indian markets. The raw material was obtained from China and was worked into the finest clothes in the Muhammedan Settlement.

In the 16th century, Chaul presents a scene of continuous sieges and naval fights between the Muhammedan sovereigns of Bijapur and Ahmednagar and the Portuguese. The war note was sounded in 1507 by Lorenzo d'Almeida who destroyed 7 vessels of the Moors in the port of Chaul, because they entered without returning his salute! This incident was followed up the next year by the famous sea-fight at Chaul in which the heroic Almeida lost his life. But soon afterwards the Egyptian fleet and the Gujarat sea-power at Din were destroyed by the elder Almeida. The Portuguese then took advantage of the rivalry between the Ahmednagar and Bijapur dynasties to obtain a footing in the Konkan. The Ahmednagar king admitted them into Chaul and accepted the protection of their fleets for the vessels which frequented his ports and for that protection paid them a tribute and allowed them to establish a factory at Chaul (Circa 1512). In 1533 the Portuguese command of the seas was recognised by Gujarat, and Din was ceded to the Portuguese as the price of the Portuguese alliance against the Moghuls. In 1570 the kings of Bijapur and Ahmednagar entered into an alliance against the Portuguese, and as a result Chaul was besieged by an army estimated at 42,000 cavalry and 120,000 infantry. But the Muhammedans were beaten off from the fortifications. Though hostilities between the rival settlements were rarely held in abeyance, a prosperous European town called *Lower Chaul* grew up by the side of the old city. A long shady street connected the two towns, both of which "were adorned with groves and gardens of palm and other fruit trees which shaded the broad roads." Notwithstanding the enterprise of this rival settlement the Mussulman traffic is said to have been very great. The list of imports from Mecca includes many European commodities while among the exports are mentioned indigo and opium which must have come from a great distance inland.

The Portuguese had in the meantime extended their influence more and more inland, and towards the close of the 16th century the greater part of the Northern Konkan was practically in their hands. Here they came in touch and often into

friction with the Moghuls. In 1612 the latter besieged Daman, Bassein and Chaul, and desolated the surrounding country. Its resources having been sapped during a century of constant warfare and rapine, Chaul finally fell a prey to the ravages of Shivaji who made such a clean sweep of the Muhammedan city that only a few ruins mouldering under the "shady palms of the drooping cocoa" have been left to mark the site of the glorious emporium of trade.

No account of ancient trade could be complete without a reference to the organisation prevailing in those days among the trading communities. Professions formed themselves into guilds of trades such as those of weavers, druggists, corn-dealers, oil-manufacturers, etc. "Their organisation seems to have been complete and effective, since they received permanent deposits of money and paid interest on them from generation to generation. Self-Government by means of such guilds and village communities has always formed an important factor of the political administration of the country. A *Nighamasabha* or town corporation is also mentioned in one of Ushvadâta's Nâsik inscriptions which shows that something like Municipal institutions existed in those early days."\* The prevailing rates of interest varied from five to seven and a half per cent. per annum. "If the rate of interest depends on the degree of security and bears an inverse ratio to the efficiency of Government, it appears that the country was well governed notwithstanding political revolutions. To this result the efficient local organisation spoken of above, which no changes of dynasties ever affected, must no doubt have contributed in a large measure."†

S.N. SALDANHA.

\* Dr. Bhandarkar's History of the Dekkan, Gazetteer of Bombay, Vol. I., Part II., p. 176.

† Dr. Bhandarkar's History of the Dekkan, Gazetteer of Bombay, Vol. I., Part II., p. 176.

## ROMANCE IN HISTORY.

**D**R. JOHNSON, it was, we believe, who once advised a young class of writers to strike out sentences whenever they thought they had written something very nice. Some such advice may well be given to students of history,—to disbelieve whenever they find some romantic anecdotes, unless their accuracy be established by undoubted testimony. Not that fine things and romantic incidents may not occur in the course of human affairs of which history takes cognisance; but the probability is that the good story you are reading has evolved from the brain of the historian, or at least considerably modified and moulded by him. Speaking of the earlier writers of history, and this may also be said of many later writers to a great extent, the contributor of the article on History in the Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th Edition, says:—"Early history is never critical and painstaking in the investigation of facts. Neither the historian nor his readers or hearers have reached a state of culture in which accuracy is highly valued. Early history is essentially artistic, its object is much more to charm the fancy and warm the imagination than to instruct the understanding. A good story, pathetic or humorous, is sufficient for its own sake independently of its truth." Such being the fact, it is but natural that writers of history, with no very respect for truth, will indulge a little in imagination, particularly when by so doing they can soothe their personal or national vanity, or establish the superiority of their own people over their enemies. Fine stories, as we have said, should always be discredited unless strongly supported by evidence. There are great many of them in history like the story of Horatius Cocles or of Mucius Scævola which passed current, till lately, as historical facts.\* Let us take an instance from Indian History. Every Indian student knows the story of Mahmud's destruction of the idol of Somenath. After the defeat of the Hindus, who came for the defence of the temple of Somenath, and the flight of the garrison who had hitherto defended it,

\* Our readers will no doubt remember that the stories about Richard I., and his bard, Robert Bruce and his spider, Earl of Essex and Queen Elizabeth's ring, and also about William Tell belong to fiction and not to history.

Mahmud entered the temple and was about to break the idol when the Brahmins "threw themselves before him, and offered an enormous ransom if he would spare their deity. Mahmud hesitated; and his courtiers hastened to offer the advice which they knew would be acceptable; but Mahmud after a moment's pause, exclaimed that he would rather be remembered as the breaker than the seller of idols, and struck the image with his mace. His example was instantaneously followed, and the image, which was hollow, burst with the blows and poured forth a quantity of diamonds and other jewels which had been concealed in it, that amply repaid Mahmud for the sacrifice of the ransom." \* This is a fine story, at least for the Mahomedan writers to write, and there is nothing improbable about it, yet it is not historically correct. See Professor Cowell's note on it in his edition of Elphinstone's History of India, and also a more elaborate discussion on the subject by R. P. Karkaria in the *Calcutta Review* for October 1895.

Though the time has not yet come when the world would abhor any war but that undertaken by a nation in self-defence for the preservation of its liberty, yet it seems that we feel a little too much of admiration for any war or battle where nothing but physical courage is displayed. In however unjustifiable way a war may be provoked, or however despicable the character of a man may be, the war commands our silly admiration if conducted with courage, and the man receives our homage if his courage be conspicuous. We forget that bravery is only commendable when it is displayed in a just cause. There is really no difference between an Alexander and a robber except in the magnitude of their depredations. This false estimate of courage or prowess has been the fruitful source of myths about war and battle and conquest in all ages and countries. It seems to have been the usual practice of historians, or rather of the writers of narratives from whom the historians draw their information, to exaggerate the army of the enemies so that the glory of a victory may be great, or the disgrace of a defeat less. Similarly, there is a great temptation to exaggerate the loss of the enemies and to minimize that of their own party. A defeat of their own people is not unoften ascribed to treachery on the part of the enemies, or to their great number, or to some other unlucky circumstance, but rarely to their own want of skill or prowess. Thus

\* Elphinstone.

Plutarch writes of the victory of Paulus Æmilius over the Macedonians. "For it is said, that about twenty-five thousand were killed on the Macedonian side: whereas the Romans, according to Posidonius, lost but one hundred: and, according to Nasica, only four score." In describing the battle of the Granicus Plutarch says,— "The barbarians, we are told, lost in this battle twenty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse; whereas Alexander had only twenty-four men killed, nine of which (sic) were infantry." Arrian's account of the loss sustained by both parties in the battle between Alexander and Porus will no doubt be interesting to our readers. "Of the Indian foot, little less than twenty thousand fell that day; of their horse about three thousand. All their chariots were hacked to pieces; two of Porus's sons were slain; as was Spitaces, governor of that province, all the managers of their elephants, and their charioteers, and almost all the captains of horse as well as foot belonging to Porus. The elephants also, which were not killed, were everyone taken. Of Alexander's foot, which consisted at first of six thousand, and gave the first onset, about eighty were lost; of his equestrian archers, ten; of the auxiliary horse twenty; and of all the rest of the troops of horse about two hundred.\*

One must be endued with an extraordinary amount of credulity who can believe a statement like this; particularly when it is remembered that this battle with Porus "broke the edge of Macedonian courage," and the Greeks refused to proceed further into the country. These are only a few of the many such instances that may be found in Plutarch. The Greek account of the battle of Marathon is a fine story of a few thousand Greek patriots beating back the countless hordes of Persians, but it is a romance that has been allowed to stand in history only through the vanity of European nations; for in the victory of the Greeks over the Persians they see the triumph of Europe over Asia. It is quite possible that in a battle where a handful of well-disciplined men, armed with weapons of precision, opposed to an almost unarmed rabble, would gain an easy victory, as in the wars of Cortez and Pizarro, and in the battle of the English with Manipur. But it is perfectly impossible that a handful of Greeks should defeat a large army of the Persians, ten times their number, and equally well armed, and

\* Arrian, Book V., Chapter 18.

brave, and disciplined as themselves. If ever a victory had taken place on the plains of Marathon, such as is described in history, the cause of it must be found somewhere else than in the valour of the Greeks alone. The same may be said about the defence of the pass of Thermopylæ where a few hundred Greeks succeeded in holding in check many thousand Persians till another passage was discovered through treachery. It was after all not a case of a few hundred only that opposed many thousands. A French writer says, "The Abbé Barthélemy (*Voyage de jeune Anarcharsis*) would have enlightened us on the memorable battle of Thermopylæ, where Leonidas instead of resisting the Persians with three hundred men, commanded according to *Diodorus*, at least seven thousand—or even twelve thousand if we may believe Pansanias."\*

We may cite an instance from modern history. The Portuguese, under Don Alonzo, gained a complete victory over the Moors on the field of Onrique in A.D. 1130. The Portuguese army, it is said, did not exceed 13,000 men, while their enemies are said to have been no less than 380,000 by some account; some say they amounted to 480,000, and others even to 600,000. It is needless to multiply examples like this, and we will conclude with an instance or two which concern the history of our own province. The conquest of Bengal by 17 horsemen of Bukthyer Khiliji is a fine story on the part of the Mahomedan writers, and it still finds a place in the history of Bengal. It was only recently, so far as we know, that Babu Nagendra Natha Vasu has unravelled the story.† He states that before the Moslems invaded Bengal they bribed the court pandits of the Hindu sovereign, and that there was a conspiracy against the king among his own nobles. Some such fact must explain the extraordinary story of the conquest of the capital of Bengal by 17 horsemen. Similarly Mr. Holwell's account of the Calcutta Blackhole is a thrilling tragic one, but students of history are beginning to doubt whether there is not a bit of exaggeration in it.

It is impossible to state how long such romance will continue to disfigure the pages of history. "The extraordinary vitality," says a writer in the *Athenæum*, "of a printed falsehood

\* Historical difficulties and contested events by Octave Delepierre, Introduction, page 8.

† See Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1896, Part I., No. 1.

is one of the many serious pitfalls into which the historian is likely to come to grief. However obvious an error may be, give it a day's start and the chances are a thousand to one in its favour of being accepted for ever as an 'historical' truth, for 'denials' and 'corrections' rarely run to earth the original statements."

J. C. DUTT.



## THE PATRIOTISM OF SHAKESPEARE.

It may well be said that patriotism is a much abused term, that its signification has wandered far from an original meaning, that at times it is in danger of proving a harmful rather than a healthy stimulus. Convictions are possibly not lacking in proof. It is doubtless easy to show that any virtue can degenerate into a weakness which reveals faults directly opposed to its qualities, or that a mock self-interested sentiment may tend to just what is, real and spontaneous. Disrepute falls readily enough upon the glow of true enthusiasm in whatever cause it be exercised. At moments, however, when such suggestion forces itself upon the consideration, it is perhaps good to go back in the history of those emotions which have prompted the feeling of patriotism. It is in any case interesting to search deeply into the meaning of the word, to study the development of one of the most universal of human passions which, possesses the souls of men and women and which has at its best given rise to the noblest expression of noble character. To reason a man into, or out of patriotism, is as unimaginable as by argument to induce him to fall in love or be overwhelmed by any other great and strong inspiration which springs solely from the heart. Where it exists, it is as natural and ingrained as the instinct which calls him to protect his wife or child in the face of peril, to shelter them before any sudden attack.

If the origin and source of patriotism be sought out in a dictionary, its value as a part of speech will be apparent, whilst it will be found, that the word is classed amongst others indicative of the wildest affections, that it stands side by side with 'common weal,' 'benevolence' and the chivalrous intentions embraced in 'knight errantry.' To look further at such instances as history furnishes, it will be seen that personal sacrifice and love are equally involved in those conspicuous examples which have become entwined in the shining recollections of lives given or risked in defence or upbuilding of the loved fatherland. From the earliest times amongst the most ancient of races a value has been placed upon attachment to the land of birth, and one of the first curses laid upon humanity was the decree that Abel's murderer

should be "a fugitive and a vagabond," exiled from the country which was his home.

With all people and in all languages those deeds of valour which are the outcome of patriotism have ever been a favourite theme. It is the staunch heroism and virility of Macaulay's *Lays* that, for us, have immortalised the patriotism of the early Romans, and from the days of a wandering minstrelsy onwards, individual prowess has been sung by poets great and small, has welded itself into the literature of nations, has given the world such masterpieces as Schiller's "*Wilhelm Tell*," Goethe's "*Jungfrau von Orleans*," and a host of famous and familiar patriotic poems:

"The zeal of Nature never cools;  
Nor is she thwarted of her ends;  
When gapped and dulled her cheaper tools,  
Then she a saint and prophet spends."

The chief among our own writers, without directly adopting the subject of an individual patriotism as the ground-work of one particular play, has proved himself so true an Englishman and so loyal a servant to the State, that none in the great cycle of dramas laid on British soil, is bereft of reference to prove how near at heart lay the honour and welfare of the country which, from himself, inherits so grand legacy of service. His love and devotion to this rocky shore seems indeed aglow with the fervour and strength that even his own impassioned tongue struggles to give adequate expression. His words press and leap as it were against barriers, and having exhausted every symbol and image at command, the sense still remains of unsatisfied utterance. Take for example the description in those last words of brave, dying Gaunt. He waits to plead to the King for "this dear, dear land" which Richard is so eager to embroil in contest, the England that has made "a shameful conquest of itself."

"This royal throne of Kings, this scepter'd isle,  
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,  
This other Eden, demi-paradise;  
This fortress, built by nature for herself,  
Against infection, and the hand of war;  
This happy breed of men, this little world;  
This precious stone set in the silver sea,  
Which serves it in the office of a wall,  
Or as a moat defensive to a house,

Against the envy of less happier lands ;  
This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England."

Nor does this estimation always spring from the lips of a staunch and trusted son of the soil. There is a foreigner's description, that of Austria occurring in "King John," where the Archduke advances to unite his forces with Philip of France and the Dauphin. The allies have promised the unfortunate Prince Arthur assistance in the cause which is to secure for him his rightful throne, an intention, however, subsequently frustrated by King John's device to buy off France with the dowry bestowed on his niece Blanch in the arranged marriage with Lewis. Speaking of the disputed island, the Archduke vows that he will not return until :

"That white-faced shore,  
Whose foot spurned back the ocean's roaring tides,  
And coops from other lands her islanders—  
Even till that England, hedged in by the main,  
That water walled bulwark, still secure  
And confident from foreign purpose,—  
Even till that utmost corner of the west  
Salute thee for her King."

Again and again, in the interest of the country which he has so near at heart, Shakespeare inveighs against these false bargains which bring shame, the intrigues which disgrace national policy. Always, he draws the inference that right is might, that trickery and chicanery, however successfully exercised in affairs of state, serve only to lessen the power of the kingdom, to stain its honour and lower the standard of its people :

"O England, model to thy inward greatness,  
Like little body with a mighty heart,—  
What might'st thou do, that honour would thee do,  
Were all thy children 'kind and natural.'"

But—and here we follow on to mark the detracting influences which may be at work, the faults that indulged to promote and tend to ruin,

France hath in thee found  
A nest of hollow bosoms."

"Treacherous crowns," "corrupted men," "civil broils."  
There is traceable that poignant regret with which he witnesses any deflection from absolute loyalty, the confidence which he reposes in the Crown, his scorn of ungoverned mobs, self-seeking

flatterers, double-hearted villains. Thus, in the bold speech of the Bishop of Carlisle, where he addresses Bolingbroke, Duke of Hereford, afterwards Henry IV., the disastrous destiny of the house divided against itself is foretold. In fearless, withering terms the aged prelate denounces the conduct of the man who by claiming the throne shows himself the "conveyer" of a true King's fall, a "raiser of the wofullest division."

"My lord of Hereford here whom you call king,  
Is a foul traitor to proud Hereford's king ;  
And if you crown him, let me prophesy—  
The blood of English shall manure the ground,  
And future ages groan for this foul act ;  
Peace shall go sleep with Turks and infidels,  
And in this seat of peace tumultuous wars  
Shall kin with kin and kind with kind confound ;  
Disorder, horror, fear and mutiny  
Shall here inhabit and this land be called  
The field of Golgotha and dead men's skulls."

It is the depiction of martial or defensive epochs such as the troublous times of the Lancastrians and Yorkists, that Shakespeare's vigour and force of feeling is most strongly apparent. 'King Henry V.' is his picture of an ideal ruler and an ideal people, and in this drama he draws a memorable scene. There is the King's advance upon Harfleur, where his fleet appears "A city on th'inconstant billows dancing ;" there is England behind, "Guarded with grand-sires, babies and old women," and there is the coming itself reduced by illness to a mere handful of men who are called upon "to close the walls up with their English dead." Trusting to this remnant of manhood, Henry resolves to dare an attack which shall rival that of Edward upon Calais, and it is this occasion which draws forth that magnificent charge where he incites his soldiers to prove themselves worthy the heritage of those "whose blood is fet from fathers of war-proof! Dishonour not your mothers," he cries, "Be copy now to men of grosser blood."

"And you, good yeomen,  
Whose limbs were made in England, show us here  
The mettle of your pasture ; let us swear  
That you are worth your breeding ; which I doubt not.  
For there is none of you so mean and base,  
That hath not noble lustre in your eyes  
I see you stand like greyhounds in the slips,  
Straining upon the start. The game's afoot :

Follow your spirit; and upon this charge,  
Cry—God for Harry! England! and Saint George!”

An instance of the feeling at work in the hearts of individual subjects is found in the interview which records Wolsey's fall and Surrey's indignant attack on the doomed Cardinal. He is denounced as a “proud traitor,” a “scarlet sin;” he is accused “of gleaning all the land's wealth into one;” of aiming at an usurpation of the king's position, and “employing means to the mere undoing of all “kingdom;” and then, there is of course, Wolsey's dismissal followed by the well-known soliloquy and the sympathy of Cromwell to whom he leaves the charge:—

“Be just and fear not:  
Let all the ends thou aim'st at be thy country's,  
Thy God's and truth's; then if thou fall'st, O Cromwell,  
Thou fall'st a blessed martyr.

The impression that he would give is, that he was more sinned against than sinning, and it must not be forgotten that whilst the Churchman's great personal aim was the Papacy, he possessed much true patriotism. His administration secured peace for England during a seven years' interval, which saw the revival of the New Learning, and the glory of his foundations at Oxford. It was in his later years, that his sense of loyalty to England, her freedom and her institutions, was swept away by the over-mastering ambition which extorted that cry:

“Had I but served my God with half the zeal  
I served my King, he would not in mine age  
Have left me naked to mine enemies.”

Patriotism then, in its true sense is that deep loyalty and love which is centred about the “land of our Fathers.” It may be expressed variously, not at all necessarily by shedding of blood or waging of warfare, which is perhaps the misapplied though most popular idea of its application. It is the upholding, the uplifting of common morality, common traditions, the endurance of common suffering, the sharing of common glories, and if need be, the sacrifice of hopes and aspirations in one common cause.

The cause of the patriot is the promotion and furtherance of freedom in every form, whether national or individual, and Cowper's beautiful description of patriotism condenses and ennobles this aspect. “He is the freeman whom the truth makes free,” he sings, and whilst not forgetting those who have “toiled,”

and “bled nobly,” it is this kind of patriot who can never be robbed of a possession whose bounds are greater than those of an earthly fatherland?

“For he has wings that neither sickness, pain,  
Nor penury; can cripple or confine  
No nook so narrow but he spreads them there  
With ease and is at large. The oppressor holds  
His body bound, but knows not what a range  
His spirit takes, unconscious of a chain;  
And that to bind him is a vain attempt,  
Whom God delights in, and in whom He dwells.”

MABEL ESCOMBE.

## TROUBLES OF A TRAVELLER IN PARIS.


 O Gay Paris! The very thought was thrilling with excitement. To visit those gay haunts of pleasure in Paris, to sit in the Cafes and enjoy the delights of Parisian cooking, to enter the dancing saloons and see the miracles of the terpsichorean art, to walk under the shades of towering trees in the Boulevards and observe the gloss and glitter of shops filled with jewellery and above all to glide over the swift flowing Seine and survey the wonders of the Exhibition—this was a privilege I dearly prized! London was quickly left behind: the sea was easily crossed: and Paris was almost immediately in view. The sacrifice of a night's sleep was well worth the trouble, and morning found me and my portmanteau making towards the Pantheon eager to find rest and shelter. Duly arrived at a *Pension de famille*, I was all unconsciously labelled No. 19 and deposited in a room which if wanting in luxury and comfort gave me the satisfaction of overlooking the graves of Mirabeau and Marat, Voltaire and Victor Hugo! My individuality was gone, I and my name were obliterated and from that day till the day of my departure I was christened and known as No. 19. Going to my breakfast table I found an oblong cloth cover in which was deposited a serviette carefully folded and outside in the centre of the cover was tacked in a small piece of paper on which were written the significant words "No. 19." Thenceforward I was No. 19. It was either No. 19 has finished his breakfast or "No. 19 did not go for dinner" or "No. 19 was very late in retiring to rest."

Thus reduced to numbers, I walked out of my lodgings to survey the streets. Arrived in the streets, I had to unlearn what I had learnt in London. Accustomed to street crossing in London I thought I could easily walk across any street in Paris. But the moment I ventured I found I had trodden on dangerous ground; some carriage behind, threatened to crush me under its wheels. Why, what was wrong? Have I made a mistake as to the left side? Nothing of the sort. Everything is reverse in Paris. In London you keep to the left when you drive: in Paris, you keep to the right. Seeing a bus, you try to jump in. No,

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you are not wanted. Do you hold a ticket? If so, produce it. In London, you jump into a bus as soon as you see it and having taken your seat you are required to pay and you are given a ticket. But in Paris, before you jump in, you must obtain a ticket to entitle you to a seat and after you take your seat and pay for it you are offered no ticket. In Paris, you get your ticket for nothing from an enclosure near the place where the bus stops and that ticket contains a number and according to the priority of that number, you are offered a seat, for which seat you pay and for which payment you get no ticket. You jump into a bus in Paris and turn to the right to ascend the flight of steps. Great mistake! You see no stairs on the right. In the London bus the staircase is always on the right side, but in the Paris bus it is always on the left. Arrived on the top, you find that the seats are not crosswise as in London buses. They run parallel to the length of the bus: and you sit facing the shops. Having got into your bus on one side of the street, you go and wait on the opposite side to catch the same bus as you now wish to travel in the opposite direction. You wait long enough but find no bus halting there. Whereas you see bus after bus drawing up at the opposite end. You have made another mistake. In London, buses which go in the direction always draw up on one side of the road. Those that go in the opposite direction draw up on the opposite side. Observe the rule in Paris and you will never get a bus or if you do, you will be in a wrong bus. All buses plying between any two places in Paris always draw up in the same place irrespective of their direction. In London in summer there is always a rush for seats on the top of the bus: and if different rates were charged for seats inside and outside a higher rate would certainly be charged for the seats outside. But in Paris, a higher rate is charged for the seats inside: a seat inside costs twice the seat outside and many are compelled to pay the higher rate when a seat is not available on the top. Even for a short distance, you have to pay 3d. (or rather 30 centimes) for a seat inside a bus: but if you are resolved to "do" Paris, the fare is eventually cheap as by calling for a "correspondence" (forget the English meaning of it) you can travel throughout Paris by going from one bus to another for that fare.

Having mastered the rule of the road and observed the eccentricities of the bus, No. 19 proudly entered a bus to go to the Pantheon. On the way, he observed certain peculiarities: he

thought the streets didn't look quite familiar: his companions grew less and less in number: and at last the bus itself stopped and wouldn't move any further. But, No. 19 had not reached the Pantheon. There was certainly something wrong somewhere. Was this a further illustration of the eccentricities of the Paris bus? At last it dawned on him that he was at the opposite end of the City. He had got into a bus travelling in the opposite direction. What was he to do? He possessed his soul in patience and travelled the full distance back again till at last he was deposited in the right place. No. 19 next wanted to visit a friend. He had the address and he was sure in what direction the place lay. No. 19 at once entered a bus: he made no mistake about the bus this time. Leaving the Pantheon, No. 19 soon found himself somewhere near the Palais Royal. He was sure his friend's residence was somewhere near. He consulted several policemen: but he was unable to catch the right bus. After wasting a lot of time he resolved to venture into a cab and gave the driver the name of the street. It was a long distance. Through highways and byways he drove along, till at last, he found that some of the streets in his neighbourhood came to view: and when the cabby drew up, No. 19 was taken aback. It was very near the Pantheon, the place from which he originally started. It wouldn't have taken him 15 minutes to walk to the place: but he had half an hour's bus ride, an hour's wandering about on a mission of enquiry and another half hour's cab ride—not to speak of the number of funny francs and saucy centimes spent.

Little did No. 19 dream when in Paris that he would live to write these lines: for while in that gay City he was actually driven one day to the Chamber of Death. If No. 19 is alive to-day, he is not the same man: it is his resurrected self. The moment No. 19 entered the chamber a figure clothed in dark with a piece of human skeleton in his hand hurled forth the following words:—"Enter mortal of this sinful world, enter into the shadow of eternity. Select your bier (not beer): fit yourself comfortably to it and repose in the solemnity and tranquillity of death." No. 19 staggered: nevertheless he took his seat. Suddenly, he discovered that the table before him was a coffin. To add to his confusion, a thin-lighted candle was placed before him and he was invited to taste a drink full of microbes and the latest plague germs from India! What a treat! And the surroundings were dismal. The room was dimly lighted. The chandelier

itself was made of human skeletons and skulls. Whatever pictures there were, were pictures of murder, assassination and bloodshed. There were all sorts of inscriptions on the walls in French, the only one in English being "to be or not to be." No. 19's spirit sank within him. Suddenly, a dark form rendered itself visible through a dark window; two or three skulls became aglow with light, a vivid light fell on the male and female figures in the pictures and they seemed to lose their flesh and to be transformed to skeletons. No. 19 was transfixed to his seat. But the next moment, he was led into a darker chamber. The way was strewn with bones, skulls and skeletons of human bodies. And suddenly, a figure clothed completely in dark, his eyes gleaming through two small holes in his dress, exclaimed "O Macchabees! enter into eternity whence none ever return" and so saying he hurled back the massive gates of the Chamber of Death. No. 19 was in perfect darkness. Horror of horrors! What next! No. 19 took courage on seeing a flash of light through a hole: but through the hole was perceived a coffin perched bolt upright. The dark figure approached No. 19 and asked him whether he would like to enter his coffin? Not yet! Another man however took his place. He cheerfully entered his coffin. But at once came the astonishing words "O Macchabee, beautiful (at least No. 19 didn't think so; however, that doesn't matter) breathing mortal, pulsating with the warmth and richness of life, thou art in the grasp of death! Compose yourself for the end." And the effect was wonderful. Gradually he grew pale: his features became less and less clear: his clothes assumed a hazy appearance: his cheek bones became prominent, his eyes sank into their sockets and now all flesh was gone and he was a mere skeleton! And was it to be so reduced to a skeleton that No. 19 was invited to enter his coffin! How glad he was, he didn't! No. 19 thought there was an end of the man. When was his turn to come? And was it to end his career thus in this Chamber of Death—albeit in Paris, that he found his way from London to Paris! Oh, cruel fate! But joyful to tell, the man who entered his coffin, did not end his career there. "Oh Macchabee" came forth the voice again "thou hast reached the last stage of death so dreadful to mortals. But despair not, Power is given to those who merit it, to return back to life. So may thou return, if thou deserveth and desireth." There was to be a resurrection! And so there was! Slowly the skeleton began to be clothed with

a hazy covering and then gradually flesh put in its appearance: till at last there was the man again! He boldly walked out of his coffin! No. 19 took courage. The next invitation was accorded to a lady and she readily sallied forth. Evidently even in the Chamber of Death ladies are more respected than men and she was accordingly offered a seat. She sat smiling. Immediately, however, her smile vanished: for a sudden flash of light deprived her of her outward habiliments and she appeared in her under clothing. She was not conscious of it, but No. 19 and his company who viewed her from the front had that vision. But there was no further proceeding. She re-appeared in her dress. Next a man accoutred in white appeared near her and touched her: but she knew not there was any one beside her. And then, a cat was placed near her on the table and she was asked whether she saw the cat. She didn't. But enough of this proceeding. No. 19 felt himself consoled that he could find his way back from the Chamber of Death and so he did. And what a relief! What has happened? No. 19 had simply visited Cafe Du Neant one of the best known Cafes in the Montmartre Quartre of Paris.

But No. 19's adventures did not end there. Out of the Cabaret of Death he soon found himself in the Mouth of Hell! The mouth was ghastly. It was the little world of Satan—of flaming coals and red hot iron. At the entrance stood one of Satan's black legion, whimsical, quixotic, with a trident-like lance and at the sight of No. 19, he exclaimed with a ferocious grin "Ah! Ah! here comes another. How he will roast." Roast! Has No. 19 who has just escaped the perils of Death, come here to be roasted alive? Hush, hear the cry—"Enter and be damned! The Evil One awaits you." No. 19 looked round in evident excitement. Around were devils in different costumes and some of them were playing music and at their elbows were other devils inciting them to further music with the plunge into their flesh of red hot iron. In front of him were rocks and caverns and amongst them rolled mighty thunder and flashed quick lightning. There were volcanoes too, which emitted fire. The walls were fiery and against them were numerous red tables at one of which No. 19 quietly took his seat. No. 19 ordered a drink as order he must whether he liked or no. And the devil who brought the drink, a devil was he, for he roared out "Cool yourself a little and await the melted iron that will be soon poured

down your throat." No. 19 looked up. But the devil was serious. And all on a sudden, there rushed to the scene Satan in a gorgeous robe of red, flourishing a sword of fire. He had quite a patronising air. No. 19 was crouching in a corner, and he wished to avoid Satan. But Satan was all eyes. He spotted No. 19 easily, as Satan has a fondness for foreigners and addressed him mockingly "You do me great honor, Monsieur, Ah! Ah! you thought you could avoid me: but you shall have your turn. You shall soon submit to the fortune of hell. And now, Monsieur, to the hot room." No. 19 was in imminent expectation of being burnt to death in the hot room: but conceive his surprise when he found that the room belying all appearances, was uncomfortably cool! No. 19 had enough of it and he soon rushed out of the cavern of hell.

To his agreeable surprise No. 19 tumbled into Heaven. The gates were golden. Inside, angels bathed in white flitted about with gauzy wings. But the angels were practical. They were employed as waiters. No. 19 who was cursed and hissed in the chambers of Death and hell was now welcomed in mellifluous words—"Heaven's Greetings to thee! Mayst eternal bliss and happiness crown thee. Prepare to meet thy Creator" and in a subdued voice the winged waiter whispered "don't forget the waiter." How angelic! The waiter had his reward: for beer is plenty in heaven. Sacred music was being sounded inside the gates of heaven. Behold and there was a pig but the pig was golden and sat on its haunches and the pig's beauty and splendour were displayed to advantage by candle light. And now to the angel room! What delightful visions! The room glittered with the glamour of gold: the walls were set with precious stones: and electric light shone in every nook and cranny. But the benches in heaven were wooden, and on one of them No. 19 sank in astonishment. There was a cleft in the wall—even in Heaven. Immediately there was a change. The room became dark: and the cleft!—behold the angels (or angelesses) floating in the air, with grace and loveliness, now plunging down, now soaring high, the next moment moving in circles. And now came the polite invitation "would No. 19 care to be transformed to an angel?" No, Yes! He was taken immediately through a trap door and in a moment he, like them, floated with ease, perhaps not gracefully, but smiling all the while in evident enjoyment of his aerial position. No. 19 had

attained beatitude. No. 19 forgot the pains and penalties of Death and Hell. He was in the seventh Heaven of delight!

"Such are the mysteries of Le Cabaret du Ciel." No. 19 had merely visited three Cafes in Montmartre, first, the Cafe of Death, next the Cafe of Hell and then the Cafe of Heaven. But enough of Death, Hell and Heaven. Says No. 19 to himself "To the Exhibition"! No, says the Parisian, to the "Exposition." For such are the mysteries of the French Language that an Exhibition becomes an "Exposition"—accent on the last syllable please!

Drifting towards one corner of the Exhibition No. 19 placed his right foot on a staircase. He was about to lift his left foot with a view to ascend. But conceive his surprise when he found that the labours of his feet were being performed by the staircase under his feet. The stiff canvas under his feet moved on: and likewise the two sidings in the staircase on which he had placed his hands. And they were moving upwards: and in a few moments No. 19 had finished the ascent and all that he had to do was, when he reached the top to jump off the canvas which having ascended found its way underneath and moved in the opposite direction. Having reached the landing stage on the top, he felt secure. He thought he was on a firm basis. He moved a few steps and stepped on to a platform. He felt he was moving along but he was not walking. Nevertheless he was travelling. Surely there was something wrong. He looked at his legs. They were firm, steady and did not move from the place he trod on. The fact was, he was walking, in spite of himself! No. 19 was confused. He thought it was unsafe for him to remain where he stood. He stepped forward to another platform. And lo! he was now running. While on the other platform he seemed to be walking, and now he was running. In the first platform he moved at a slow walking rate: in the second he was moving at a running rate. He again stared at his legs: they were firm and there was no mistake. He was moving round the Exhibition Grounds! One building after another came in view. And yet, he did not move, he did not walk, he did not run. The platform did the moving, the walking, the running for him! Here was walking cancelled. He thought he was moving too fast. He wished to admire a particular building: and he was moving fast. He stepped on to the first platform: now, he was moving slow. But, he wished to have a look at the building for some

time. He stepped on to the next platform. He was firmly fixed. That platform did not move. He stood where he stood. Back he went to the first moving platform: he was going at a walking pace though he stood where he stood. He stepped on to the second moving platform: and he was moving at a running rate. No. 19 grew bold. This time, he resolved to walk himself, and he immediately put his legs into action with the result that he was travelling faster than ever. The platform was moving: and he was moving: and there was double speed. Buildings ran past him. Suddenly an idea crossed No. 19's brain! Is it not possible to defeat the object of this moving floor? No. 19 turned right about and walked in the opposite direction. He walked very fast. And wonder of wonder he stood where he stood. His legs were moving in one direction: the platform was moving in the opposite direction. And No. 19 found that the result of his breathless exertion was that he stood exactly opposite a particular building which he wanted to view. He stepped on to platform No. 1: and now, he needed less exertion to counteract the movement of the platform. *Couundrum*: When does a man who walks stand in the same place where he stood? *Answer*: When he is on a moving platform. All this time No. 19 was simply on the *platform mobile* which was one of the chief attractions of the Paris Exhibition. Of the two platforms which moved side by side one moved at the rate of 5 miles an hour and the other 2½ miles. What visions of the future, this *platform mobile* opens to us. Fancy all the pavements in the important streets of London being converted into moving floors! And fancy these moving floors worked by one centrifugal force, going round and round London from morning till late in the night. And where will the cabs and buses, the electric trams and the underground trains be? They will be quite things of antiquity in London. You are near Marble Arch. You step on to the moving pavement. You don't walk. You stand still. Houses and parks drive past. Shops and restaurants appear, soon to disappear. In a few minutes, you are near Regent Street. You step on to the road—there are no buses and cabs to disturb your free movement—and cross over to the moving platform in Regent Street. You are now in Piccadilly. Cross over again and you are moving along towards Charing Cross. And now you are in the Strand: and now in Fleet Street. And now in the City. All the time you have done no walking. Here and there you find special seats on the moving platforms: and if you don't wish to stand



you may take your seat. Still you will be moving. And one step further. If there be a small table near you you may sip your favorite drink as you are travelling to your destination! And furthermore, moving cafes may be organised on these platforms! What marvellous possibilities, this moving platform suggests!

After half an hour's sojourn No. 19 found that the *platform mobile* was no place for him. Leaving it at once No. 19 entered a building for rest and refreshment. For a moment he was staggered! He was standing upside down. What! are there visions about! He proceeded to a sofa: and there, sure enough he was walking upside down. Surprised and terrified, he closed his eyes and sank into the sofa. After all it may be pure imagination. He rubbed his eyes and again looked. He was seated on a sofa hanging upside down from the floor. He rose and advanced to a chair. The chair was upside down. Besides the chair was a table which appeared suspended from the floor upside down. On the table was a decanter which was upside down. Nervously taking his seat, No. 19 summoned the *garçon*. And sure enough he found the waiter advancing towards him upside down. Talking to him No. 19 wondered whether he would talk "upside down." But he didn't. He talked in the usual manner. No. 19 ordered a cup of coffee. He was served upside down: and he drank it upside down. No. 19 was too nervous to trust himself in this building. He walked out—of course upside down. Once out of it he made sure that he walked in the usual manner: and then he looked at the building, and he found the building was—I will not say erected—projected upside down. The top of the building was on the ground. The doors and windows were fixed upside down. The flags that floated on it were upside down. And everything external about the building was also upside down! No. 19 was simply dazed. He walked on: and in a few moments he found that he was on the top of a volcano. A volcano forsooth! And in Paris! Yes, a volcano and as No. 19 trudged on, he found all along the route which led to the top of this mountain, there were wayside inns where he could refresh himself. But look! the volcano smoulders: the smoke becomes thicker and thicker and sure enough, there is an eruption! He stood in terror of molten lava being poured on all sides of him: but he had a narrow escape. Arrived on top, conceive his surprise when he saw the sea at the foot of it. Up from the top of the volcano down to the depths of the sea: it was the work of a moment. No. 19 was all excitement. And down in

the depths of the sea, what does he see? Fishes and sea animals, plants and shrubs, wrecks of ships and drivers in their diving dress exploring the floor! No. 19 could hardly believe his senses. The next moment he found himself in a steamer: at first it was smooth sailing: but soon the steamer was overtaken by a storm: and he found he was sailing in a tempestuous sea in the broad Mediterranean. No. 19 was by no means sure he was not mad. He distinctly remembered that he had travelled from London to Paris. But when did he go to Switzerland, and when did he try to ascend the mountain tops of that delightful land? But there is no mistaking that he has done it all. And now, he is in the Mediterranean! No. 19 felt he was not mad. And yet, if he was to believe his senses, he has gone through some phases of life which are impossible to attain in a plain City like Paris which is far away from all seas! He was soon undeceived. He was out of a building: and then he realised that he was on Exhibition ground. Having sufficiently recovered his senses, No. 19 made bold to enter another building. And *Mirabile! dictu!* he found himself travelling fast round the world. Station after station came to view: now he was in France; the next moment he was in Germany, then in Russia: in China next, and away then to Japan: and lo! he was in America: and now in England, and now back to France. And sure enough as he approached each country, he met at each station, the representatives of that particular nationality! This was another puzzle! No. 19 did not wish to venture any further. He was glad to have the assurance he was still in Paris. Another attraction! No. 19 entered. He found himself near the moon:—mind you face to face with the moon—not moon—as you see her ordinarily, but the moon in all her pristine glory, in gigantic proportions as a multiplied monstrosity. Fancy No. 19 being placed cheek by jowl to the moon so that he may freely converse with her! No. 19 did indeed feel that he was moonstruck. But luckily for him he did not long remain in that moonstruck position. These strange experiences of No. 19 made him pause and think whether, after all, it was safe for him to remain any longer in Paris. He began to doubt whether he was quite sane: but whether sane or not, if subject to similar experiences, he was sure to become insane. Without caring to risk his sanity any longer he made up his mind to return at once to London. He ran to Dieppe, jumped across the sea and hastened back to London. He was safe.

## A PLEA FOR CULTURE.

CULTURE is a rather imposing term; it is often a pass word with people aiming to be eclectic, to be higher than the mass of their fellows, to denote a feature which they associate with themselves and with nobody outside themselves. A man may be great as warrior, administrator, scientist, mechanician or even as saint, but they may not be called "cultured," if these eclectic people would have their way. What is the nameless thing about "culture" to which, sometimes, even the highest of the intellectually or socially endowed cannot lay claim? How comes it that sometimes a king on his throne is awed by the demeanor of a commoner before him, that in the plenitude of one's success, one pays willing homage to a humble attired, meek-eyed individual no better to all appearance than any one of the thousands following his success and singing his praise, but who in his weakness, would appear to have a strength passing that of the mightiest? In India we are more or less familiar with accounts of apparently humble-natured individuals exercising supreme influence over the course of events by their mastery over the men in power. In Europe we know of the hold, men like Socrates had over the conscience of their contemporaries and mankind generally. The specific works which they may leave behind, admirable in their way, become insignificant before the nobility of their lives. We shall endeavour, within these few pages, to analyse this quality of qualities. What is culture? It does not consist, for instance, in mere adeptness in affairs; the Lawyer's clerk at any of our cities, is a superior man for managing intricate pieces of business in that direction. My friend at the market place convassing for custom in ever so persuasive a tone; undertaking large concerns with ever so supreme a confidence and making money by thousands by sheer ability, may yet lack in culture. A man may have extraordinary endowments in particular directions, might be a great mathematician or scientist with a new discovery or invention to make every day; he may yet lack in culture. Or one may carry a whole library in his head. The newest publications are mastered by him in no

## A PLEA FOR CULTURE.

time; nobody possesses that intricate knowledge of Shakespearean literature, of the Miltonic style, of the classics of the English, French, and German literatures, which my scholar has; or taking the Sanskrit *Tarkika*, even a Vedantin, no-body could excel these in the thoroughness of their knowledge and in their grasp of the subject. Could these men for the attainments they have, be regarded as cultured? We are accustomed to the expositions of the *Bhagavathars*, men often of great attainments in Sanskrit literature, of capacity for mimicry, for picturesque narrative; versed, a very few of them, in the very highest lore which a Brahman could master in Sanskrit, whose interpretations of the abstruser problems of Indian philosophy and religion, would be unsurpassed for lucidity, for clearness and convincingness; or take a finished product of our University system with his aptitude for mastering any subject in a given time, his self-consciousness, his lordly sense of superiority to the mass of Indian mankind wallowing in the mire of ignorance and superstition which, as some would have it, a designing priestcraft has imposed on them for these many centuries, who believes that on him lies the mission of regenerating India from the thralldom of ages, who believes that on him devolves the duty of untying the leading strings in which the Indian peoples have too long been reared up to their detriment; or take again the more humble specimen of the University Graduate, intent on his duties, of a blameless life, of a spotless reputation who would not extend his ken beyond the circle of what appears to be his legitimate sphere, who regards that to the extent he adequately discharges the duty allotted to his particular calling, would he be contributing his mite to the general progress and insuring his own welfare. Can these different types be called cultured? Or take again the man of what they call character—"a reserved force which acts directly by presence and without means"—who is invincibly persuaded of particular facts in himself, who holds to his idea of truth with a tenacity which not all the world could conquer, whose mere affirmation is a solemn covenant from the rigid fulfilment of which he will not depart, who is a law unto himself and for his surroundings, self-sufficing, and who in the higher planes develops into the Saint or the Martyr. Surely these must be cultured?

Yes all the distinctive excellences detailed above are necessary for culture; each by itself is not enough. Culture is a train-

ing of the mind, temperament and nature of the man so that while nurturing a certain individuality of character, it shall enable man to be responsive to influences from without in all planes. It is a method of life, a manner of living, an attitude of mind coupled with readiness to act in directions convincingly borne in upon one. The cultured man is he, who stands on his own right, who does not shine in borrowed feathers, who has a mother-wit, invincible, using all books, arts, facilities and elegancies of intercourse, but is never lost or subdued in them. He only is the well-made man who has a good determination; and culture does not destroy this, but only trains away all impediment and mixture and leaves nothing but pure power. Our cultured man must have a style and determination and be a master in his own speciality. But having this, he must put it behind him. He must have a catholicity, a power to see with a free and disengaged look every object in creation. Prepossessions bias every man's view. The traditional instinct of caste, of profession and calling, mere geographical differences and, sometimes, the veriest accidents colour men's view of things; injustice, spite, rancour and a thousand tastes of feeling—all the result of a literal misunderstanding of each other, follow. A Lawyer will view every question with a view to controversy. Not that controversy is not necessary for elucidating points; but his manner of approaching it will be so apparently couched for presentation to a tribunal, will be so much bedecked with legal lore, with sarcasms at the opposite view, with statements that go for nothing if seriously pondered over, with a host of armoury which while imposing in appearance, no more tend to *inform* one, no more present a dispassionate view of the subject; to a Doctor, a human being is interesting only in so far as he presents difficulties in medicinal science to solve. To the handicraftsman, he is good who patronizes him; to the seller in the bazaar, he who buys without haggling is the right man. So to every man, he is good who stands in a desirable relation to him at the infinitesimal angle of the world he commands. There is not much love lost between two people, not that the two do not fraternize and get to like each other; but the prepossessions formed, it may be, of incorrect observation in a particular instance, get crystallized so much that it is literally impossible for the people to escape from its effects and the result is distrust, jealousy, a carping kind of criticism and the manifold ills which these generate.

A new comer does not salute the man in the house; he is not perhaps sufficiently deferential. He crosses you in the one opinion which you venture to express in company. He has an aversion for something which you have a liking for. His loud manner of talk is distasteful to you. He wears a red cloth, which is not in your opinion respectable. When he sits to meals he does not comport himself in the proper fashion. His father was your enemy. When you were being drowned swimming in the river, he stood looking by. Now these are the causes, for, sometimes, deadly hatreds afterwards. Mah does not make allowance for what may have operated to making the object of his aversion assume the attitude he did towards him. It is all a matter of your *likes* not having been regarded.

A man must first discover that he is not absolutely the centre of the universe, that there are limits to the interest which his private history has for mankind, that the world about him does not care a jot for him for all the notions he may have about himself. This is the first lesson; to learn to dissociate yourself from the prejudice generated by the, perhaps, outward conduct of another, to preserve your judgment clean and your actions free from any imputation of bias, to dispassionately look at things, to eliminate the merely *personal* aspect of any matter, to appraise a matter, not because Mr. So and So has sided or another has opposed it, but because to the best of *your* thinking it is found to be what you say it to be.

The next lesson is to free oneself from the predilections of class. A Lawyer should subordinate his legal acumen to the requirements of the situation; a Doctor his predilections when deciding a question. A Brahmin should not assume an attitude because he is a Brahmin; a non-Brahmin, because he is a non-Brahmin. These are broad statements and could be applied by each one according to his own experience. From these purely negative aspects of culture, to turn to the positive side. It is not enough to escape the predilections of one's individuality, of one's class, profession or calling; it is necessary, for man to be a complete whole, to fulfill his function adequately as man, to be a great deal more. He must have a catholic mind, receptivity to a degree, willingness to do justice to any matter, and an eager determination to acquire a knowledge of truth. No artificial bounds he shall prescribe for the scope of his inquiry; no adventitious restrictions may he recognize for the extension of his

sympathetic interests. Duty shall not be to him what is imposed on him by the necessarily narrow groove in which the mass of mankind have to eke out their existence. To the extent of his power to help forward every endeavour to arrive at a knowledge of the reality, to the extent of his opportunities to improve himself in the attainment of truth possible for man to know, these will be the cultured man's endeavour. The study of books, the observation of facts and events, the acting out, if need be, of particular phases in life, enter into culture. There is no prohibition to any branch of study, to any department of enquiry. Milton scorns a "cloistered" virtue that shall not go forth into the day and battle with evil and get victory. Even so, it would not do to have a merely academical knowledge of things; it is necessary to appraise the value of the knowledge in the heat of rough contest, in the glowing anvil of Life's struggles. There is a Tamil proverb "even thieving, learn and forget."

There should be insight into those methods to enable man to combat with evil. The depths of human depravity should be sounded as well as the heights of nobility and magnanimity; and any pharisaical shrinking from familiarity with the repugnant aspects of Human Nature is as much opposed to the true spirit of culture as that other attitude of a mere passive spectator, no better and no worse than the inanimate things of the earth. The last and the supreme lesson to learn is summed up in a single word "character." A man may be free from bias, from the predilections of his class, may be a scholar, a votary of truth and undergo willing sacrifices in its acquisition. He cannot lay claim to culture if he lacks in that supreme element character. This is a difficult word. For our purposes it is enough if we understand by it the sum total of the qualities which make a man stick to his position and live up to his lights. You cannot dislodge him by any considerations of worldly reward from the position he has taken up. Not all the world shall prevent him from doing that which he deems right and incumbent on him to do. He, more than Kings and Potentates, is secure in his throne in that that throne is not reared upon the shifting caprice of the populace, but on the solid foundation of his own real self.

The number of qualities enumerated for a man to be called "cultured" is, perhaps, enough to stagger any. It is hoped it is not really so. There is a distinct suggestion of academic knowledge in the term "culture." For the largest portion of the

knowledge attainable is to be found in books alone. While, therefore, a cultured man must necessarily be academic in his pursuits, the qualities predicated of him above indicate no more than that he should have a thoroughly open mind, a broad receptivity which shall not eschew anything as not of it, and a nature and a determination to live up to one's best lights. It is open to any one to endeavour to live in this fashion.

The question straightway suggested is what is the reward? Motiveless action is enjoined on the Hindu Râja by the very highest type of man that walked this earth of ours.

From that point of view, the question needs no answer. From a lower stand-point, we may attempt a reply. The cultured life economizes power by removing distractions for the pursuit of ends the very highest that a man can aspire to. What ceaseless frettings, what solitary repinings, what distrust, what pain, what load of misery do not people carry with them as the result of their own dark thoughts. We shoot up our shadows to the Heaven of Heavens and worship our own darkness as the highest. We impute to a man feelings towards us which he never has, and straightway begin to hate him because he has (?) those feelings. Why this hatred? Cease to hate and you will get more cheerful. Learn to love and you will be putting yourself in the stream of human progress insuring for yourself longer life, if not in your corporeal frame, in the affectionate recollections of the humble hearts whom your love has trusted. The constant association with serious and high minds which a cultured life implies, to that extent makes a hero of the man, makes him live the thoughts which animated the very highest of the race; and if haply he has a commanding position to maintain he will be a source of beneficent power and a conscious instrument of good. Hindu Philosophers class Human Nature under three categories, the *Tamasic*, the *Rajasic*, and the *Sattvic*. The cultured life will tend towards the evolution of the Sattvic nature in man.

C. V. G.

## GHENT, A CITY OF EAST FLANDERS.

HERE is a subtle charm, almost of unreality, about the first few days spent in a foreign land; a queer something in the air that does not belong wholly either to the place or to the people, yet tinges both. May be it is only unfamiliarity, but nevertheless it is very delightful, and holds wrapped within itself a vague suggestion of the possibility of all things—strange unheard of adventures, wild and fantastic romance, and all the delicious dream-life that has not time to grow in the busy hum-drum of every day existence. To some slight extent the impression may be felt again in the mere noting of a few stray thoughts and facts connected with a foreign city: but if he too would feel the charm, the reader must let imagination run free, and fill up the detail and the vivid colouring of a picture that can be but roughly sketched.

Primarily it is to the Past that we look, we, the chance visitors, who would love, enjoy and revel in the strangeness of the town we visit, while we totally ignore all that we have in common with it. It matters little to us what the local government may be, and the details of taxation or the future of commerce are equally unconsidered; we take the place as we find it, a fascinating playground, with undreamed of possibilities hidden round its corners, and many a fantastic story buried in its past.

Ghent, lying as it does, so close to the shores of England loses none of its charm by its nearness, perhaps even it gains somewhat from the possibility of close comparison, for one scarcely looks to find so utterly different a world so near to home. Its very name recalls half forgotten memories of John of Gaunt and Philip van Artevelde, and some of the really interesting pages of the school history-books of childhood. It suggests portly fur clad burghers, and burghers' wives dressed in silks and velvets that the queen of France herself could envy: and too, it suggests mediæval prosperity, and commerce, and weavers, and looms, and costly stuffs, and turbulent citizens, and City Guilds, and much poetic prose that is quite as real as, though less familiar than the gay knights and ladies of the troubadours.

Truly it is in the past that the literary and artistic charm of a city may be found. Where the hand of man has not laboured it is otherwise. In the weird levels of the Fenland, and the mighty reserve of a Mountain range, there is no thought of time for nature belongs to Eternity, it is only the city and the work of man that knows a past, a present, and a future.

We are tempted to idealise the time that is gone and forget that the Past was once the present, full of the detail of daily life, and the dullness of the commonplace. We love, to see it now with the mystery of its age, and the haze of its indefiniteness; and to let our imagination roam at will peopling the old buildings with a gay train of knights, and ladies, kings and priests, burghers and burgomasters, glittering with the gorgeous splendour of mediæval life. We can but realize it as a growing stage that is passed, a distance where the monotony of insignificance has faded, and only the vivid outline of the romance of history, and the strangeness of the life of another day is left to us.

In tracing her history back from the present to the past, Ghent grows ever more, and more important, till at last we come to a time in the early middle ages when she was accounted the greatest manufacturing city in Europe.

A century and a half before William the Conqueror and his Norman barons had raised their castles, and established their feudal system in England, the Chateau des Comtes de Flandres was built, and Feudalism in a modified form, fully established in Ghent. And not only was civil authority early exercised but ecclesiasticism appears also to have taken its hold upon the people. In 941 the crypt of the present Cathedral (then the parish Church) was consecrated, while a large and important monastery already flourished outside the city walls. The magnificent old Norman ruins of this Abbey are one of the most interesting bits of Architecture in Ghent, though they are not nearly so well known as they well might be. Two centuries later the men of Ghent raised for themselves the outward and visible sign of their freedom in one of the far-famed Belgian belfries; and though like the beacon-fires of England the days of their glory are passed, and the bells no longer arouse the citizens in times of danger or call them to arms against a common foe, the Ghent Belfry still stands a picturesque remembrance of the past, and its bells still chime at noon with an exquisite, silvery sweetness seldom heard in any but the land of bells.

The original designs for this Belfry which date from 1183 are still preserved in the city archives, where, too, are kept the famous "Annales Gandenses." These are said to be the most famous, the most detailed, and the most important Chronicles in existence of the end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th centuries; and though they only extend over a comparatively short period, there are other records of the city, and its people, its success and its failures, its political and commercial alliances, stretching from that day to this—records that would delight the heart of every antiquarian, were they but written in any less impossible language than Flemish. Through the days of Ghent's proud municipal independence, when as one of the richest and most powerful Free Towns of Mediæval Europe, she could demand as her right, privileges and concessions that her nominal rulers had not the power to refuse; through the days of her struggles with Spanish rulers; and her humiliation under Napoleon, right on down to our own day these records stretch—invaluable and almost unique in their far reaching importance, and their universal interest, for surely no single town except perhaps Venice, has touched at so many points the public and private affairs of every other nation of Europe.

But those who would class Ghent among the historic old towns, with the lingering charm of a greatness that is passed yet has not been trampled on by a greatness that is present; and those who would look upon her as a quaint little Belgian city worthy the tourist's passing glance as he hurries from Brussels to Ostend are totally mistaken. Ghent still flourishes to-day, is again a great commercial centre, has a population twice that of York, a splendidly built modern town, and a wealthy local government that can afford to build a new theatre, open a new water-way, or sweep a clearing in the middle of the town for a new boulevard, apparently without counting the cost.

To-day, the strange incongruity of modern prosperity, side by side with mediæval picturesqueness is strongly marked in the streets of Ghent. Queer old Flemish houses with high gables, and decorated façades are jostled by modern Parisian looking residences resplendent with stucco and white paint; and the shadow of the old cathedral walls is crossed and recrossed by the busy electric trams. But there are still whole streets built as in Venice, close alongside the canals, that look as if they had scarcely been touched or repaired since the builders left them

some hundreds of years ago; occasionally an isolated building dates back to the days when myth and legend were but slowly advancing towards history and reality.

On every side are signs of growth, advance, and development; the old buildings acting as milestones to the march of time. Yet here and there the Past still lingers with power, overshadowing the Present, and keeping alive the Spirit of its own day among its modern surroundings.

Look for a moment at the old Chateau des Comtes, and try to grasp its meaning. For a thousand years and more its walls have risen proud in their massive strength, gloomily darkening the life that hums around them. For a moment as you stand and look you may almost feel that there is even now no change, and behind the turrets, and the rock like walls, the Past still linger, waiting, like the sleeping Beauty to wake again to life, if any could but give the magic touch. But stay and look more closely you will see the castle is but a shell—a mere shadow of its former self, that the marketers chat cheerfully over their morning's bargaining, with no passing dread of the sudden raid of a neighbouring foe, and the very possibility of a massacre beyond the powers of their imagination. Even the old iron hooks in the wall near by, where once the heads of unruly citizens were placed as a ghastly warning to their companions, now only awake a passing interest in the visitor, and a fantastic horror in the mind of a child who cannot grasp these things as truth, but rather classes them with his bogie stories and nightmares, and will keep them till the terror of darkness has made all things possible.

The chief charm of Ghent lies in this delightful ever present atmosphere of age, half saddened as it is by the subtle melancholy that ever clings to thoughts of that which is gone and can never be again, indeed to all that belongs to memory rather than to hope. Yet the more deeply it is studied the clearer it becomes that the Past is past indeed and dead in itself, even though it lie before us like the pages of some open book where we may read strange things, grand and beautiful, fierce and terrible: for the Spirit of Life that once infused it has passed on with the days, merging itself always in the Present, while only reflecting a shadowy light on the days it has left—and in its leaving made the Past.

There are many schemes on foot now for keeping alive the old character of the streets. Historic landmarks are often, but

not always, carefully preserved. It has been suggested to restore the houses round the *Marché du Vendredi* to the Mediaeval picturesqueness they still wore a hundred years ago. The *Marché du Vendredi*, be it understood, has been to Ghent what the Forum was to Rome, within its confines dukes have been crowned, treaties signed, civil battles have been fought, surging mobs have been swayed by the orators of the populace, and around it cling all the most characteristic touches of the city's history. For the deeds of derring-do in which the men of Ghent delighted were not the fantastic feats of valour beloved of a gay lord riding his splendid charger, while the king and court applauded—they were, perhaps, a little prosaic, having most often as their goal personal liberty and independence. The cry of the citizens of Ghent has always been for Liberty and Freedom; and it is not a cry with which to please the ears of kings.

But besides the historic associations of the *Marché du Vendredi* which are apt to be overlooked since there is little now to recall them, there is a very fascinating weekly market still held in the old market-place. Old nails, delightful scraps of old brass work—kettles, candlesticks, and such like—in fact a species of glorified rumage sale spread on the stone flags of the open street, may be found once a week, side by side with the more staid and modern booths, where the ordinary stock-in-trade of a draper's shop may be purchased. Shoes too are always greatly in request, particularly the inevitable wooden sabot, worn by the poorer classes all over Belgium. These range from the clumsy white deal sabot, worn by the rough bargee, to the neat little stained sabot with a little carved pattern on its toe, affected by the servant-maid—while the next step up the social scale will of course necessitate the pose of black leather. Wooden shoes have much to recommend them, for they are strong and damp proof, so that the poorest of the poor can go tidily and drily shod. To the uninitiated, they certainly would seem to be somewhat ungainly, but the little boys appear to find no difficulty in running at full speed in them doubling as they go, that peculiar clatter of wood to stone, that echoes through the rough pavement streets from morning to night.

Utility and economy always seem to appeal to the hard working Belgian, for he and his womenkind are an industrious people, and even his dog must learn that to die worn-out by

life of usefulness and out-door toil, is a happier fate than to die of overfeeding after a life of pampered luxury.

No one can spend even a few weeks in Flanders without being struck by the industry and thrift observable on all sides, and particularly by that stolid perseverance that promises well for agricultural success. Indeed, neatness and method seem so thoroughly indigenous in the land that one fancies the very trees grow more symmetrically and the brambles more tidily than elsewhere. The stream of girls that issue from a factory at the dinner hour, neatly and simply clad, with no hate, but with their hair as daintily and becomingly dressed as the highest lady in the land, are almost unrecognisable to a Londoner as "factory girls"—a name that we have come to look upon as almost synonymous with tawdry finery and hoydenish clamour. Yet the Ghent factory girl earns less, and works longer hours than her English prototype.

But with all its steady perseverance and its method, the labour of a rough Belgian is not skilled, neither is it enterprising. A foreign—generally English—manager will be found at the head of many a large factory; and the poorly paid underling, though he may work like an excellent and cheap machine, is not much given to striking out a new line for himself. He is, as a rule, an ignorant and superstitious fellow, and very much under the influence of the priesthood, which is drawn to a great extent from his own class, and opposed to all progress. So notorious is the unworthiness of the priest for the holy office, that it is said that in the attempted union of Holland and Belgium, early in the century, at the instigation of the priests themselves, the most bitterly opposed arrangement was the Dutch king's demand for the elevation of the character of the Catholic clergy, their proper education, and better enlightenment. In the towns where liberal opinions can be ventilated and political thought moves apace, there is often a murmur heard that many a vote is unfairly come by, and that the priesthood use their moral influence to gain their political power. But in the country villages where the priest reigns supreme, a grumbler is likely to find himself boycotted, and his livelihood gone.

There is one thought that is apt to force itself on the half reluctant visitor, before he leaves the charming old Flemish town with its past and its present. It, perhaps, belongs to questions that as yet have found no answer; it is a thought that is easy to



forget or ignore to-day, but it cannot fail to find its place in the future.

The social and home policy of Ghent what is it, and to what is it leading?

None can fail to mark how strong is the note of citizenship, and how slight the feeling of patriotism in the city. Perhaps it is hard for a town with such a past of its own, with such an individual, one might almost say personal history, to accept the position of a provincial town and merge itself in the national life of country. Be this as it may, it is very evident that Ghent is firstly self-centred, and only secondly loyal to king and country. And amid the delight of the picturesque past and the brave and industrious present, there is a fierce undercurrent half concealed yet always perceptible a restless wide spread socialism whose meaning is difficult to define.

It is not the recognised socialism of England that would seek in its own way, to help the helpless, and enrich the poor, but a narrow, bitter, cruel socialism, a black and fierce thing that would destroy the strong and rich, and desecrate the Holy places, a socialism that is stamped upon, and oppressed, but that flourishes the more for opposition.

And, let it be remembered that it is these socialist-men in thousands, declared or undeclared, who are being forced by the laws of the land, to undergo their soldier's training that they may be efficient in warfare. If there were troubles at home, riots or rebellions, who would be protector, and who destroyer?

Let us hope it may never be proved that in forcing all her sons to be trained in the art of war, a nation can raise for herself a more-terrible danger than can ever come to her from a foreign foe?

KATHERINE W. ELWES.

## OUR MISSION IN LIFE.

It is a trite but, nevertheless, true saying that we are at the parting of ways. A new and vigorous civilization has shaken to their foundations, our old institutions. And new ones are yet to form. After a long torpor, the Indian mind finds itself filled with new ideas and strange impulses. An alien culture has wrought in us changes so vast that ours must be a remarkable chapter in the world's history. The old ideals of life have lost their hold on us and we are striving to replace them by new ideals. The Hindu of to-day is a perplexing product of centuries of innate conservatism which has enabled him to withstand the onslaughts of the swarthy hordes of Asia and even the fair-skinned races of Europe, and a bubbling radicalism developed and fostered by the inspiring literature of England. Everywhere, we perceive a mental disquiet, contagious in its nature and disintegrating in its effect. Our minds are tossed, as it were, on a sea of doubts. Often in our zeal to reach an ideal, we make for some ruddy glare which attracts us by its brilliance, but which after all proves to be a dying fire fanned into flame by a passing whiff of air. Only at rare intervals, we discern a real and enduring light whose kindly rays vouchsafe to us a haven of peace and rest. Our days are cast in a period which witnesses a mighty struggle between two civilizations, one native to the soil, not effete as some wrongly call it, but venerable with age and wisdom; the other from the west, revelling in all the glory of youth, with a cheery optimism which clothes the world with poetry and music and which recognises neither pain nor evil. With the issues of this struggle, is bound up our national well-being. We have to take account of the forces ranged on either side. It is for us to so direct the struggle that the end will ensure our permanence as a race with a future that will not belie the past but will be the natural outcome of it. To work out this result successfully, we should have clear notions of life and its mission on earth.

Countless solutions we have for the question 'what is our mission in life?' Even now men are engaged in solving it. Every era holds up a solution and pronounces it final. Since

the creation of man, the mystery of existence has exercised his mind and has brought into play all his powers of reasoning and imagination. The mummies of Egypt, the inquisition and the stake of mediæval Europe, the Musalman alternative of the sword for the Koran and the social ostracism of the Hindu, all these speak to the unwearied attempts of man to solve the problem of life. These attempts have been aggressive or tolerant, dogmatic or persuasive, according to the circumstances and the nature of the countries in which they were made. The individual bent of mind has, not a little, to do with them. A French critic has remarked that if triangles had a god, he would be three-sided. His remark is true in all human concerns. Our conceptions of life and its object, differ as our mental constitutions. To those who think with Shelly that,

"Life, like a dome of many-coloured glass,  
Stains the white radiance of eternity,  
Until Death tramples it to fragments,"

his advice.

"From the world's bitter wind  
Seek shelter in the shadow of the tomb,"

must be welcome. Others hold with Tennyson that life, rather its end, is but a stepping stone to higher selves. It is a preparation for a higher sphere of existence. There are others to whom life is a splendid falsehood peopled with shadows. It is of the stuff as dreams are made of. Others again regard life as a serious affair, having its beginning and end on this earth with neither a before nor a hereafter. These and among them the late Prof. Huxley, see no moral purpose in the ordering of nature and think that it is solely in man to make himself happy or miserable. From these four main stand-points, we might view the question 'what is our mission in life?' In answering it, we will do well to bear in mind Huxley's advice to give up pretending to believe that for which there is no evidence and repeating unintelligible propositions about things beyond the possibilities of knowledge. Without entering into side issues, we may reduce the question to two propositions, *viz.*, (a) Life ends with the grave, and (b) Life continues beyond the grave, though in an altered form. With our limited knowledge, we can neither absolutely affirm nor deny either of these propositions. If life should end with the grave, it behoves us then to make the best use of it. So long as we

cannot live by ourselves, we must not ignore the fact that our happiness, even the physical side of it, depends upon our relations to the society of which we are units. From this we may infer that as we improve those relations, so we will be increasing our individual happiness. The existence of a society is possible only when its members strictly observe certain indispensable codes of conduct and any violation of them will affect not only the transgressor but also the society at large. The one great service that Atheism has rendered to us, is that it has always emphasised the truth that a rigid morality is the ultimate basis of society. The popular notion that atheists give unbridled license to their animal passions and under the guise of materialism lead grossly immoral lives, is not borne out at any rate by the lives of those who have been its most distinguished advocates. At times, even the leaders of orthodoxy have held up as examples for their followers the lives of atheists because of their moral grandeur. Perhaps this led Tennyson to exclaim,

"There lives more faith in honest doubt,  
Believe me, than in half the creeds."

While recognising the necessity of moral binding, we cannot be indifferent to the minor concerns of life. It is said that the success of a scheme entirely depends upon the soundness of its details. The well-being of a society consists in the fitness of its constituent parts. The principles of its government, the nature of its social policy, are all determining factors of its happiness and for the matter of that the happiness of its individual members. To lend a healthy tone to the body-politic, to regulate the conditions of existence so as to ensure harmony in the whole, and therein find our own happiness is what strikes me as our mission in life even if it should end with the grave.

Now, we shall consider the other proposition that 'Life continues beyond the grave.' It must have a sequence then. We cannot conceive of life having two phases of existence without either of them influencing the other. If one is a preparation for the other, the unpreparedness of the one must have a corresponding effect on the other. Life is not to be aimlessly frittered away under the plea that we are only awaiting Death which would lead us on into a happier world. Growth is not possible in a decayed system. If death marks the growth of this life into something higher, the foundation here can neither be rotten nor defective. What is called 'leading a full life' will explain

this further. That is why our religion has enjoined on all, of course with rare exceptions, the duty of passing through the four periods of life, *viz.*, the student, the householder, one who has retired from the world but still in touch with it, and lastly, one who has given up all connection with the world. There is no spiritual overlapping here. These stages of existence have to be gone through before we can say a conscientious farewell to this world. The careful discharge of duties pertaining to one stage fits a man to undertake the duties of another stage. We have to make sure of every inch of ground before we can hope to reach the goal in view. We may also note in passing that such a preparation was possible when we were independent in all matters. Now that we are under a foreign domination which means that we are not politically perfect, we find it difficult to lead such a well regulated life. It was a favourite saying with Swami Vivekananda 'First foot-hall, then Bagavat Gita.' He fully recognised that spiritual growth was possible only in a physically sound soil. He was himself a fine example of it. Those who have done any good to the world, have been men who attached due importance to all the aspects of life. Mental health is no less necessary. A diseased mind seldom sees the bright side of life. We do not trace our happiness to a cynic or a scoffer. It is plain, consider life from what stand-point we may, that nothing is too small for our attention and care; that life is a stern reality; and if we would live it well, we must discharge faithfully duties which belong to our respective spheres of work; that our ultimate happiness depends upon the due observance of these conditions and to secure that happiness is our mission in life. Then, if life should end with the grave, we would have extracted the utmost happiness during that brief period, but if it should continue beyond the grave, we will have fully qualified ourselves to enter another and diviner phase of existence.

S. M. RAJA RAM RAO.

### THE POLICE COMMISSION:

LORD CURZON has appointed his Police Commission, and like other commissions, it is engaged in going about from Province to Province, and examining witnesses. It will require great labour to record, to collate, and to form an opinion on the vast mass of varied evidence that is being offered. Among the witnesses examined are a large body of Police officials themselves, District Magistrates, and others of varying authority and knowledge. Many seem to imagine that with a substantial increase of salary all round the Police will have been reformed, and made more efficient and honest. The increase of salary would be an excellent remedy if the real evil arose from the inadequacy of it, and if a few rupees more all round would wipe off corruption. But we have a suspicion that those who urge this remedy have but partially understood the problem. It is not a fact that the lowness of salary is the real cause of the evils we complain of. They arise more from the unlimited opportunities which the present arrangement affords to unscrupulous officials to oppress the people. The Police are given large powers without proper check or control over their actions. The present system instead of controlling them, protects them in their iniquities. It gives them powers which they cannot exercise well. It gives them protection when they exercise them ill. This is the real crux of the Police problem, and not the scale of salaries. Indeed, this does not imply that a proper wage should not be given to the labourer. A man must have enough to live upon if he is to do any honest work, and the lower ranks of the Police may stand in need of a better remuneration. But what we desire to point out is that Police reform is not merely a question of salaries, but one of capacity in those who constitute the force, of knowledge of the country and the people, and of the earnestness and desire on the part of the superior officers to watch and control those working under them. A Police Constable on Rs. 7 a month may be made better off by giving him Rs. 10; but you cannot expect absolute honesty even if you make it Rs. 20 unless you impress upon him that he will be duly called to account for his neglect of duty, for his irregularities, and for the oppression he practises upon the

people. If a man on Rs. 20 is not honest, you cannot make another who gets Rs. 10 more honest by giving him Rs. 20. But if he knows that the eye of his superior is always on him, and that his pranks are discovered and punished, he will be alive to his duties, and he will be honest.

It is, therefore, our deliberate opinion that the reform of the Police must begin from the top and not at the bottom. Make the superior staff what it should be, and the inferior and subordinate staff will behave well. Of all branches of the administration, there is none which requires so exceptional a knowledge of the people as the Police. The revenue can be assessed and collected according to a specified system and a specified code of rules. Justice can be administered according to the principles of evidence and procedure laid down in the Codes. The difficulty of language is to a certain extent obviated by the employment of interpreters. The Judicial Officer can pronounce his decisions upon the evidence placed before him, though there may be difficulty in appreciating it when the officer knows nothing of the language and customs of the people. The Post and Telegraph Departments can be managed without any idea as to how people live and move. In fact, every other department of the administration can be managed more or less successfully according to certain laws and rules without much knowledge of the country and the people. But the Police stands upon an entirely different footing. Without an intimate knowledge of the people, without the facility to move among them unnoticed, and without the advantage of close acquaintance and even friendship with them; it is impossible to properly discharge the duties of a Police Officer. Close knowledge of the people is the essential element of Police administration. Without it the Police Officer will have to grope in the dark. This important truth was not realised when the Police was first organised. It was not realised subsequently. It does not seem to be realised even now. Not only the controlling and supervising staff were deficient in this essential knowledge, but they were not generally men who possessed even high intellectual and educational qualifications. The superior Police Officers, the District Superintendents and their Assistants, were recruited mainly from a class of ill-educated Europeans who were in want of employment. They did not bring to their work any high order of intelligence or attainments; and they were perfect strangers among the people. This was the great mistake made

in organising and maintaining the Police; and we fear that that mistake is going to be perpetuated with an increase of salary to incompetent men.

Official witnesses before the Police Commission have been urging an increase of salary to the higher Police officials, imagining, no doubt, that a higher salary would bring in a better class of European officials into the service. About this, however, we have grave doubts. The best of the men that we can get are annually absorbed into the Civil Service; but even the system of competition admits a large number of incompetent men who are shifted to the Judicial line if found incompetent for the executive and retired the moment they have completed their term for pension. The men that we can get for the Police must necessarily be inferior to them in natural ability, in educational attainments, and capacity for improvement. Will such a class of men supply the deficiency that is now felt, the deficiency of intellect, of knowledge, of administrative capacity, and of experience of the country and the people? As we have remarked, no man can be a good Police Officer who does not know the people well, who cannot move among them freely, and who cannot gain their confidence. The very essence of success in a detective officer is intimate acquaintance with the people. A European cannot be a successful detective officer among an Indian people. He cannot go in a crowd of Indians without being noticed. He cannot go into an Indian home or converse with an Indian man or woman without betraying his nationality, his foreign accent, his colour. A white man among a brown people must be conspicuous everywhere. He cannot conceal himself in a crowd. He cannot pass by a road unnoticed. Does any body believe that such a man can do any detective work in India? Can he do anything even to prevent crime? Can he know what the people think and say about the Police Inspectors, the Head Constables and the Constables working among them? What means has he of gathering reliable information about the doings of wicked subordinates and of the general public feeling regarding them? If these are not possible, how is he to keep his men efficient and honest, how is he to put down their vagaries?

The first question, therefore, to be settled is how is the Police to be improved in the sense of its being rendered fit to keep touch with the people, to move among them freely, and to know

what is going on among them. The next question is how the best available class of men can be secured for Police Service. The one points to the necessity of employing Indians more largely in the superior grades of the service, the other to the importance of insisting on a higher standard of ability and attainments. The general inefficiency of the superior staff has been admitted by competent witnesses before the Police Commission. It does not require further demonstration. What then is the remedy? It is an axiom of European officials in this country that every superior appointment which carries with it controlling and supervising authority should be filled by Europeans. This is considered to be as immutable as the law of the Persians and Medes. It has been so accepted in the Police Department. The result, however, does not justify its further enforcement, its perpetuation for all time. Police work is pre-eminently one which can be best done by the natives of the country; for they alone have the facilities of intimacy and close touch with the people; they alone can know the secret springs of action which prompt men to crime, and the secret recesses which afford room for concealment. For political reasons it is not necessary to employ Europeans in the Police Department, since the military are entirely under them, and since the entire system of civil administration is in their hands. Let the head of the Police in every Province be a European; but let the District Police, which comes in contact with the people, be mainly in the hands of Indians. The District Superintendents should be well-educated Indians, selected from the same class that supply our present class of Deputy Collectors. We have in the latter a well-educated class of officers, able, honest, possessing a high sense of duty, and ambitious of achieving distinction. They will make excellent District Superintendents of Police and can be depended on to know their men and their people. In selecting European Superintendents also, the same educational qualifications should be insisted on, and they must be allowed to rise high in the Service as far as circumstances will permit. With a comparatively few European Superintendents, the more capable men will have greater opportunities of rising higher and achieving distinction. And with the example of their Indian colleagues they would try to know more of the people and to work in co-operation with the best of them.

For some time to come, and until there are a sufficiently large number of well-educated men in the ranks of Inspectors to

impart a new tone and to create a new influence, we would not recommend the elevation of Inspectors as Superintendents except very rarely. The new influence must begin to operate from the top and must be allowed to spread gradually to the lower ranks. Introduce highly educated men directly into the higher grades, and side by side with this see also that well-educated and honest men are appointed in the lower ranks. When the new influence permeates the whole body, corruption will disappear, and it will become easy to spot out and punish dishonest men. Educated men, especially university graduates, now feel like fish out of water in the Police department. They are not up to the ways of the veterans in the force; and they do not command the sympathy of their superiors. The one do not like their honesty; the other do not appreciate their education. Between intrigue on the one hand and incapacity on the other they are smothered. If the superior officers will stand by honest men and encourage them to resist the evil influences of corrupt men, the force will improve rapidly. Therefore, we say again, place the right sort of men in the superior grades, and reward honesty in their subordinates. The change this will necessitate is a great one; but it must be boldly effected.

The present alliance between the Police and the magistracy is demoralising both; it is proving injurious to the people. A magistracy which has to be afraid of the Police is bound to support it in its injustice; but its proper function should be to administer justice between man and man, and even between the Police and the people. The Police and judicial functions should remain distinct and in different hands. We know that the subject is already engaging the attention of the government of India, and its proper solution will have a great effect on Police reform. But apart from it, it is possible to ensure a more effective control of Police proceedings by making the Magistrates independent of Police influence. The system in vogue in the Presidency towns supplies a model for the districts; let it be adopted without hesitation. The District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police should not be in league with one another as they are now. It is notorious that a Police Constable is sometimes more powerful than a Deputy Magistrate. The former's version is accepted by his superiors from the Head Constable up to the Superintendent, while the latter is distrusted by the District Magistrate who receives his impression from the Superintendent. A more

scandalous state of things cannot be imagined, nothing more subversive of judicial authority.

As we have said, the Police have immense opportunities for oppression. The more they have to do with the people the more oppressive they become. There was a time when the Police could take cognisance of and enquire into even simple assault cases, and on the smallest pretext they could be found in villages terrifying peaceful people. Fortunately their interference in such matters has been dispensed with, and the more their power of interference is limited, the greater will be the security to the people. The power of enquiry which is now vested in the Police helps them to annoy and oppress people; and there is considerable wisdom in the suggestion that all enquiry should be held under the direction of Magistrates. In more serious matters, indeed, enquiry by the Police cannot be altogether dispensed with, but it should be conducted by superior officers, and, if possible, in the presence of respectable villagers. A standing Panchayat of the villagers, liable to be reconstituted once in two or three years, will be helpful in enquiry and a check on injustice. A murder, a dacoity, and crimes of that sort will require Police investigation and enquiry on the spot; but if the Police are made to seek the presence and co-operation of a local Panchayat, the possibilities of oppression will be minimised. Similarly in regard to searches for property, the publicity and restraint which the presence of respectable gentlemen is calculated to afford, will guarantee protection to the innocent. In short, the aim should be to limit as far as possible the opportunities of the Police for interfering with the people, and subjecting such interference as may be necessary to the limitations which superior official control, non-official co-operation and publicity will impose.

The Village Police should be strengthened and reorganised. It must be a Police independent of the general Police and subject to the authority of the Magistracy. The direct control of the Village Police must be vested in the hands of the village community or Panchayat, and all minor crimes should, as a rule, be dealt with by them. The general Police should not have the opportunity of interfering with the people in minor matters; but grave crimes may be left to be enquired into by the higher Police. Officers of a certain rank such as Inspectors and Superintendents. The Village Police may be trusted not to oppress the people too long since the control which the village community would exer-

cise over them and the public opinion of the village would not permit of their undue indulgence in oppressive proceedings. And the guarantee which investigation by superior officers would afford against possible wrong and injustice would in itself be a great reform. With the reorganisation of the Village Police and the limitations of enquiry by the general Police to the most serious crimes, to be conducted by higher officers, the opportunities of oppression will be minimised, and the people will be able to breathe more freely. This, in our opinion, is the essence of reform. We are glad to find that the importance of strengthening and popularising the Village Police is recognised. The questions issued to witnesses by the Madras Provincial Police Committee of Enquiry indicates this desire. We hope it will be strictly kept in view. One peculiar advantage of this arrangement will be that the general Police will have more time for preventive work. Their principal aim should be to prevent crime as far as possible; and by the extent to which they succeed in this, their work should be judged. If a Police Officer is able to show that crime is comparatively non-existent in his district or division, he must be considered a good and successful officer. The percentage test as regards detection will then come to be less valued; and we are altogether for dispensing with it. We quite realise the danger of making prevention of crime the test of Police efficiency. It is sure to encourage still further the practice of suppressing reported cases, of not bringing them to the crime register. But if complaints are made directly to the Magistrate or at any rate if it is made obligatory on the Police to report daily every complaint made to them, and further to grant an acknowledgment to every complainant of the fact of his complaint, it will not be possible to conceal reported cases. The Police may be furnished with a triplicate form of which the original will be kept by them, the duplicate sent to the Magistrate, and the triplicate given to the party. There should not be more than 24 hours' delay in sending the duplicate to the Magistrate; and if by any means information is withheld from the Magistrate, it would be open to the party to show that he had duly made his complaint and that he had the acknowledgment given by the Police. This safeguard will effectually prevent the practice, now too commonly resorted to, of suppressing reported cases from dishonest motives. Where a case is difficult of detection or where the Police are unwilling to prosecute certain people from corrupt motives, they can now keep it out

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of the crime register; and where they have no pecuniary gain, they have the undoubted advantage of reducing the number of undetected cases and of showing a higher percentage of successful detection.

The percentage test by which Police work is now judged is illusory. Besides leading to the dishonest practices above alluded to, it induces the Police to concoct cases, poor helpless people being often their victims. Their cases are made up like this, and fastened upon innocent men. The Police can easily get a couple of witnesses, but a poor man cannot get a single witness as against the mighty Police. They can easily select their victim, make up a charge against him, and prove to have discovered stolen property from his residence. There might have been no theft, no property stolen; but a complainant and witnesses are forthcoming and the stolen property is itself produced. The poor accused is helpless; he has no witnesses, and the Magistrate, however much he may distrust the story, has no other course than to convict the man. Such practice is by no means uncommon and failure occurs only when the Police too clumsily manages the business. A case is detected and the entire property is restored. It adds to the percentage of successful detection; it adds to the proportion of stolen property recovered. This sort of oppression can be prevented only by the means we have suggested, by strengthening the Village Police, by giving control over it to the villagers themselves, by confining enquiry by the General Police to more serious cases and that on the orders of the Magistrate, and lastly by allowing none but higher Police Officers to have anything to do with enquiries.

The Village Panchayet system which we have suggested will be of infinite use in all cases of Police enquiry and investigation. It will prevent the incrimination of perfectly innocent people; it will prevent the concoction of false cases; it will prevent the extortion of bribe from villagers either when a crime occurs in the neighbourhood, or when something which might be converted into a crime furnishes an opportunity to the Police to interfere with the people. Extortion of this kind is by no means uncommon; and if anybody makes a complaint against extortion the chances are that he will be prosecuted and sent to Jail. The widest discontent is felt on account of intolerable Police oppression; and it will be well if it is removed before the impression gains ground that the Government encour-

ages Police inequities instead of preventing them. Lord Curzon has high ideas of empire, and thinks that India is the pivot of the British Imperial system. Let not that pivot then be weakened by allowing the continuance of Police oppression. His Excellency has been extremely wise in taking up Police reform in right earnest. It is imperative and urgent. It cannot wait a day longer consistently with the necessity for strengthening the good will and increasing the happiness of the people.

