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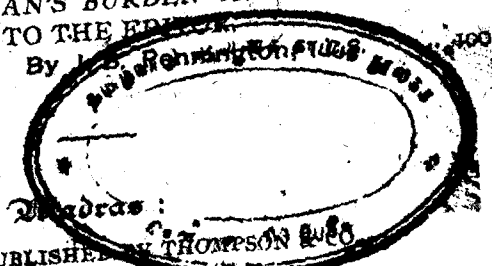
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ries. Their scholarly attainments could not have been superior to those of hundreds of young men who in these days annually pass out of our colleges and are quietly absorbed into the public service or the learned professions, whom none notices and whom none is anxious to encourage. But the smallness of their number made them conspicuous among their contemporaries and objects of exceptional regard to employers of educated talent. A young man of ordinary intelligence and common sense, assisted by uniform industry, could have in those days passed successfully out of the High School, and commanded the respect and admiration of men around him, and ensured a successful career in the public service. The intelligent appreciation of his official superiors and the blind admiration of the multitude alike elevated him above the common level. But the young men, of whom Seshia Sastri was perhaps the smartest, were endowed with more than ordinary intelligence; and they were assisted in cultivating it by teachers who moved with them closely and intimately, and directed their studies with parental and friendly concern. This is an advantage denied to young men of these days whose association with their teachers is more or less of a formal nature and is confined to the class room.

At the time Seshia Sastri began his education and his career in the public service there was nothing higher to aspire for than a clerkship to start with and a Deputy Collectorship as the consummation of life. The thoughts of young men were therefore, naturally turned to securing the attention and patronage of high officials. The young men with whom Seshia studied were all of one mind in this respect. Their thoughts and aspirations were moulded alike, and they were all trained in the same manner. There was then no public life in which they could distinguish themselves. There were no parliamentary laurels awaiting them. They had no ambition to shine as scholars or writers. They could not think of shining as warriors or heroes. They all had one common aim, and that was to pass out of their school with the Proficient's test, with a good knowledge of English, with a capacity for obedience and an aptitude for hard work. All these they acquired under the sympathetic tuition of Mr. Powell. But office and patronage were in other hands. High officials in those days moved in a higher plane. They were not easily accessible to young men like Seshia Sastri. They had to be approached with obsequiousness, and served with humility

and devotion. But the passport of the Proficient's test, backed up by the influence of Mr. Powell, led them to the notice of great men; and their own ability, industry and devotion ensured their success in after life. Seshia Sastri, it is recorded, had to wait at the gate of a high English official for days together in order to attract his notice. Many a young man in these days would deem it an indignity to thus wait at the gate and to be left repeatedly unnoticed. The pride of birth, the pride of education, the pride of self-importance would have revolted against a means so humiliating and so inconsistent with self-respect. But Seshia went through the process with no apparent consciousness of any harm to independence or self-respect. He probably consoled himself that it was a necessary preliminary for his future greatness and distinction.

Seshia was born of parents in very humble circumstances. He belonged to a family of priests which had never had any connection with the work of government or administration. It had produced men of learning, but never soldiers, statesmen or administrators. His great grandfather had enjoyed more than a local celebrity as a Vedic scholar, and had been treated with honour at the court of the Peshwas. But the succeeding generations seem to have fallen even in learning; and Seshia's father was no better than many other ordinary Brahmans who performed priestly duties without any clear idea of their significance. Poverty was in the family, but it was relieved by the earnings of the father who officiated at domestic ceremonies in the neighbouring Brahman households. The father had six sons, and Seshia was the fifth. Although there is a preference in Hindu families for male children, a succession of sons had made Seshia's mother desirous for a daughter, and when accordingly a son was born for the fifth time, the mother felt disappointed. But the midwife was of a different opinion; she declared that the fifth son would bring the greatest luck to the family. The random prophecy was destined to be fulfilled, and in after life the ignorant midwife claimed full credit for it. Seshia was invested with the sacred thread in his eighth year, and obtained the status of the twice-born. This was the turning point in his life. He might have been, like his father and grandfather, dedicated to priestly life. The traditions of the family were decidedly in favour of such a course. But Seshia had an uncle living in Madras engaged as a dealer in precious stones. This man was earning a

decent living, and could afford to support his nephew in an English school. The boy accordingly set out on his journey to Madras with great pride and high hopes of his future. His first tutor in Madras was a certain Mudali who gave him lessons in Tamil. He was then placed in an English School where he had for his teacher a Portuguese named Rodrigues. About this time (1837) the Reverend John Anderson, a Scottish Missionary, established the General Assembly's school to which Seshia with the rest of Rodrigues's pupils went over in a body. Here he remained for three years and picked up a respectable knowledge in the several branches of study pursued there. The conversion to Christianity of some high caste Hindu boys studying in the school created alarm among the Hindu public, and was the prelude for the withdrawal of all Hindu boys. Seshia was among those who thus withdrew from the institution, and his next and final course was in the celebrated institution which is remembered to this day as the High School of Madras, a name which is so intimately associated with the Presidency College that even jathakallahs know no other name for the model Government institution than the humble one which the old institution bore. It was here that Seshia was joined by his illustrious contemporaries, whose names are glorified by their success in school and achievements in after life. Here Mr. Powell stood to them all in the position of a parent and teacher. His interest in his pupils was unique. He instructed them in and out of school hours. He regulated their conduct and morals with industrious devotion. In his own house they were treated like his children. They rejoiced when a son was born to him; and they joined in celebrating the first birthday of the babe.

Among the boys who sat at the feet of Mr. Powell were, besides Seshia Sastri, Rama Iyengar and Madhava Row. The last had the advantages of wealth and high connections; his father and grandfather had been Dewans of Travancore; and in personal appearance and accomplishments he was decidedly superior to any of his class-mates. Moderation, tact and sound commonsense characterised Madhava Row even in his very early days. By his brilliancy and personal charms he soon attracted the attention and sympathy of those above him. But Seshia Sastri does not appear to have possessed many of these advantages. He was, beyond doubt, poor, and his uncle, upon whom he depended, could hardly find means to support him in

school. The only thing that distinguished him among his class-mates was his smartness, his readiness of wit and repartee. As a conversationalist Seshia enjoys a unique distinction among educated Indians, and this accomplishment he seems to have possessed to a degree even in his School days. Smartness and youth are bound to have sympathisers and admirers, and Seshia certainly commanded the sympathy both of his master and of his associates. When, therefore, Mr. Powell found that the boy had no means to regularly pay his School fees, he undertook to pay them himself. The tie between teacher and pupil was thus strengthened by appreciation and sympathy on the one hand and love and gratitude on the other. Seshia had not long to depend on Mr. Powell's charity, for by this time the funds left by Pachaiyappa Mudaliar for charitable and religious purposes were placed on their present footing, and out of the endowments set apart to help poor students Seshia was given a stipend of about Rs. 10. This was afterwards supplemented by another stipend from the Government amounting to Rs. 20. Seshia was now relieved from want, and could pursue his studies free from the cares which his poverty caused. As his studies progressed he began to gain distinction among his mates. He won prize after prize for handwriting, for translation and for original composition in English. His essay on "Civilisation" for which he obtained the Elphinstone prize attracted the special notice of Sir Alexander Arbuthnot, then Acting Governor of Madras; and the Marquis of Tweeddale, who succeeded Lord Elphinstone in the Governorship of Madras, gave him a special reward of Rs. 70 for his general merit and proficiency. The next distinction which Seshia gained was a Government reward of Rs. 300, given him as the result of a competitive examination held by a Board specially appointed for the purpose of organising and superintending certain public examinations of candidates for appointments to the public service and to offer pecuniary rewards to scholars. Shortly after, when the foundation stone of the Pachaiyappa's College was laid by Mr. George Norton, Seshia prepared and read a eulogy on Pachaiyappa, for which he got a purse full of gold molars, and which he had the rare satisfaction of seeing printed in the next issue of the *Madras Crescent*. Such successes and such rewards now rarely fall to even the most brilliant of our young men; and strangely enough there are fewer men in these days to gaze on and admire conspicuous intellectual accomplishments.

Seshia in his time shone as a solitary star while now there are too many stars for any one of them to attract too much attention. People then looked on merit and intellectual achievements from a comparatively low level; now they look on from a much higher one. The distance is less, and the glamour accordingly diminishes. No achievement in the intellectual field in these days easily draws attention to it; but in Seshia's time the ignorant as well as the educated multitude regarded a product of English education, especially a brilliant product like Seshia, as something unusual, something extraordinary. Even high English officials, who were themselves well educated and accomplished men, found something to admire and wonder at in a highly intelligent English educated Indian youth. So on the anniversary day of the High School in 1846, Sir Henry Montgomery, the Revenue Secretary to Government, was struck with the large number of prizes which Seshia obtained, took the young man aside, shook hands with him, and congratulated him on the honors he had received. This gentleman got him employed as a private tutor to the sons of the Head Sheristadar of Tanjore, on a salary of Rs. 25 per mensem. This income he enjoyed to the end of his school days, and with it he was able to render help to his uncle and his family. In 1848, he took the Proficient's Degree with First Class Honours, standing first in the order of merit. Thus equipped Seshia left the High School with all the learning, all the accomplishments, all the rewards and all the distinction that was possible for any young man to gain as a student.

His life's struggle was now to commence. His path so far was easy enough. He had tided over his poverty, had successfully faced the ordeal of study and examination, had gained the good will of his teachers, and had won the admiration of the multitude. All these however were of little use unless he obtained a decent footing in the public service. A man so well educated and so well accomplished would have open to him in many other countries the rewards of public life, of law, of medicine or of journalism. In England he would have been welcomed as a valuable addition to party ranks, and induced to enter Parliament. But in the country of his birth and at the time he began his career, no occupation or emolument proportionate to his abilities and attainments was available to him. He was not even selected as a teacher in any of the schools in which he had gained so much dis-

tinction. In these days a young man of intelligence and education may directly be appointed as a Deputy Collector, or he may join the Bar as a Vakil and soon become a Muassiff, or if he has no love for office he may distinguish himself as a lawyer, as a doctor, or even as Journalist and public man. In Seshia's days the most, if not the only, honourable occupation was that of a public servant, and no man could attain to a high official position unless he had begun as a clerk and passed through the inferior grades. Madhava Row, who had taken his Proficient's degree two years earlier, had to wait for an appointment, as may be seen from the letters that he wrote to Seshia while the latter was still in school. With all the enthusiasm of youth and with the accomplishments of his pen, Madhava Row asked his friend whether he intended venturing into the outstations for employment or looked to establishing himself in some independent position in life, "to become a man of profession, to turn an architect, an Engineer, a lawyer or a Judge." In writing this Madhava Row was doubtless half-earnest, half-jocular; and as is evident from a further letter of his, there is no doubt that Seshia regarded his future as "involved in clouds and darkness." And when he came out of the school into the world he must have been greatly disappointed to find that the very official who had paid him so much attention while in the school turned a cold-shoulder to him when he sought his attention and expected his patronage. Sir Henry Montgomery who had warmly congratulated him on the anniversary day of the High School did not condescend to notice him even after he had waited at his gate for days together *saham-ing* to the Sahib when he drove out or returned from his drive. And when, on the suggestion of a friend, he ventured to send in a note to the great official, the Sahib expressed surprise at the audacity of the boy who dared to address him by letter! Seshia apologised with all humility for his presumption, and got in return not an appointment, but a "promise of help." The lordly promise, however, availed him nothing; for he succeeded in getting his first appointment through the kindly help of Mr. George Norton who, free from the hauteur of office, introduced Seshia to the Sub-Secretary to the Board of Revenue, and through the latter he was appointed to act as a clerk on an allowance of Rs. 12-8, being confirmed three months later on Rs. 25. It is sad to contemplate that with his academical distinctions, his talents, his industry, and his upright conduct, he was confined to the

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drudgery of a clerkship without any immediate opportunity of exercising his powers and utilising his knowledge. Very little of what he had studied in the school was of use to him in his new sphere. He was one among two hundred clerks who spent their time in copying manuscripts. Lost in this crowd Seshia had to distinguish himself by the rapidity rather than by the power of his pen. He tried to copy as fast as he could, and managed to turn out thrice as much as the quantity as was turned out by other clerks. Even this was not sufficient in the eyes of his immediate superior, the Manager of the office, to entitle him to any special consideration. But Seshia had the good fortune of one day attracting the attention of the Secretary Mr. Thomas Pycroft who thought the young man better suited for drafting work and accordingly transferred him to the Correspondence Department where he worked under the immediate supervision of Mr. Pycroft and gave him every satisfaction. Here he had work more or less suited to his talents and capacity, and gained an experience which proved useful to him in his later career.

Among his contemporaries at this time were Madhava Row employed as a Clerk in the Accountant-General's Office, Sadasiva Pillay, Rama Iyengar and another working in the office of the Board. All these were destined to win laurels in after-life, and were waiting for their turn in the wheel of fortune. Madhava Row preceded, and Rama Iyengar succeeded him in the Dewanship of Travancore, while Sadasiva Pillay lived to become the distinguished Chief Judge of the Travancore Sadur Court. All had received the same training. All were inspired by common aims and common aspirations. All looked forward to a great future. And all were destined to realise their ambition. Among their countrymen they were distinguished by their education. From their fellow-clerks they were going to be separated for a life of eminence and distinction. They therefore clung together out of office hours for conversation, for amusement and for the discussion of current topics. They had hope, energy, and enthusiasm. Their office work did not give them sufficient scope for their talent and their knowledge. So they sought diversion from official duties by writing to the only newspaper then in existence, to voice the aspirations of the Indian community, the *Crescent*. They also read essays and held Debates in the Literary Society connected with the High School.

The time now came for the friends to separate. Madhava

Row went to Travancore as Tutor to Princes; and Seshia was appointed on the establishment of the Special Commissioner for the Northern Circars as a Clerk. He started with the camp which moved in June 1849. Mr. Walter Elliot was the Special Commissioner, and with him was his Sheristadar, a Telugu Brahmin. This man was in need of a teacher to his sons, and Seshia was ready at hand. His spare hours Seshia devoted to teaching the Sheristadar's sons, and thus established a claim on his immediate superior's sympathy and patronage. He obtained board and lodging with the Sheristadar's sons, and was thus relieved of all cares. In his movements to and fro with the camp, he had opportunities of coming in contact with the Commissioner, Mr. Elliot, who began to like him for his talents and for his devotion to duty. Seshia drafted official papers which pleased his master. Beginning with drafting official papers from notes and hints supplied by Mr. Elliot, he began making original drafts himself. Mr. Elliot observed his work, was satisfied, and began to entertain increasing confidence in the young man's capacity and commonsense. In two years he became the right-hand man of Mr. Elliot, well acquainted with revenue work, and capable of performing responsible duties. His salary was raised from Rs. 25 to 35, and again from Rs. 35 to 50. His star was now about to rise. Though only twenty-three years of age, he had given evidence of great intelligence and capacity, and great satisfaction to his superior. The District of Krishna had at that time a number of Tahsildars of the old school, ignorant of English, often inefficient, and generally corrupt. Such, at least, was the opinion formed of them by their official superiors. The Taluk of Masulipatam was then in a bad way. It had suffered from the weakness of its Tahsildar. Budmashes and rowdy characters were abundant, and had practically their way. The Collector felt the situation. He spoke to Mr. Elliot about it; and the latter recommended Seshia with confidence as a fit person to produce order out of chaos. The Collector, when he saw Seshia, thought him too young for so responsible a post. But the young man had more than ordinary confidence in himself. He said that he would grow older in time, and that with the support and guidance of the Collector he would have no difficulty in managing the taluk. The Collector was pleased with the bearing and address of the young man, and forthwith gave him the order of appointment.

The humble youth who had struggled his way up through poverty and depression now found himself the ruler of a taluk. The office was one of great dignity and importance in those days, and carried with it large powers and much larger influence.

How Seshia did his work in Masulipatam we will presently relate. In the meantime it is not without interest to reflect on his career so far. The young man who had any amount of attention paid to him while in the school, found himself treated with coldness when he got out of it with all the laurels which he could win there. We have seen that Sir Henry Montgomery who on a prize-giving day personally congratulated him and enhanced the heartiness of his congratulations by shaking hands with him, took no notice of him when he was a supplicant at his gate for an appointment, and when he was communicated with by a note, took offence at his insolence. A young man of real independence of spirit, and especially one who could boast of such accomplishments as Seshia possessed, would have hardly thought it consistent with self-respect to wait at the gate of an official, however high; and after he had been for days left unnoticed, would have scarcely thought it fit to invite attention by a letter. But Seshia did both. His assiduous waiting at the gate, while the great official was passing out and passing in, proving unsuccessful, he submitted a humble note. For this boldness he had to apologise with the humiliation of both soul and body. Even after all this experience, Seshia returned satisfied with the "promise of help" that the lordly *Sahib* condescended to give, and waited in hopes of actually getting it, though it never came. Thus the manly independence for which Mr. Kameswara Iyer gives him credit did not show itself at least in his early years, at the time when men are expected to think too much of themselves, to entertain exaggerated notions of their importance and merits, and to be least calculating about the remote consequence of their conduct. No doubt, in his after life, Seshia Sastri showed both courage and independence; but that was when he no longer needed the favour of others. It is no great credit to a man who has attained to the highest position open to him, has got all that he aspired for, and feels his position secure without the favour of others, that he should at times act with independence and speak out with boldness. Nor does it appear that Seshia showed any great courage of conviction except when he wrote his opinion on the Ilbert Bill, or that he showed

any great interest in public affairs unconnected with his official duties, except on this and on another occasion when he spoke with bitter contempt of "penniless patriots."

At the time Seshia passed out of the High School, he could have easily secured a situation in any Public office without subjecting himself to the humiliation of waiting for days together at the inhospitable gate of Henry Montgomery. Madhava Row, Rama Iyengar and others among his contemporaries had all obtained appointments without going through this process. Every head of office welcomed in those days the advent of English-educated young men like Seshia; and when he got a place afterwards, it was without difficulty and without any unwelcome experience such as he had in his first advance to Henry Montgomery. Nor was he at this time so straitened in circumstances that it was necessary for him for the sake of his livelihood to humble himself to the dust before an unsympathetic and haughty official. He had got enough of money prizes and rewards and had besides an income of Rs. 25 a month as a private tutor. Necessity therefore did not drive him to do *pooja* to a deity that did not deign to look at him. Still Mr. Kameswara Iyer sees nothing strange in the conduct of Seshia. He sees nothing wrong in that of Montgomery himself. Seshia had to do what he did because he wanted an appointment. Montgomery treated him as he did because he was kind of heart, and beneath a rough and lordly exterior concealed a warm and genuine sympathy! Seshia, we are told, had offended against *mamool*. It was the custom for aspirants for an appointment to wait at the gates of officials and *salam* till the gentleman should see fit to send for them and make enquiries. This was not because, Mr. Kameswara Iyer tells us, "English gentlemen in those days were rough mannered and heartless. Far from it, their hearts were full of the milk of human kindness, but they had their lordly ways while concealing a noble and generous heart." But Montgomery had once at least given up his lordly ways when he bestowed his attention on Seshia on the prize-giving day. His admiration for the young man was then unbounded; and he showed it in the most becoming manner. Why did he then assert his lordly way when Seshia appeared at his gate, when it was in his power to do him some real act of kindness? It is quite possible that he did not recognize the young man with whom he had once shaken hands. But when he received his letter he, instead of repenting for his forgetful-

ness, rebuked the suppliant for his insolence. This did not show much kindness of feeling nor a noble and generous heart. If he eventually promised help, it was because Seshia apologised "in due form," and because such a youth in such a predicament could not but excite pity in any human breast. Pity is felt even towards lower animals; and it is no wonder that Seshia by his humble and apologetic bearing excited something of that feeling in the Revenue Secretary to the Madras Government. If Montgomery was all that Mr. Kameswara Iyer considers him to have been, he would have felt a generous enthusiasm for a youth so brilliant, so accomplished, and so distinguished as Seshia was. He would have not only been kind and generous to him, but would have instantly done something to furnish him with an appointment, which it was in his power to do. But for the distinction which Seshia attained in after life, this incident would not have been recorded. And since it is recorded and since Seshia's example is likely to be followed by other young men, we have thought it necessary to put it in the light in which we see it, and not as Mr. Kameswara Iyer chooses to see it.

Seshia was, as we have seen, duly installed as the Tahsildar of Masulipatam when he was barely 23. He was now the ruler of the Taluk a far more important person than even the Collector of to-day. Men had then no idea of the limitations of his authority. They approached him with profound obeisance, and looked on him with awe and reverence. He did not give up anything of the pomp which was associated with his office. He held his court in the evening, attended by servants and peons and all the emblems of authority. A magnificent crowd of petitioners and spectators gathered at the court house. Everybody made obeisance with bated breath; and the dignitary passing between two rows of the worshipping multitude, took his seat, with becoming dignity, on a carpet seat, a soft cushion gently bearing his weight as he gracefully reclined. In front of him were seated his clerks on mats with low desks before them, deeply engaged in quill-driving. The hall was lighted with torches, the torch-bearers being an inevitable adjunct of the Tahsildar's Durbar. The business began with "torch-light salaam," which having once been the prerogative of kings, had now descended to the head of the taluk. The servants bent low to the earth, and touching the ground with their right fingers raised them to their forehead acclaiming in one voice "Jai Maharaj—victory to the

king of kings." Regular work then commenced. A lot of miscellaneous work had to be done. And parties and witnesses had to be examined. One man could not do all these at one time. A number of things had to be done by the clerks; and these latter shining in the reflected glory of their chief made the most of the situation. Seshia, almost fresh from the High School and the Special Commissioner's Office, had probably no idea of the powers and opportunities of his clerks. But he soon found that "the flattering and obsequious *Gumistahs* made secret understandings with the parties that came for justice (or for defeating its ends) and managed things in their own way," while leaving the Tahsildar under the delusion that *he* did everything. Seshia, as might be expected, had high notions of justice, and was determined that it must triumph over the machinations of clerks. The practice of holding office in lamp light peculiarly lent itself to the evil practices of subordinates. Seshia, therefore, resolved to hold his court during the day time. The people hailed the change with delight. He also began taking down depositions in his own hand in the English language and then comparing it with what the clerks had taken down in the vernacular. This made it impossible for them to alter and improve upon depositions as they liked, so as to fit in evidence with their pre-arranged conclusions.

These changes in the office were calculated to have beneficial results in numerous directions. The public were ensured better justice, and parties were freed from the necessity of bribing subordinates. Weak Tahsildars even in these days leave large power for mischief into the hands of their clerks. In Seshia's time, to leave such power was to pave the way for more injustice and oppression. His difficulty, however, was not with his office alone. We have seen that at the time he was appointed Tahsildar the taluk was in a bad way. Law and authority had been set at naught; and crime was rampant. Burglary was only too common. It was to remedy this state of things that Seshia was appointed Tahsildar; and if he therefore failed to effect this purpose his appointment would not have been justified. Seshia set himself to the task with earnestness and determination. He found that some men in the town were in league with the burglars. By persistent effort he succeeded in getting a clue. The first offender he got at was "a Brahmin copyist in his own office; an astute old fox with a

veneer of respectability" who had been receiving stolen property and disposing of it systematically. Seshia one morning suddenly pounced upon this man, and recovered hundreds of stolen things from his residence. Through him he traced the whole gang, committed them to the sessions, and had them punished. Having thus cleared the town of burglars, Seshia directed his attention to the disturbers of peace and to the bad characters generally.

As the head of the Police and as the Chief Magistrate of the Taluk, he was responsible for peace and order, for the security of person and property. Young as he was, the Tahsildar fully realised his responsibility. He brought into play un-common tact, determination and courage. The qualities which he displayed were undoubtedly worthy of a man of much maturer age and wisdom. He had authority and might, but he did not neglect the arts of amity. He was not intoxicated by the sweets of power beyond the limits of prudence. We admire the young man facing a difficult and dangerous situation with calmness, courage and circumspection. There was enough of inflammable material among the population of the taluk: a single act of thoughtlessness or indiscretion would have set the town in a blaze. The Mahomedans of the town had been divided into two hostile and excited factions over a Moharam procession. They were ready to attack each other with sticks and swords and missiles of sorts. They had tried their chances in the Civil Courts. They were now prepared to use the logic of force. The Moharam was nearing; and the hostile camps were preparing for a free fight. Seshia managed the affair admirably. He used his influence with the Moulves and priests, and insisted on obedience to the authority of Government. Having won over the leaders of the rightful section, he had their procession formed, and with a display of Military force, he gave order in emphatic tones for the procession to proceed. The mutinous faction was cowed, and submitted. The Tahsildar had vindicated the might of law and authority; and there was an end of further troubles.

Further efforts were necessary to get at the criminal classes, and to trace crimes to their source. For this purpose Seshia organised a Census of the town of Masulipatam so as to ascertain the numerical strength, occupation, means and sources of livelihood of the local population. This was a most effective

and useful means of getting at the perpetrators of crime, one which could be used to easily distinguish the disreputable from the respectable. The idea of a Census was new; for it was not till sixteen years later that the Government of India themselves established a census of the different Provinces. Such a local Census as Seshia adopted is of much greater value since it is sure to be more accurate, and for purposes of criminal investigation it should be of immense use in this day. The Police, we think, are neglecting a useful means for the prevention and detection of crime. In large towns it is comparatively easy by this method to keep a watchful eye on suspicious characters. Seshia had great difficulty in taking the Census. He had to overcome the prejudices and suspicions of an ignorant people who could not discover the motives with which the new operation was started. But he managed everything successfully.

Seshia was now the dictator of the taluk. He had established a reputation for strict honesty, impartiality, uprightness, vigour and determination. He was held in esteem by the general public, was feared by the wicked and the unruly; and all felt confidence in his justice. He had put down corruption in his office, restored public security, and duly protected the interests of Government. Among all classes of people he was popular. By his Collector he was held in esteem for his character and abilities. Although an autocrat in his own Taluk, regarded almost as a God by the ignorant, and conscious of his authority and power, Seshia was far from disregarding the opinions and sentiments of the people around. His education had inspired him with a high sense of justice and duty; and his correspondence with his European benefactors and his Hindu associates kept him above the demoralisation which comes over men who exercise unquestioned authority over their fellow beings. Powell and George Norton, Madhava Row and Rama Iyengar were occasionally writing to him in terms of hope, sympathy and encouragement. He cared for their good opinion; he valued their friendship. The interchange of communications with them maintained in him the high ideals which he had been taught in the school.

The good work that he had done at Masulipatam had attracted the attention of the Commissioner, Mr. Walter Elliot, and of Mr. Pycroft, the Secretary to the Board. Pycroft wanted him in the office of the Board. Elliot wanted him in the Northern Cir-

cars. After much correspondence it was settled that Seshia should remain in the latter; and he was soon appointed as Naib Sheristadar of the District, an office which carried with it a salary of Rs. 175 a month, with the right of succession to the Head Sheristadarship. While Tahsildar, he had started a Debating Society. He now paid greater attention to it, and induced the English officials of the place to take an interest in it. Here he came in contact with Mr. G. A. Ballard, then Assistant Collector, and Mr. Holloway, the Head Assistant. Both appreciated Seshia's intellectual qualities and his literary accomplishments, and he moved with them on terms of equality and friendship. A year later, in 1855, the Head Sheristadar fell ill, and died in a few months. Seshia who had been doing his duty in the meanwhile was eventually appointed to the post. He had now risen in seven years, from the humble position of a clerk to the dignity of the Head Sheristadar. His comparative youth was doubtless urged as an objection to his appointment, but he had earned the promotion by his talents and capacity, by his industry and devotion. People in these days can hardly conceive the importance of the Head Sheristadar as he then was. He was the Chief Minister of the Collector and the virtual ruler of the District. It was possible for him to make and unmake men. The whole Revenue Department trembled before him. Tahsildars and Magistrates courted his favour and feared his displeasure. What he did for the improvement of a Taluk he now began to do for the improvement of the District. Corrupt men trembled in their shoes, while honesty and efficiency easily got recognition. The method of business was changed. The official atmosphere became purer. On the one side he had the good will of the people, and on the other the confidence of his superiors. At this time occurred the Sepoy Mutiny; and although Southern India had not been disturbed, there were idle rumours circulated among the warlike Musalmans. Placards were found stuck up in conspicuous places containing the words "kill the Christian dogs." Seshia felt uneasy in mind, and took all precautionary military measures. The days passed quietly; and when the Queen assumed the direct sovereignty of India, it fell to Seshia to draw up the address to the Sovereign. The address is printed in the volume before us. It is the first literary production of Seshia's which we read in this book. It is written in irreproachable English. Its sentiments are happy and well conceived. It covers

the entire ground of the great Proclamation which was read throughout India in 1858. It expresses sincere appreciation of the benefits conferred by the East India Company's rule, and warm affection and attachment to the Sovereign lady. It repeats and emphasizes the promises contained in the Proclamation, especially those affirming the people's right to their lands, and to the undisturbed observance of their religion, their laws and their customs. The address concludes with the prayer that "wisdom may guide the Counsels of Your Majesty's Ministers, and that heroism may strengthen Your Majesty's warriors, that the rod of the Magistrate may never be lifted, nor the sword of the soldier ever unsheathed but at the bid of justice, and that Your Majesty's gentle mercy may always temper the severity of stern justice, so that all Your Majesty's poor and humble subjects may ever have reason to love, honor, obey and bless their Gracious Sovereign." The address well deserved the special attention it received, and the special and prompt manner in which the Secretary of State transmitted it to Her Majesty. Mr. George Norton who was then in England knew the authorship, and wrote to Seshia expressing "much admiration." The address was considered one of the best, if not the best, sent from India; and so doubtless it was.

Seshia had now risen to eminence both in his own estimation and in the estimation of others. His name was known beyond his District; his merits were appreciated by a wider circle. The ordinary Head Sheristadar in those days was a great man in his own place; but he had no name outside. But Seshia had many eyes turned to him from different parts of the Presidency. All looked on him as a rising genius. Many men in these days doubtless write as well as Seshia did; many are equally capable and clever. But the latter have not the advantage which Seshia had of shining as a solitary star in the firmament and thus drawing all attention to themselves. With all his ability and all his advantage, however, he had been treated with scant consideration by Henry Montgomery. He was now treated with scant courtesy by Mr. Newill, the first Commissioner of Revenue Settlement. Asked by the Collector to furnish Mr. Newill with information and help, Seshia proceeded to the Commissioner's tent, sent in his card, and waited to be called. Receiving no response for half an hour, he returned to his office. Mr. Newill apologised afterwards for his apparent rudeness, explaining that he had

been absorbed in business; but Seshia anticipated no good from such a beginning, and he was right. When they joined for business, they differed in opinion. Mr. Newill, with the confidence of inexperience, did not want to be taught by a native subordinate; but his unassailable principles of Mathematics did not tally with the actual condition and productive capacity of the soil. Other officers came to look into the matter, and they found Seshia's views sound. Mr. G. N. Taylor, Mr. Goldingham, and Mr. Ballard all approved of Seshia's methods.

At this time were appointed the first batch of Deputy Collectors; and Seshia was one of them. He was posted to Nellore, and was to get a salary of Rs. 350. His charge was the Treasury which afforded no scope for his brilliant talents. But the Inam Commission had then been formed, with Mr. G. N. Taylor as the presiding officer. This gentleman had to organise his staff, and among the officers selected were Seshia and Rama Iyengar. Here again he had his disappointments. Rama Iyengar was promoted and put on Settlement work in Tanjore. Ranga Charlu and another gentleman, both Seshia's School fellows and juniors, were put in the Inam Department over him. Seshia complained against his supersession to the Government, and his petition received the special attention of Sir Charles Trevelyan, the Governor, who instantly promoted him to a higher grade on a salary of Rs. 500. In the Gazette Notification, Seshia was, for the first time, styled as Seshia Sastri. Till then he had been plain Seshia; but by a mistake of the Governor he now became a Sastri, and retained the title. He had thus triumphed throughout, and now worked with great zeal and devotion. Mr. Taylor at this time found his Special Assistant unequal to his work, and having transferred him to the Judicial line, appointed Seshia in his place, as the best fitted man, on a salary of Rs. 600. Thus in two years' time, he had risen rapidly from post to post with substantial increase of salary at every step.

We pass over the interesting history of the Inam tenure given by Mr. Kameswara Iyer. We pass over the great work done in connection with it, the difficulties got over, and the success achieved. We also pass over the part that Seshiah played in it. But we may pause to observe that he received the heartiest commendation of his European superior who admitted, and recorded the admission, that the "great work could never have been accomplished at all by a single European officer but for the deep

insight into native character, the intimate knowledge of landed tenures, the eminent ability, and the indefatigable industry which my native assistants, men of known character and undoubted integrity, brought to bear upon it." The officer who made this admission was Mr. G. N. Taylor, a gentleman of liberal principles and broad sympathies. It was, indeed, generous of him to acknowledge his obligations to his Indian Assistants. Such acknowledgments are not always heartily or unreservedly made. In these days, perhaps, they are rarer still. The importance of the work which Mr. Taylor accomplished with the help of his assistants may be inferred from the fact that at the conclusion of the Commission the annual revenue had been increased by 8 lakhs of rupees while the total cost of the Commission did not exceed 13 lakhs. As a measure of policy also it was one of great importance, and the fears of those interested had been excited. It was fortunate for Mr. Taylor that he got assistants like Seshia who were sixteen in number and were all Powell's pupils. It is remarkable that the whole lot were distinguished for their uprightness and integrity. The public service in those days was not distinguished for its purity. Corruption was rampant everywhere. Although in justice to the older generation it must be said that there were many scrupulously honest men among the officials who did not know a word of English, the general standard of official morality was not high. The public opinion of those days did not altogether set its face against indulgence in irregular gains. We believe officials in those days did not exact bribe as some have done more recently. What they received was more often a present given by the winning party in gratitude for the justice or the favour that had been done to him. People perhaps hardly made a difference in those days between a act of justice and an act of favour. Everything that was to one's good was accepted as a favour, even if he could demand it as a matter of justice. When a petition was granted, or when a case was won, the person benefited thought it a duty to show his gratitude in some substantial form. This sort of thing seems to have prevailed long before the modern method of extortion of the Police and the inferior Magistrates in these days, the old practice was a virtue. But even from the taint of that virtue Seshia and his contemporaries were completely free. Their career is a refutation of the comforting libel which the apologists of the Police utter against

the people. If the official morality of those days was low, if the public did not sufficiently denounce the practice of officials taking bribe or presents from parties, these sixteen men who worked under Mr. Taylor and many others besides might have been very different from the honest, upright and devoted officials they were, and, according to the modern apologists of the Police, with every excuse for being so. But not one of them went wrong even though all of them were not equally prosperous in their career. The excellent education they had received under Mr. Powell and the high principles early inculcated in them, assisted by the example of men whom they admired and respected, must have kept them out of temptation's way. But their own strength of character certainly influenced their conduct more than all these.

Wherever Seshia went he set himself to "cleansing the Anglan stable." He did his best to stamp out official corruption. As Tahsildar, as Sheristadar and as Deputy Collector, he kept a keen eye on his erring subordinates, and raised the standard of official morality. After his work on the Inam Commission, he became the Treasury Deputy Collector of Tanjore. In this capacity he remained for three years. His salary was then Rs. 600, and had besides a consolidated allowance of Rs. 150 as Registrar of Assurances. Seven years before he had been a Tahsildar on Rs. 100. His rise, therefore, was rapid.

While he was thus employed his old mother died in his village. While she was ill, he ran to the village in the evening and returned to office in the morning. He paid every attention to her in her last moments. He placed a heap of money by her death-bed to be given away in any manner she liked. She who had been born poor, and had lived in poverty during the first years of her life, had the satisfaction of seeing her son grow up, win success and distinction in life, and bring prosperity to the family, before she closed her eyes, before she gave up her last breath. And he did the last act of filial duty in the most devoted and affectionate manner that the Hindu religion and Hindu traditions enjoin.

In 1868, in recognition of his academical accomplishments and of his distinction in life, Seshia was appointed a Fellow of the Madras University. A year later, Jayaram Chetty, the Head Sheristadar of the Board of Revenue, died, and the post was offered to Seshia as, in the opinion of the Board, he was the best qualified for it. He was not, however, quite willing to accept

it. The salary of the office was then Rs. 800, only Rs. 50 more than what he was getting at Tanjore. By coming to Madras he would be a loser in purse as life in Madras was much more expensive and the work much heavier. At the same time the office was the highest then open to a native of India. It carried with it prestige and influence. For the latter reasons his friends urged him to accept the place. Holloway who had by this time become a Judge of the High Court and Sir Alexander Arbuthnot were among those who left no option to Seshia in the matter. So after once refusing it, he accepted it with reluctance. The Board recommended that the salary of the office must be raised to Rs. 1,000, and the Government granted it on the ground, as they wrote, "that the post of Sheristadar to the Board of Revenue might continue to be an object of ambition to the ablest native officials" and to command the highest qualifications." But they made it a condition that the increase should be given only after five years' approved service. Later on in 1870, however, Seshia's salary was raised to Rs. 1,000 without any condition. In the new office he had most arduous work to do, and he did it exceedingly well. He made his presence in the Board felt by Collectors whose Annual Reports he reviewed in the most thorough and searching manner. Sir William Robinson was then one of the Members of the Board; and Mr. J. Grose the Secretary. These officers had a high opinion of Seshia's capacity and character, and the former even proposed that the Sheristadar should attend the meetings of the Board and take part in the deliberations. The constitution of the Board did not admit of this; but the members went down to Seshia's office to consult him frequently. Such was the distinction he had attained. Such was the honour in which he was held.

In the meantime some of his old associates and school-mates had come back to Madras. Holloway whom we have mentioned daily met Seshia in the evenings on the beach, and kept up a stimulating conversation. He had, besides, the company of Muthuswami Iyer who had come back as a Presidency Magistrate, of Rama Iyengar who had become Superintendent of Stamps, of Chentsal Row who was Salt Deputy Collector, and of Raghunatha Row, then Deputy Collector of the City of Madras. The brilliant company met in the evenings at Muthuswami Iyer's. They had all been

eyes of the outside public, to improve upon what Madhava Row had done and achieved. He had introduced order and system, had corrected great evils, and had accomplished great reforms. All the higher kind of work had been done by him. What remained was mainly to keep expenditure within limits, to see that things were kept going, that order and efficiency were maintained, that incidental evils were corrected and checked. These things Seshia could do as well as any other man; but there was little scope for the higher efforts of statesmanship, or of great ambition. His first attention was directed to the low scale of salaries that then prevailed in several departments of the State Service. In order to improve efficiency and ensure honesty he thought it necessary to revise the existing scale and to give higher emoluments to several of the officials. But the Maharajah was very strong where money had to be expended, and would feign put off every increment suggested. Seshia tried, waited, and tried again; and after much delay and correspondence, the greater portion of his scheme received the royal sanction. He next defined the relation between the Dewan and the heads of departments who were hitherto free to do things as they liked. Henceforward it became incumbent on all heads of departments to submit to the authority and control of the Dewan, to inform him of departmental operations, and to submit periodical returns. This removed all causes of friction and unpleasantness.

His work was now heavy. He had all manner of petty details to attend to, and had no proper assistance. He had besides Magisterial functions and appellate jurisdiction in criminal cases. He badly wanted more time to devote to important administrative work. A Regulation was, therefore, passed relieving him of his direct Magisterial functions; and a capable Secretary was appointed in his office to look after all routine work. He also now introduced a class of probationers in his office, called "attaches," on a monthly salary of Rs. 20. This afforded an opening to the graduates that passed out of the local College. They were trained in the office to be afterwards drafted into the executive departments as vacancies arose.

Now he turned his attention to the abuses which prevailed in the different Departments. The Salt Department was the first to be dealt with. The abuses and corruption that were then prevalent were checked by proper measures. The waste in the charitable institutions was minimised by proper supervision and

control. The Public Works was another department where great waste was going on. Seshia adopted the necessary measures to keep expenditure within limits, without neglecting useful works. He opened new roads, repaired irrigation works, excavated new tanks, saw the Warkalley tunnelling, which had been begun in 1869, completed. The great Padmathirtham tank in Trivandrum was cleansed of its silt and its dirt. The channel which supplied water to the tank and which had been long left in neglect was also repaired and cleansed. The temple and its tower were beautified at considerable cost. A splendid building was erected for the College; and a law class for the B.L. course was opened. Numerous Primary Schools were established as State institutions, popular subjects being taught in them. The system of grants-in-aid was also introduced for the first time. The museum and public gardens were next taken up, improved, and placed under proper management.

While such good work was proceeding, a question cropped up as regards jurisdiction over European British Subjects. The matter had been once settled in Madhava Row's time by the Madras Government which then affirmed that such jurisdiction did vest in the courts of the Maharajah. In 1874 again the subject was raked up by the Viceroy who refused to recognise the decision of the Madras Government. Seshia fought manfully for the rights of his State. He argued with great force and spirit that the right was inherent in the Sovereign of Travancore; that it had not been ceded by treaty; that it was recognised by international usage; that by the rules of international law the smaller state was secured in its inherent privileges; that the Proclamation of 1858 had reiterated and reaffirmed all the rights and dignities belonging to Native Princes; that Travancore, which had never been subject to foreign rule and which was one of the oldest Royal Houses in India, had under all circumstances stood faithful to its old alliance with the British; that it had adapted its laws and its courts of justice to the British model; that it had even employed Christian Judges; and that the British Government, merely because it was great and powerful and was bound by certain treaties to protect it against any aggressor on payment of a subsidy, could not deprive it of its inherent privileges. He further pointed out that the dignity of his Sovereign would suffer by the innovation and that with an increasing number of European British Subjects in the

State, legal procedure would be very much hampered and delayed by parties and witnesses having to travel to distant British Courts. The plea, however, did not avail with the Government of India; but as a special concession Travancore was allowed to appoint its own Magistrates, who should be European British Subjects, to try all cases against men of their race, the British Resident being invested with the powers of a Court of Session, and the High Court of Madras being a higher tribunal.

In the meantime Seshia had been invited by the Madras Government to proceed to England to give evidence before the Parliamentary Committee on Indian Finance. Sir William Robinson, then a Member of Council, was anxious that Seshia should go. But for an orthodox Hindu, a Brahmin, a voyage to England was out of the question. The thought could not be entertained for a moment. The invitation was, therefore, respectfully declined.

Time proceeded fast. The year was now 1877. Seshia's term was expiring. And the Maharajah had no wish to retain him longer. Allusion has been made to the temper and disposition of the Maharajah. His Highness did not want a Minister who did not yield to him readily. Madhava Row had created in his mind a prejudice against "Powell's boys." Seshia Sastri confirmed that prejudice. Though, on the whole, the latter had pulled on well with His Highness for five years, there were occasions when the Minister had to thwart the royal wishes. In the matter of appointments this was particularly so. Whatever Seshia did was in the best interests of the Sovereign. But this was not always recognised. Many a time His Highness gave plain indications of his feeling when remonstrated with, and on one occasion wrote to him that "this is a spirit of Madhava Row and when I see such a spirit my feelings would be disturbed in the same manner." He was now determined that he would not have a minister who presumed to dictate to him. Seshia soon learned the wishes of the Maharajah, and tendered his resignation in due form. His Highness appreciated his services, though he did not like his spirit, and wrote a very kind letter accepting the resignation. Seshia left the State in August 1877 amidst the regrets of all including all the members of the Royal family.

There is little doubt that Seshia was immensely liked by the people of Travancore. His ability and attainments were

bound to have admirers among the educated; and his uprightness and vigour and his vigilance over his subordinates could not fail to impress the common people. Even to this day, his name is held in esteem in Travancore; he is always spoken of with respect. If the people had their choice, they would have kept him in office; but the Maharajah's will was supreme, and there was no man within the State who could venture to suggest a reconsideration of his resolve. He does not appear to have imported from outside an army of office-seekers; and he did something for the encouragement of locally educated men. It cannot be said that he left the State with satisfaction or without a sigh. The office of Dewan is one of dignity and power. The emoluments attached to the office are attractive enough. The free residential quarters and perquisites meet the main items of a Dewan's expenditure. The country besides possesses many attractive features; and with official quarters all over and any number of officials ready to minister to his comforts, it is most convenient to combine duty with pleasure. Seshia, moreover, was retiring on a pension of Rs. 500 a month without any hope of further official distinction. In fact he felt that the evening of his life had come, although he was only 49 years old. He retired to Trichinopoly where he stayed for some time. At this time occurred the great famine of South India, and Seshia Sastri was entrusted with the duty of distributing the English famine charity in the district. The Duke of Buckingham entertained great regard for Seshia, and through his efforts apparently, he was created a C.S.I. in 1878. The Duke also appointed him as an Additional Member of the Legislative Council. But here he did nothing, and perhaps could do nothing, since, as he himself writes, "there is not real independence or power given to the Non-official Members." He was later on deputed as the Madras Member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council; and what services he rendered in this capacity is not recorded. He was doubtless useful to the Government in consultation about Administrative and Legislative matters.

In his retirement Seshia Sastri engaged his time in study, in correspondence, and in formulating his views for the benefit of the Government on important public questions of the day. Mr. Kameswara Iyer gives copious extracts from his letters and minutes; and from these a correct idea may be formed of his political opinions. By his younger countrymen he was, indeed,

regarded as unsympathetic. He never took part with them in any public movement. He never made even any pecuniary contributions. Both in retirement as well as when he was the head of the Pudukottah administration, this was the attitude he maintained. When the National Congress was held in Madras for the first time in 1887, when Sir Madhava Row and others were directly taking part in it, when native administrations such as those of Mysore, Travancore and Cochin were subscribing large sums, Seshia Sastri who was then the Dewan-Regent of Pudukottah took no interest, paid not a pie. His unsympathetic attitude was freely commented upon in the Press. Mr. Kameswara Iyer does not mention and offers no explanation for this attitude, although he repeatedly affirms that Seshia was in sympathy with the aspirations of his countrymen. A perusal of the papers printed in the book leaves no doubt in our mind that Seshia Sastri's political opinions are the political opinions of educated India. On the question of Local Self-Government, on the subject of the jurisdiction over European British Subjects, on agriculture and industry, on irrigation, on the employment of Indians in the public service, on Land Revenue Settlement and taxation, and on several other matters besides, his views are essentially the views of Congressmen all over the country. Why did he then allow his sympathies to be merely passive, and his attitude to be misunderstood? A man in his position could have done much to gain the attachment and applause of his younger countrymen. But he seldom showed any practical interest in the labours of public men and politicians. His words, on the other hand, sometimes smacked of intolerance and irritation.

In his minute on Lord Ripon's Local Self-Government scheme he betrayed something of the latter feeling. In his general observations we fully agree. They are such as might have been made by the most zealous Congressman. There is in them a happy combination of moderation, prudence, patriotism and practical common sense. We cannot possibly take exception to the main principles he therein enunciates. Nevertheless it must be noted that he begins the document with evident ill-feeling towards certain classes of public men. "Even at this early stage," he writes, "stump oratory has sprung up and it goes without saying that a class of penniless patriots or demagogues who have nothing at stake is a dangerous element in any country, and must be so in a country acquired by conquest and held by

the sword." This language, it need hardly be said, was unworthy of a high-minded man such as Seshia Sastri was. It came with peculiar ill-grace from one who had himself emerged out of poverty and want. His critics were not slow to retort that he was himself not born with a silver spoon in his mouth; and in fact those at whom he aimed were much better circumstanced than he had been in his youth. Seshia Sastri, indeed, regretted his mistake. In a letter to a friend he said that he felt sorry for the language he had used and explained that he "must have been smarting under a sense of wrong done me by some of my junior public friends who had misunderstood and misrepresented me." We would prefer not to say more on this "slip" as Seshia Sastri himself calls it. But the mistake is one into which other men are apt to fall. In these days, English Education is a means for even very poor men to attain to affluence and greatness. A poor boy educated with the help of charity may in due course become an Administrator, a Judge, a Lawyer of eminence. And it is not unusual to see men of humble origin assuming aristocratic airs as soon as they have attained some position and acquired some money. People are apt to too soon forget their past, even their old friends and comrades. Even to their old benefactors they sometimes become patronising in demeanour. That such a good and great man as Seshia Sastri spoke contemptuously of "penniless patriots" shows how great is the temptation to elevate oneself at the expense of one's critics or opponents. There is little doubt that Seshia was smarting under a sense of wrong. His administration of Pudukottah had been freely criticised. A new school of critics had then sprung up in Madras. A new journal to voice the opinions and aspirations of the Indian community had come into existence. To attack the foibles of the older men, some of whom assiduously paid *pujah* to officials, sometimes at the sacrifice of great public interests, was the aim of the new party. The school to which Seshia belonged, the school of Madhava Row and Muthuswami Iyer, stood apart from the new school of politicians. The former looked to their official patrons and friends for everything. The latter put their faith in resisting the autocracy of the old world officialdom, backed up by the force of public opinion. They were strong in numbers, in intelligence, in hope and in energy. The one devoutly worshipped Mr. Carmichael. The other would rather worship Mr. Eardley Norton. The party of officials, of whom

Muthuswami Iyer was one, had joined in the demonstration in honour of Carmichael. The party of politicians had joined in protesting against it. There could hardly have been much hearty sympathy between two such schools of opinion. Of the older men Raghunatha Row and Rungiah Naidu had been with the new party. Madhava Rao and Muthusawmy Iyer gradually drifted to them though they did not completely identify themselves with them. But Seshia had been separated from them by distance, by occupation and by difference of sympathies. His position and surroundings only encouraged his aversion to the new school. And when he got an opportunity he burst forth with all the fury of injured innocence. This, we think, is the right explanation. He no doubt sympathised, as we have seen, with the principles and aims of the Congress. But for obvious reasons, he was not in sympathy with several of those who were carrying on its work. He thus allowed his aversion to men to appear as aversion to the movement itself. This attitude is certainly not justified by anything he did in favor of the aims of the Congress. It is of little use to say that a man sympathised with a movement when he did nothing for it himself, when he studiously withheld from it all the support he could easily give. Nor does it appear that he ever co-operated with his countrymen in any of those public movements which had for their aim the social and political advancement of the people. In social matters he remained a conservative. In political matters he was indifferent. His views on important public questions which have been recorded were given at the invitation of the Government, and not out of an active enthusiasm which fires public-spirited men when questions affecting the country crop up. Seshia's countrymen had a right to expect him to place his leisure, the prestige of his position, and the benefit of his large experience at their service. Men in his position could do nothing better, nothing higher in the broad public interests. But Seshia Sastri preferred then, as he does now, to live for himself in detachment from the outside world. He fought no battle for the public. He made no sacrifice for his countrymen. He may have excuses. But his is not the ideal which we would like to see other men follow.

His minute on the Ilbert Bill controversy is one of the best that ever proceeded from his pen. It is a bold expression of views on a very delicate subject on which the European and

Indian races were sharply divided! The style is vigorous, the diction is pure. In fitness of information, in closeness of reasoning and in the dignity of sentiment, it will take rank along with the best of State papers. His mind was, indeed, stirred to its inmost depths by the violent opposition set up to the measure, by the angry denunciations, and by the violent outbursts of racial feeling on the part of a considerable section of the ruling race. He appealed to the consistent policy of the British Parliament to the fundamental principles of the British constitution, and to the unity of the British Empire as all demanding equal laws, equal justice and equal rights for all. This minute, when published, was received with the warmest appreciation by his countrymen. Seshia had, indeed, shown that he had in addition to great ability and literary power, the courage of his conviction. Unlike some of his more cautious contemporaries, he had expressed himself with a freedom and nerve which commanded the admiration of all. He had gone into the very marrow of the question; and his admirable exposition left no flaw in his arguments and made no void in his facts. Delivered as a speech in the House of Commons, it would have made a tremendous impression, and would have taken rank along with the best efforts of Parliamentary eloquence. It was really worthy of the occasion, of the subject, and of the author. It is a pity that such power and such knowledge as he displayed therein were not further employed in the cause of his country and people.

After he had vacated the Dewanship of Travancore, he had no desire to be "anything else or anything less" as he himself put it. Nevertheless a new work was now to be forced upon him. The State of Pudukottah had fallen into the bad graces of the Madras Government. The Rajah, though an educated and accomplished man, had not proved a good or a successful ruler. It had even been seriously proposed that the State should be converted into a Zemindari; and a ministerial crisis had just then occurred. It was felt that a strong minister could save it from extinction. Seshia's name was suggested by Sir Madhava Row. The suggestion was very acceptable to the Rajah himself, to the Political Agent and to the Government. But Seshia was not willing to undertake the responsibility, and at first declined the offer. The Rajah begged of him to reconsider his resolve, and Madhava Row and Carmichael used their persuasive powers to induce Seshia to

take up the work. Eventually he yielded, and assumed the ministership in August 1878 on a consolidated monthly emolument of Rs. 1,000. Here, we consider he did the most important work. He saved the Rajah from complete disrepute. He saved the State from ruin. The Rajah had been deprived of his salute and of his title of "Highness." Both were restored by the efforts of the new Minister. The State had fallen into a collapse. It now emerged from it under the able administration of Seshia. The Rajah died in 1886, and Seshia was duly installed as Dewan Regent. In all, he administered Pudukottah for the long period of sixteen years, until the young Rajah attained his majority. Space forbids us to take a lengthy survey of what he did during this period. We can only present to the reader our own estimate of his work and his achievements. His greatest work was the reform of the Land Revenue system which increased the area of cultivation and the revenue of the Government, and made land a valuable asset to the ryot. Under the old *Amami* system the ryot had no wealth in land; he had no secure tenure. He now got both, and under the new sense of security and freedom from thralldom, many new lands were taken up for cultivation, adding to the revenue of the State. Seshia had great work to do, and he had a freehand. He granted remissions and reductions where justified, and this gave real relief to the landholder and the cultivator. He remodelled the village accounts and the judicial administration, repaired and extended irrigation works, revised the public establishments, improved the roads, established new medical institutions, introduced sanitary improvements, put down dacoities and robberies, and overhauled the administration of the jails. It is impossible to set forth, within our brief space, all that Seshia accomplished within the period of his administration. Suffice it to say that under him Pudukottah looked a quite new country with all the improvements and signs of a highly civilised State. The streets, the buildings and the public institutions assumed a new appearance. The education and training of the minor Rajah were arranged by him. The end of his stewardship now came. The young Rajah was installed on the throne in 1894; and Seshia handed over the State in the most splendid condition, with a flourishing revenue and a balance at the Treasury. Lord Wenlock in installing the Rajah acknowledged in fitting terms Seshiah's great and meritorious services to the

State and impressed upon His Highness a due sense of the deep gratitude he owed to the veteran statesman.

He now retired to his mansion on the Kaveri. Travancore had given him a monthly pension of Rs. 500. Pudukottah granted him another pension of Rs. 400. He has lived long to enjoy his pension and his honours. His contemporaries and school-mates are all now dead. He is thus the sole survival of a generation which produced a set of brilliant administrators and statesmen. There is little to be said of his later life. It has no interest to the public. We now and then hear of him when a Governor pays him a visit in his own mansion. We heard of him when he was recently made a Knight of the most Exalted Order of the Star of India. We heard of him when the Insignia was presented to him by the Collector of Tanjore. The publication of Mr. Kameswara Iyer's book has revived interest in his life, a life which has so many achievements to its credit, which exemplifies great talents and capacity, great moral strength and great intellectual resource. He was thoroughly loyal and devoted to his Government, and to the Sovereigns and States he served. He thoroughly retains those feelings even to this day.

HISTORY OF THE TRADE OF ANCIENT INDIA.

CHAPTER IV.

PIRATE ARIAKE.

THE coast line which formed so far the subject of our investigation presented a fertile field for the enterprise of foreigners and an interesting scene ever kept alive by the emulation of rival settlements. At every step we met great commercial cities each playing a part in the history of ancient trade; now the rise of one city, now the fall of another, one at the height of prosperity, another in total decay or extinction, while behind them the fortunes of a third would loom in the distant horizon. Even to this day may be seen one of the main highways of Indian trade run in the track marked out in the remotest ages. Amidst the ruins of Sophr, Kallyan, Seinylla and Thana rise the towers of proud Bombay, the mistress of the cities of the Orient. The powerful dynasties who from time to time held the reins of government in this part of India invariably lent their patronage to the trading towns, safeguarded the interests of foreigners and encouraged industrial and commercial pursuits. The coast cities attracted merchants from abroad and from the surrounding country. A free scope was allowed for the

Corrigenda to Chapters I—III, published in Vol. VIII, No. 31.

Page 363, line 6,	for "Hebras"	read "Hebrew."
" " 19,	" "Eriongeber"	" "Eziongeber."
" " 36,	" "Jamint"	" "Jamint."
" 365, " 20,	" "Gains"	" "Genius."
" 366, " 26,	" "Cosuros"	" "Cosmos"
" 367, " 29,	" "Rushana"	" "Kushana."
" 370, " 19,	" "Natapana"	" "Nahapana."
" " 22,	" "Satakarni"	" "Satakarni."
" " 24,	" "Audhea"	" "Andhra."
" " 27,	" "Maharashtra"	" "Mahashatrapa."
" 372, footnote,	" "Periponar Eryther"	" "Per. Mar. Eryth."
" " "	" "Fraud"	" "Translation."
" 373, line 19,	" "Diu"	" "Diu."
" " 35,	" "Pulawayi"	" "Pulamayi."
" 374, " 26,	" "Sanylla"	" "Semylla."
" 375, " 8,	" "Ibu"	" "Ibn."
" 377, " 14 & 22,	" "Diu"	" "Diu."

development of indigenous industries. Foreign trade in ancient times stimulated their growth to an extent unknown in our own days. Their resources were not drained by one-sided competition fostered by the baneful bounties of foreign governments on the one hand and the mischievous export duties imposed by the local government on the other. Thus trade flourished, wealth flowed in, and cities grew up under the auspices of peace and plenty. But the country stretching south of the *Aurea Chersonesus* was the home of piracy. Instead of trade emporiums, we meet in this tract pirate haunts. The towns gave shelter not to merchants but to their oppressors. This den of sea-robbers was called *Ariakê Piralon* (Pirate Ariake).

24. Pirate Ariakê comprised the coast south of Bombay as far as *Nitrias* (*Nitra* of Ptolemy) which is described by Pliny as a stronghold of the pirates. This pirate haunt has been variously located at Kumpta and Onore in North Canara and at Mangalore in South Canara. Col. Yule's identification of it with Mangalore may be borne out by the argument that *Nitra* of Ptolemy is likely to be the same as *netra* in Netravati, the name of the river at the mouth of which the port of Mangalore is situated. Pirate Ariakê formed part of the Konkân kingdom. The Konkân was originally blended with Maharashtra proper under the dominion of the Andhrabrita dynasty. In the 5th century the two territories came to be ruled by two separate dynasties, Maharashtra proper by the Chalukyas and the Konkân by the Kadambas. The latter kingdom extended further east beyond the line of the Western Ghats and had its capital at Banavasi in North Canara. The Coast tracts formed an integral part of this kingdom. But on account of the undefined power of the pirates at sea, their allegiance to the king does not appear—at any rate during the earlier centuries of the Christian era—to have been anything more than an empty boast of territorial aggrandisement.

25. Piracy played such an important part in the trade history of ancient India that it would not be out of place in this essay to notice its salient features and survey its extent before the supremacy of the European fleets made its existence impossible. Pampered with the booty of the richly freighted vessels plying on the high seas, piracy flourished on the West Coast in all its vigour. Bands of sea robbers were established in the islands and mountainous strongholds contiguous to the creeks and bays which afforded safe harbourage to their cruisers. Pliny says

that the merchantmen which left the Egyptian ports heading for India carried on board troops well armed for their defence against the attacks of the pirates. Marco Polo found the same practice prevailing in his time. The trading vessels of the Dutch and English companies were attended by convoys to guard against the dangers of navigation on this coast. Marco Polo gives us interesting details of the system adopted by the pirates in their depredations. Every year hundreds of corsair vessels went forth on cruise. The pirates took with them their wives and children, and stayed out the whole summer. They divided their vessels into separate fleets of 20 or 30 each. Each fleet formed itself into what they called a sea cordon, the ships dropping off till there was an interval of five or six miles between ship and ship, so that a single fleet covered something like a hundred miles of the sea and no merchant ship heading for the coast ports could escape their meshes. When any one corsair sighted a foreign vessel, a signal was made by fire or smoke and then the whole fleet made for their victim, seized the merchants and plundered them.

26. Piracy in those days appears to have been a recognised system, because as late as the 13th century, the king of Thana levied tribute from the pirates of the Konkan coast in the shape of horses which were captured from foreign vessels trading with India, it being then the practice of Arabian traders to carry horses in their vessels to present them to the king of the realm with which they were trading. The recognition of this barbarous institution by the helpless sovereigns, who ruled over the Konkan, affords the only explanation of the uninterrupted and undefined supremacy of pirates from the earliest times till comparatively a recent date. The immunity which they enjoyed at the hands of the kings gave them a free hand in their depredations. Plunder and pillage were not all that the traders had to dread from the pirates. Resistance was invariably punished by massacre. If the merchants submitted to their fate without resistance, they were stripped of their valuables and their clothes to the last rag and were left naked and starving to the mercy of the winds and the high seas. Their depredations were often accompanied by acts of brutal cruelty. One of their atrocious practices was to force the merchants to swallow a stuff called *Tamarindi*, mixed in seawater, which brought on a violent purging, in order to make

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sure of any precious stones which the merchants might have swallowed on being made aware of the danger of their capture.

27. In the latter half of the 18th century, Father Paulinus of St. Bartholomew specifies the vicinity of Mount D'Ely near Cannanore as a favourite haunt of pirates in his day. "The huts in which their (the pirates') wives and children live" says the Father, "stand on the eastern side of Mount Ili." This mountain is mentioned by Ptolemy under the name of *Elaykon* as an emporium or place of trade. The whole surrounding district was inhabited by the Molandis who lived by piracy. They united themselves to other pirates who resided on the Laccadives, and captured all the small vessels which sailed from Broach to Cape Comorin. Somewhat further up Ibn Batuta, the famous Arabian traveller, fell into their hands and was stripped to his drawers.*

28. It is interesting to note that the block-house system which was so effectively adopted during the recent South African Campaign to hunt down the scattered Boer commandoes on the extensive veldts, was worked on much the same lines as we have described above. The increased mobility and the greater facilities for concentration afforded on the high seas must have removed the disadvantages necessarily attending the working of such a system, while they must have immeasurably added to the striking power of the corsairs. It seems highly probable that the pirate system of cordons was copied by the founders of the Maharatta empire for the garrisoning of their territory and frontiers. Corresponding to the cordons of ships at sea Sivaji garrisoned more than 200 forts in his dominions, special attention being paid to the out-post duty. Mobility which is a prime factor in the cruising of a corsair fleet was secured on land by the wholesale employment of cavalry, the infantry being set apart exclusively for garrisoning the forts. It is significant that while the power and prestige of the other kingdoms in India were gauged by the number of infantry battalions they could count, the strength of the cavalry continued to be the mainstay of the Maharatta power till about the year 1750 when it came in contact with the French and the British armies.†

29. The modern history of piracy has been often told; and every student of history is familiar with the rise of the Angrias

* Colonel Yule's Marco Polo, Vol. II, p. 326.

† Justice Ranadê's Introduction to the Peshwas' Diaries.

in the middle of the 17th century, their supremacy at sea for a whole century and the break-up of their power on the capture in 1756 by Clive and Watson of their capital at Gheria. This pirate power suddenly attained dangerous proportions simultaneously with the growth of the Mahratta empire in the Dekhan. The design of founding a maritime empire was conceived by Conajee Angria, a Mahratta naval officer, during the war at sea between the Mahrattas and the Moghuls. This officer called to his aid the pirate chiefs who flourished between Goa and Bombay, took advantage of the numerous creeks to build forts within easy reach of one another, while he manned his fast sailing boats with expert crews and armed them with guns. The power of the Angrias became so formidable that they were able to defy the armed convoys of the British and the Dutch. In 1754, a Dutch squadron of three ships having on board as many as 104 guns was attacked by the pirates and the whole burnt or taken. The reduction by the British of this foe was by no means an easy task. In 1755, when Commodore James sailed with a squadron against Severndroog where Angria's ships were stationed, the latter, it is said, slipped their cables, ran out to sea and by fastening to the flag-staves their clothes, their quilts and even turbans, caught every breath of wind and completely outsailed their pursuers. But at land, though well fortified in their strongholds which were either cut out of solid rock or built of massive stones, the pirate garrisons were not expert at their craft and they easily gave way before the combined attacks by land and sea of Clive and Admiral Watson.

30. Thus after maintaining its supremacy unchallenged from time immemorial, the power of the pirates was shattered so as never to assert itself again. The death blow was dealt to the corsairs at a time when they had just put away their crude instruments of war and were arming themselves with modern weapons to prove a menace to commercial intercourse between the East and the West.

CHAPTER V.

MALABAR—ITS TRADE AND PORTS.

31. As we leave behind Ariakê and proceed in our investigation towards the South, we observe a remarkable change of scene. The sad picture of piracy goes into the background while

commercial activity comes into prominence. From its position and the wealth of its natural resources, Malabar has come in touch with the outer world from the remotest times. Industrious, but entirely dependent on the cultivation of the soil, the people of Malabar appear to have early realised the advantages of a trade which kept up an unfailing market for the unique products of their country. They welcomed at their ports foreign traders from the East and the West. With only a faint touch of Brahmanic influences, the religious sentiment in Malabar does not appear to have disregarded the superior claims of foreign religions nor to have asserted itself to the exclusion of foreigners or to the detriment of the material interests of the people. While in the North-west the great wave of Indo-Scythian conquest and immigration meets with resistance at every step, gradually subsides and at length disappears under the numerical superiority and the religious bigotry of the indigenous population, in Malabar on the other hand we find foreign races coming in succession, settling without molestation, proselytising, taking root and growing in the midst of the native population. The Jews, the Syrian Christians, the Moplahs and the Portuguese Eurasians scattered over the entire length of the Malabar coast, are living monuments of the tolerant spirit of the people no less than the colonising instincts of their own forefathers.

32. The antiquity of the foreign trade of Malabar has been traced back to an amazingly early date. Modern discoveries point to a well established commercial intercourse between Dravidian India and Babylonia or Chaldea during the pre-Aryan period. After a scrutiny of the available evidence, Ragozin has arrived at the following startling conclusions: that the Dravidians of Northern and Western India and the Babylonians of the first empire (*i.e.*, the Babylonia of the Shumiro-Accads before the advent of the Semites) belonged to the same Turanian stock; that these people kept up connections with one another before the Aryan immigration; that teakwood, which grows in Malabar, was exported in those days to Persia; that the sandal-wood, ivory, apes and peacocks, which King Salomon's trading ships brought him, were the products of Malabar; that the manufacture of muslin was an Aryan home industry; that this industry was flourishing in Northern India in the pre-Vedic days; that at that time the Dravidians were enterprising traders; and that the Muslims of Northern India found their way to the ports of the

West Coast and were exported thence to Babylon.* If these conclusions have a place in the realm of truth, an immense vista of the past is thrown open before us, but history has yet to reveal much that is not "dreamt of in our philosophy."

33. Numerous ports on the Malabar Coast are mentioned by ancient historians and geographers. But their identification is beset with considerable difficulty, which is aggravated when we find ourselves confronted by the conflicting opinions of antiquarians. "Doctors differ"; and the result is that one who sets to himself the task of writing a narrative account of ancient trade has to boil down their opinions before bringing out anything readable. It will not be possible, however, to go clear of all details bearing upon the identification of places in presenting to the reader the results of antiquarian research.

34. The country stretching south of Ariakê was known to ancient geographers by the name of *Lymirikê*. It corresponds more or less to the kingdom of Kerala, comprising Malabar, Cochin and Travancore and, at one time or other, parts of the districts of South Canara and Coimbatore. In the days of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, the ruling prince in *Lymirikê* was Keprobothrôs (Keralaputra) and his capital was the city of *Karoura* (Karur) in the Coimbatore District. The ports in this region, which were touched by Greek voyagers, were *Naoura* and *Tyndis*, beyond these to the South *Musiris* and *Borace* situated at the mouth of a river and *Nelcynda* which stood 120 stadia up the same river. Robertson, Forbes, Buchanan and Father Paulinus of St. Bartholomew are unanimous in placing *Musiris* at Mirjan in North Canara and *Borace* at Barcelore (Basrur) in South Canara. Arrian describes *Nelcynda* as a town of consequence on the river *Baris* (not identified). In the opinion of Sir Walter Elliot, *Nelcynda* appears to correspond to Neelkunda on the Tadri river or Tarihale in North Canara. According to Major Rennel and Dr. Vincent, *Nelcynda* is Nelisseram or Nileschwara (lat. 12° 10') at the head of an estuary a few miles to the North of Cannanore, *Musiris* is Mangalore and *Tyndis* is probably Kundapur in South Canara. But the most recent writer Col. Yule has transferred the whole group of these ports three degrees south, identifying *Tyndis* with Kadalundi, *Musiris* with Muziricode which is the modern Cranganore.

* Ragozin's *Vedic India*, pp. 306—311. The Story of the Nations Series.

more,* *Borace* (known also as *Barake* or *Ela Barake*) with Mt. d'Elly (a surmise) and *Nelcynda* with a village in the Quilon Division of the Travancore State. The following grounds suggest themselves in support of Col. Yule's contention. The texts of the ancient geographer indicate that *Tyndis*, *Musiris* and *Borace* are parts of *Lymirikê*; that *Borace* is situated at the mouth of a river; and that 120 stadia (about 15 miles) up the same river is situated *Nelcynda*. Pliny describes *Nelcynda* as belonging to the realm of the Pandion King, which lay to the South of *Lymirikê*. Now, if *Nelcynda* were identical with Neelkunda on the Tadri river in North Canara as stated by Sir Walter Elliot or with Nelisseram North of Cannanore as asserted by Rennel and Vincent, the Pandion Kingdom must be extended to the North of Malabar or right to the middle of it—an assumption altogether unwarranted by historical data. The statements of the several ancient writers can be reconciled only by locating *Nelcynda* near the Southern boundary of Kerala somewhere in South Malabar or Cochin, and consequently transferring to that region the whole group of the ports mentioned above. Again *Nitrias* or *Nitra* appears in the ancient writings as the southernmost mart of Ariakê. *Nitrias* being identified with Mangalore (para. 24, *supra*), the whole of *Lymirikê* with its great ports must fall to the South of Mangalore. Colonel Yule's contention itself is grounded on the bearings and distances given in the *Periplus*—indeed a document not open to the charge of exaggeration—and his view is much strengthened by the fact that among the exports of *Musiris* are enumerated "pearls in great abundance and of extraordinary beauty." Cranganore with which it is identified is very near the centre of the pearl fisheries and the pearl trade is more likely to belong to Cranganore than to any port in Canara. Colonel Yule's theory altogether shifts the scene of ancient commercial activity from Canara to Malabar; and while it upsets the calculations of eminent antiquarians, it conclusively sets at rest a much debated question of ancient geography and thus furnishes a sure ground on which to build up the history of the South Western Peninsula during the earlier periods of the Christian era.

35. *Musiris* is the Greek rendering of *Mooyirikode* which is the old name of Krishnam Cottah, a village lying opposite to Cranganore. It was the Western Capital of Kerala as distin-

* Baubury's *History of Ancient Geography*, Vol. II., p. 468.

guished from Karur its Eastern Capital. It is said of Hippalus, the pioneer sailor of the Indian Ocean, that in his venture across the sea from *Endaimon* (Aden) he was carried to *Musiris*. The *Periplus* has, "*Mouzeris* which pertains to the same realm" (*Lymirikê*) is a city at the height of prosperity frequented as "it is by ships from Ariakê and Greek vessels from Egypt." In Pliny's history it figures as the "*primum emporium Indiae*." He says that *Musiris* and *Borace* were not far distant harbours and were so incommodious for trade on account of the shallowness of the ports that it became necessary to discharge and take in the cargoes in small boats. The articles imported at *Musiris* were much the same as at *Barygasa* (Baroach).^{*} But the commodities exported from it were more numerous and valuable; for on account of its proximity it kept up a brisk trade with the Eastern parts of India. Besides pearls the *Periplus* specifies particularly a variety of silk stuffs, rich perfumes, tortoise shell, different kinds of transparent gems, especially diamonds, and pepper in large quantities and of the best quality.[†] The ever increasing demands of Roman luxury kept up an unfailing market for the products of Malabar. The trade must have been considerable and must have continued unhampered for over two centuries after the *Periplus*; for in the year 216 A.D. the trade interests of Rome at *Musiris* were held sufficiently large to require the maintenance at *Musiris* of two Roman cohorts (about 1,200 men) to protect them.

36. Cranganore, by which name *Musiris* was known locally, owes its fame as much to the settlements of the Jews and the Christians as to its being the Western capital of Kerala and the first emporium of trade in India. In the history of commerce, the Jews have always figured as the most enterprising nation. As capitalists and bankers, traders and artisans, they have led the way in exploring the markets of the world, and on the principle of "first come first served" have secured the gains and prizes of new markets and new bargains. Babylon, the metropolis of the world, was thronged by Jewish speculators, and it was said of a Jewish merchant of Babylon that "he had a thousand vessels in the sea and a thousand cities on land." Such were the resources exhibited by the Jews in the mercantile world. The origin of Jew-

^{*} Vide para. 17, *supra*, p. 372, Vol. VIII.

[†] McCrindles *Per. Mar. Erythr.*, pp. 31-32.

ish intercourse with India is lost in obscurity. As early as the time of Moses commerce must have existed with Malabar; for cinnamon and cassia played a part in the temple services of the Jews, and they find a place in the later lists of exports from Malabar to Persia, Arabia and Egypt. We have already referred (para. 32) to the sandal-wood, ivory, apes, and peacocks conveyed to Solomon in his trading ships. The traditions of the Jews in Malabar carry back their arrival to the time of their escape from servitude under Cyrus in the 6th century B.C., while another exodus is said to have been effected after the destruction in 68 A.D. of the temple of Jerusalem. The section known as the White Jews claim that their ancestors escaped from Jerusalem at the time of its final destruction and that the descendants of the fugitives made their way to the West Coast of India, where in 490 A.D. the local ruler granted them a settlement at Cranganore. Here they were joined by others of their nation and here they remained for nearly a thousand years. But discord having arisen among them, one of them called to his aid an Indian king who came with a large army and destroyed their settlement. The Portuguese in the 16th century proved a more formidable enemy to their existence. In 1565, as a protection against the hostile dispositions of the Moors, the Portuguese enlarged and strengthened their fort at Cranganore; and the Jews in this year, finding their position impracticable, moved out of their ancient settlement of Anjuvannam in this city and came to Cochin where they built the Jews' Town.

37. The intimate connection of Cranganore with the establishment of Christianity enables us to trace its history from the time of Our Lord and follow in the track of its destinies down to our own times. In fact it is doubtful whether any other city of India possesses such a continuous history as is presented to us in the growth and decay of Cranganore. It is said to have been the first place at which St. Thomas landed and the site of one of the seven churches founded by the apostle. Successive immigrations of the Persian Christians, the Syrians and the Nestorians and their settlements in Cranganore and Quilon make up the history of Christianity in Malabar from the 4th to the 9th century. Tradition points to the arrival at Cranganore in the 4th century of the first Syrian colony consisting of 400 persons. They settled in this city with the permission of "Cheruman Perumal" who granted them certain privileges so as to raise their civil and

Colias. It attained to the greatest eminence in the 13th century and carried on an extensive trade with China. The history of this port will be set out at some length in the chapters dealing with Chinese trade. Colechi, which appears in Strabo under the name of *Cofaci*, was also a spacious and well-known harbour. Cotate occurs in Ptolemy under the name of *Coltiara Metropolis* and in Pliny as *Coltona*. These were the ports at which vessels from the West laden with commodities for Ceylon, the Coast of Coromandel, Bengal and Burma, discharged their contents and took up in exchange articles of merchandise which were conveyed hither by sea or by land from those parts of the East. For neither the Egyptians whose vessels were made up of papyrus, nor the Greeks and Romans whose merchantships were built in an exceedingly slight manner, ever ventured to double Cape Comorin, where at times such violent storms prevailed that the Portuguese called it *the Little Cape of Good Hope*. It was left to the huge junks and the superior seamanship of the Chinese to brave the dangers of the Bay of Bengal and venture on the trade between the West Coast and the countries washed by the Pacific Ocean.

(To be continued).

S. N. SALDANHA.

A VISIT TO THE RUINS OF GINJI.

SITUATED in mournful isolation, 18 miles from Tindivanam in the South Arcot District, stand the ruins of Ginji, once a populous city and the capital of a principality than which no kingdom of equal importance had suffered greater vicissitudes at the hands of successive invaders. Coming under the direct sway of the Vijayangar dynasty in the beginning of the 15th century, it passed, after the famous battle of Tellikota on the banks of the Tungabhadra, into the hands of the king of Bijapur who continued to maintain a nominal sovereignty over the Naiks of Ginji, Tanjore, and Madura. Thirty years later, Sivaji, by his treacherous machinations, easily secured the place and retained it for 22 years, and in 1698 it again fell into the possession of the Moghuls. How it was subsequently captured by the French in 1750, and once more changed hands, acknowledging the suzerainty of the Nabob of the Carnatic till 1761 when it was finally subdued by the English, is sufficiently modern history. Even the vicissitudes of varying rule could not thoroughly obliterate all traces of the place which nature had fortified with impregnable rocks, though the cruel desolation of unsympathetic vandals had long accelerated the ruin.

By some Chengi is supposed to be a corruption of 'Sanjivi,' the Sanskrit name for a life-giving plant which is still believed to be found in the hills, but which nobody has yet succeeded in finding. This is pointed out as the fragment of a hill which the monkey god Hanuman took to Lanka to restore the life of Lakshmana, the beloved brother of Rama, who was struck dead by the mortal weapon *sakti* of Ravana. Leaving alone the fabulous origin, the word in Tamil means 'a fortified place.' It seems more probable that the place was named after the strong fortifications which crowned the hills. Tradition ascribes the fortress to one Tupakala Krishnappa Naick who was originally a resident of Conjeevaram and a devoutful worshipper of Varadaraja Swami. The God, once taking into his head to put the sincerity of his faith to test, took the form of a boar and began to uproot the flower-garden which he was rearing with special care for the God's use. Incensed at the animal's ravages, he followed

it with a powerful arrow which missed aim every time that it was discharged, till it entered a cave in one of the Ginji hills, where the God pleased with his steadfast faith, presented himself in his true form and bade him construct a temple and dedicate it to him. This temple is known as the 'Singavaram Pagoda,' and is an important place of public worship. For the wherewithal for building it, he was directed to wait upon a holy man who was living in the hills and who knew the rare property of a creeper which transmuted everything into gold. The unsuspecting devotee paid him his respects and acquainted him with the divine errand. The ascetic gratified at the near fructification of his hopes devised a big vessel in which the leaves of the plant were boiled and was only waiting to throw the Naik into it, when the latter, more shrewd of the two, lifted and hurled him into the seething cauldron. No sooner was this done than there appeared on the spot a golden image of the ascetic which had the wonderful virtue of restoring itself as soon as any one of its limbs was severed. Thus was the faithful worshipper supplied with an unlimited resource of wealth, by which he was enabled to build not only the temple but also the fortress which had such a highly strategical position. But whatever truth there might be in this story, there can be no doubt that the fortifications are the work of the kings of Vijayanagar.

History is replete with instances of human vandalism which had destroyed all traces of respectable antiquity. But nothing could exceed the ravages of the Mussulman conquerors who demolished all works of art in a most unrelenting spirit. These ruins tell a truly tragic tale, of how from being almost inaccessible fortifications round a citadel which, in the words of Orme, could be defended by 10 men against 10,000 men, they have now become the sneaking abode of a stray jackal or the undisturbed eyrie of a brahmuni kite. The name Ginji was originally applied to the city within the fortified hills on three sides and a big moat or trench about 12 feet in breadth running right round the hills and enclosing an area of seven miles in circumference. The small village near the foot, known as 'the little Chenji' is of comparative insignificance, where even the bare necessities have to be purchased on Fridays when a weekly fair is held at Chettipalium one mile from here. The hills of Rajagiri, Krishnagiri and Chandrayon Drug form a line of fortifications connected together by 'walls of circumvallation.' The flanking walls

having embrasures for guns and loop-holed for musketry, with guard-rooms for sentinels, marking the length of their night-patrols, form most ingenious constructions. Many a crumbling Mandap with grass growing on the ceiling points to the ravages of time and of the seasons. Krishnagiri is the smallest of the hills and seems to have proved a coin of vantage by its peculiar position overlooking the north-west plain. The objects of curiosity here are an audience-chamber on the top of the hill, where the king received his ministers of state who were themselves accommodated on the masonry pials round the room; a spacious hall directly below where he took rest in a swing after the deliberations of the day. The big granary close to it is in dangerous ruins, one of the side-walls being completely detached from the roof. A fence round it is necessary to warn the unwary traveller from entering it.

Greater interest attaches to Rajagiri, the central as well as the highest hill in the range. There are seven gates each leading to the one above, till we reach the citadel on the top-most bluff which appears a lamentable wreck of its former grandeur. The strong position was taken advantage of for the construction of a fortress which is inaccessible on all sides but the south-west, even which was strengthened 'by three walls of fortification rising one behind the other and rendering an attack by escalade in that direction almost impracticable.' It is approached by means of a dangerously frail bridge built of split bamboo, the whole resting on three girders. This bridge which spans a chasm of 24 feet in width and 60 feet in depth is highly unsafe and cannot stand the weight of even a small body of men all getting up simultaneously. We cannot wonder if it suddenly gives way one of these days. The authorities will do well to build a pucca bridge, considering the large number of tourists who go there to visit the ruins. There is a big gun which is supposed to have been hurled from its position in the ramparts above into a dilapidated mandap below, with the figures 7,560 stamped in the breach and which is made of a metal which has long resisted all oxidation. A Ranganathar's temple, with no idol in it, is crumbling in the midst of a thick jungle of shrubs which will soon cover it up by its luxuriant growth. A hollow well supposed to have been a treasury and an arsenal for the supply of arms and ammunition add to the interest of these silent ruins. Several feet below, are two cave springs with halls close by where travellers can conveniently cook their midday meal. The water is beauti-

fully fresh and refreshingly cool. Here also there are two big granaries and a spacious gymkhana which now gives shelter to the stray sheep during heavy rains. The famous Kalyana Mahall is a big square court surrounded by rooms for the maids-of-honour attending upon the Rancee, while in their midst rises the Rancee's Mahall, a pyramidal building, 80 feet high consisting of eight stories 'with an arcaded verandah' running round a small room about 8 feet square and communicating with the storey above by an almost perpendicular stair-case. The most interesting feature about the building is the earthenware pipe leading to the sixth storey (fragments of which still lie scattered) and supplying water from the Chettikulam tank about 600 feet from it. It is a most ingenious device testifying to the hydraulic skill of the engineer who carried it out. The royal stables, the mosque which Raja Desing is supposed to have built for the convenience of his friend Mohabat Khan and a Bhajana hall with the Idols unscrupulously mutilated, form not the least attractive features of the place. The Chakrakulam with its limpid water is resorted to by invalids for health and is the only source of water-supply to the village when all tanks fail in times of severe drought. A big temple dedicated to Venkatarama is seen in all stages of ruin. In the *garbhagriham*, there is scarcely a single idol. The relentless vandalism of the rapacious Mahomedans is visible everywhere. The pillars that now adorn the beach in Pondicherry and those around the statue of Dupleix opposite the pier are said to have been removed from this temple and the Kalyana Mahall. The prisoners' jail stands near the entrance to the second gate, consisting of a semi-circular covered verandah of not more than 4 feet in breadth and of about the same height with crevices in the walls at intervals, the whole being guarded by a police quartered directly below in the courtyard, while the Magistrate's Court faces the jail opposite. These are some of the interesting relics which the garrulous guide is not tired of interspersing with a fund of fable and fact truly amazing. The havoc and desolation visible on all sides are of most melancholy interest. The unspeakable silence now pervading the place which some centuries ago was a big city bustling with an animated crowd and clanging with the canon and musketry of valiant soldiers, will naturally remind one of the troublous times when the heroic men bled themselves to death in their sturdy attempts to withstand the terrible depredations of barbaric strangers always intent upon the spoliation of its wealth.

Gingi has been immortalised in popular ballads as the seat of the famous Raja Desing whose many virtues of heroic valour and kindness of disposition are sung and re-sung to this day till the woods and plains re-echo with their reverberations. While the dynasties that successively ruled over the country have been completely effaced from the memory of the people, Raja Desing's is still a talismanic name which at once conjures up visions of rare heroism and undaunted courage, and of pathetic memories and silent grief. Desing or more correctly Tej Sing was the son of Sarup Sing who was appointed as the Raja of Gingi by the Emperor Aurungzeb in recognition of his valuable services in collecting the tribute from the Naiks who were long evading payment. The Moghul Emperor having come into possession of a famous horse which was most intractable, issued invitations to all chieftains in his dominions to present themselves before him and ride the animal. While others ignominiously failed and were undergoing imprisonment, Tej Sing, with the divine favour of Ranganatha Swami, his titular deity, successfully rode him, which commendable feat secured for him complete immunity from payment of any tribute. But the Nabob of the Carnatic, jealous of his independence, set up a fictitious claim for tribute which was contemptuously rejected. Thereupon, the Nabob with a large army encamped on the banks of the Sankarabharani river one mile from Gingi and pillaged the villages in the neighbourhood. Tej Sing sent word to his friend Mohabat Khan who was just then on the altar to be married, but who at once in his intense loyalty started to fight the enemy. The news of Mohabat Khan's death in the encounter so agitated Tej Sing that he at once set out, determined to avenge his death by the destruction of the enemy. How he took leave of his bride from behind a purdah, how he boldly ventured out in spite of the remonstrations of his favorite deity, how he was treacherously killed by the Nabob from underneath his elephant and how his faithful bride committed suttee are rehearsed to this day in songs of varying beauty. The whole place breathes a tragic air which the existing relics help to intensify. As the traveller retraces his steps, he cannot but be struck with the awful majesty of the hills which had such an eventful past, but which the dire hand of Fate had now reduced to a heap of ruins frequented by monkeys during the day and haunted by the ghosts of departed men during the night.

C. TIRUMALAYYA NAYUDU.

REFORM IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY POLICE.

IN the mass of evidence collected by the Police Commission there has been nothing more prominent than the fact that under its present constitution the Police has lamentably fallen short of the requirements of a civilized administration. The common verdict has been one of condemnation. It has fallen from every witness's mouth that, as a body, the Police is inefficient and corrupt, that it has not improved with time, and that it has proved oppressive generally. It is doubtful whether a similar enquiry into any other department would have resulted in such expressions of universal disapprobation. Witness after witness has come forward to say that from the top to the bottom everything is rotten; that superior officers do no exercise proper supervision; that subordinate officers and constables are not honest. Nevertheless there has been no lack of witnesses to urge the imperative necessity of European supervision, and the importance of confining Indians to the subordinate grades.

The partiality for one's own race is so strong that even Lord Curzon has been led to partially accept the convenient theory that the Police are bad because the people are bad, and that Police men cannot be very much better than the people from whom they are drawn. Other departments of the administration give the lie direct to this sort of reasoning. The judicial and executive branches of the service have shown that the surroundings, even assuming that they are so bad as is alleged, do not affect the men who serve in them. It is evident, therefore, that the cause of the imperfections of the Police has to be sought in other directions.

So far the department has been entirely controlled by Europeans; and the number of European Officers have gradually increased. Independent testimony has shown that they have not fulfilled expectations. The public even contend that the defects of the Police are materially due to the incapacity of European superior officers. There are at present three methods of recruiting the superintendents, the Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents. They are (1) open competition in England, (2) promotion of Inspectors, (3) open competition in India, and (4)

selection by the Government of India. Until quite recently, no Indian was selected for appointments in the superior grades. Within the last three or four years, a few Indian Inspectors have been given acting appointments. From competition in India it has to be observed that Indians are practically excluded. Only three persons are nominated by the Government for every appointment, and the competition is confined to these three. So far as we have seen, no Indians has till now been nominated though we know, as a matter of fact, that Indian candidates, after they have satisfied the Medical test, have been rejected without reason. There is no reason why competition in India should not be open to all who successfully pass through the Medical test, unless it be that none but men of the white colour can be admitted into the charmed circle of Assistant Superintendents and Superintendents.

The system of selection by the Government of India was introduced in order, we believe, to enlist Military Officers, but as a matter of fact it has been utilised to introduce into the superior grades young men of imperfect education and indifferent abilities who are the sons of high officials and cannot be otherwise provided for. Thus, except perhaps through competition in England, we do not get men who may be deemed fit for the service; and the result is seen in the notorious inefficiency of the entire force.

Those who desire to keep the superior grades as a monopoly for Europeans will do well to note the following facts; for they are important as showing how the force has deteriorated in proportion to the increase of European Officers. The number of Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents has materially increased since the force was created. We will take a survey of the last twenty years to show the progressive rate of increase. In 1883 the number of Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents was only 41. In the year 1901 there were so many as 57 or an increase 39 per cent. The effect of this increase is shown in a lamentable way in the increase of grave crimes, not in their diminution. The following figures are interesting:—

Grave Crimes.					
	1883.	1899.	1900.	1901.	
Murder ...	239	506	525	463	
Dacoity ...	154	488	677	585	
Robbery ...	237	571	746	737	
House-breaking ...	5,622	7,101	8,996	7,955	

The increase in 1900 has been explained as having been due to famine. But the figures for the preceding and succeeding year will show that that cause has but very slightly contributed to the increase. The progress of increase seems almost normal and due to normal causes. If the superior European officers had exercised proper vigilance, if they had put forth proper efforts, this palpable increase should not have occurred. But they took things easily, they were neither prompt in investigation nor vigilant in supervision. Their number might as well have remained what it was for all practical purposes. For the prevention and detection of crime they have proved absolutely useless.

Before we dwell upon the causes which contribute to the uselessness of the European officers, we shall show how, while the Europeans have increased, the Indians in the force have fared. The number of Inspectors has diminished as follows:—

	1883.	1900.	1901.
Inspectors	461	396	383

Of these, be it noted, only 36 are graduates, most of them being only probationers. Their range is much too large being 30 to 35 miles from one end to the other.

The number of Constables stands thus:—

	1883.	(on other duty)	1900.	1901.
Constables	15,782		15,086	15,260
Do.	2,969	(Town and Municipal)	1,811 (Reserved)	1,820
Total	18,751		16,897	17,080

The above represent the number of constables engaged in actual Police work such as prevention and detection of crime. There has evidently been a marked decrease in the strength of the constables although additional Police men have been engaged in the punitive Police in Tinnevely and on plague duty. From the figures for 1900 have been excluded the constables engaged in Lock-up, &c., while those in Reserve have been included therein. The diminution in the number of constables has undoubtedly some connection with the increase of grave crimes.

Again the average pay of a constable which in 1883 was Rs. 8 has been reduced in 1900 to Rs. 7½. Thus while the total expenditure of the entire force has increased by 6½ lakhs of rupees from 1883 to 1900-01, the pay of the constable has been reduced by ⅙ of a rupee during the same period. Even in the

matter of rewards, as will be seen by the following figures, the constables have been treated worse:—

			in 1883=124.
The number of constables rewarded by promotion	do	do	in 1900=45.
do	do	by money	in 1883=759.
do	do	do	in 1900=581.

The fall is perceptible; but the reason is not clear.

Coming to punishments we find even a worse state of things. There is little doubt that the power given to Superintendents in the matter of punishing subordinates is much abused as will be evident from the following:—

Number fined, suspended, degraded, &c.—

	Officers.	Men.
1883	27	3,753=3,780
1900	874	5,307=6,181
1901	830	5,315=6,141

With low pay and with bad treatment, it is no wonder that the force is unpopular and that better classes of men do not readily join it. It will be interesting to note what work the superior officers do besides harassing their subordinates. They have no acquaintance with the language and customs of the people. They do not move among them. They do not investigate crimes. They do little to prevent them. Their energy is mainly devoted to finding out irregularities in the outward appearance of the Police men in their dress and uniform. They do not encourage real good work among their subordinate officers and men. The diaries that are sent to them are simply wasted away. They do not give any instructions to Inspectors on the strength of the statements contained in these diaries. They do not even read them. A curious instance may be given here which will show what little purpose the diaries serve. An Acting Inspector was once reduced; and the facts connected with the matter are interesting. The Inspector was permanently employed as a Station House Officer; but while he was acting in the new capacity he was engaged with the investigation of an important case. He was regularly reporting in the diary to the Superintendent the facts of the case and the steps he was taking. Ultimately it passed that the crime was reported to the Magistrate, and when the Superintendent was taken to task for neglecting the case, he fell upon the Inspector. The latter said that he was reporting everything in the diary to him and that since the Superinten-

dent was not issuing any instructions he thought that no steps need be taken in the case. The Inspector added that that was the practice of Superintendents who had been military officers. But the explanation did not avail, and the poor man was reduced!

The military officers were good disciplinarians. But the present class of civilian Superintendents consider that discipline consists in a clean-shaven face, in clean dress, in belt, button and baton. The reproof given by an Inspector-General of Police is worth recording. One Superintendent filled three or four pages in every Inspection Report with his remarks on these minor matters; and the Inspector-General (Mr. H. A. Stuart it is said) was so much dissatisfied with this kind of inspection that he remarked "never mind belt, baton and button, but see that the essentials of Police work are performed." The Superintendents are more for seeing that the entries in the Registers, such as the Process Register, the Police Register, the K. D. Register and other important Registers are correctly kept. An intelligent Superintendent can, by examining the Crime Register and a few other important Registers, estimate in a few hours whether the work in a station is satisfactory. But the dunces worry the Station House Officers by examining all sorts of things and thus waste 6 or 7 days of their time in inspecting a Police Station.

The Station House Officers are expected to supply Superintendents with provisions when they are on tour; and they rarely get the full price of the articles supplied. Some Superintendents, indeed, pay, but often only half of what is billed. The bills have to be presented to the orderly or butler, and these are masters of the situation. The Superintendents are altogether in the hands of low paid men; and they seldom know what the latter do. The trouble these low men cause to the Station House Officers is considerable; and their masters have not the intelligence or knowledge to detect the trickeries freely practised.

The question now is whether any improvement is possible with the class of European officers we now have, with the kind of encouragement the Subordinate Police receive. With an increase of superior European officers and with a decrease of lower subordinates grave crimes have enormously increased. Yet the cry of certain people is for more European supervision. So far European supervision has failed to effect any good. Things have grown from bad to worse. Let the remedy be applied in the right place, and the labours of the Commission

not wasted on changes which will not produce any good. Get able European Officers if you can; but in any case recognise the necessity of efficient Indian supervision and control without which it is impossible to improve the Police.

A POLICE OFFICER.

DELTA SUPERINTENDENTS.

SUPERFICIAL, observers and simple minded admirers of British rule fondly imagine that bribery is almost unknown in any branch of the Indian administration. More careful and experienced men, who have spent many years of their lives in this country and have felt a real sympathy for the people, often see things as they really are. In a lecture recently delivered at the New Reform Club, Sir William Wedderburn rightly said that "each of the centralized departments—Police, Forest, Excise, Public Works, Survey, Irrigation, Sanitation, Registration and Vaccination—is represented in the rural districts by a swarm of ill-paid and hungry native subordinates who prowl about the villages and gradually fatten themselves by plunder and extortion." If corruption prevails so widely among the lower officials who come in direct contact with the peasant, the purity and honesty of superior officials avails but little. To the ryot, ground down by the land-tax, the salt duty, the water-tax, and the local cesses, it may well seem that he has all the disadvantages of European and Asiatic Governments combined—the heavy cost of the first, and the corruption of the second in those very officers whose conduct affects most intimately his well-being. In no department of Government does the conduct of the subordinate agency affect the well-being of the ryot so intimately as in the Irrigation Department. Water in one form or another is indispensable to agriculture, and in no country does this relation acquire greater significance than in India. In no other department has the subordinate agency more abundant opportunities for oppression and extortion than in the Irrigation Department.

The arrangements with regard to the distribution of water in important Deltas like the Godaveri and Kistna Deltas are in the hands of a low paid agency called "Delta Superintendents." The pay of a Delta Superintendent ranges from Rs. 40 to Rs. 70 per month. He gets no travelling allowance, while he generally keeps a pony and a boat—not to speak of servants whom it is necessary for a travelling officer to maintain. He has no prospects of promotion—once a Delta Superintendent, always a Delta

Superintendent. His pay is hardly sufficient to enable him to live in a manner suitable to his position in life. It is out of question, therefore, that he can save anything by honest means. Yet I have heard of cases in which a D. P. W. clerk on Rs. 45 has accepted a Delta Superintendent's place on Rs. 40, abandoning his prospects of promotion in the clerical line. And the reason why so much value is set on this office is obvious. Each Delta Superintendent has under his charge the irrigation of about 30,000 acres; and has immense opportunities of making money. He has also opportunities of acquiring in the names of his relations and friends the best lands in the villages under his charge and improving their value by creating special irrigation facilities for them. Nothing is easier for him than to arrange with the villagers concerned not to apply or bid for such lands. Some of the Delta Superintendents now in service are said to be worth thirty or forty thousand rupees each. I have known half a dozen Delta Superintendents in Godaveri who have retired on fortunes reputed to be between half a lakh and one lakh. One of them, who retired just a few months ago, admitted in his deposition in a certain suit that he is worth half a lakh.

It is said that the great Kalif Omar introduced a curious system of "Magusama" as a check upon the extortionate practices of his Provincial Governors. Under this system, everything that the Governors, starting for their provinces, possessed was noted down; and on their return they were compelled to give back to the treasury half of the sum they brought with them. The position of a Delta Superintendent is not perhaps less lucrative than that of a Provincial Governor in Egypt, and a fertile source of public revenue might be opened up if half the earnings of Delta Superintendents were claimed by the Indian Finance Minister!

Though a Delta Superintendent is feared by the ryots with whom he has to deal, and though he commands all the influence and power which money will buy in all countries, he is not esteemed and respected by society. The reputation and the traditions of the service are against the Delta Superintendents, and their post does not attract men of education, intelligence, and respectability.

There are also Lock Superintendents and Delta Lascars who have to be "fed" for executing the orders of the Delta Superintendent regarding the distribution of water. There are again Embankment Superintendents, tow-path gumasthas and mile coolies

whose duty it is to protect the embankments and Canal banks. The agricultural cattle have necessarily to pass over these embankments and canal banks in going to the fields and returning therefrom to the village. To avoid annoyance or obstruction, the ryots have to satisfy the demands of these lower officials. If a Delta Superintendent retires on half a lakh, an Embankment Superintendent hopes to retire on ten thousand rupees.

I strongly repudiate the idea that the ryots, of their own accord, give the Delta Superintendents money, because it is "mamul." Those who entertain such an idea are ignorant of the real situation. By the inadequate scale of pay, which it has fixed for the posts of Delta Superintendent, Government draws to that service, by a natural selection, a class of men not fit for their responsibilities and virtually trains them in dishonesty by giving them ample powers, without providing proper and effective supervision. In no civilized country does an inferior subordinate in any department possess such enormous powers; and the ryots are simply victims to the pressure which the Delta Superintendent brings to bear on them. The Honorable Mr. Arundel said from his place in the Legislative Council that the present agency is "a serious blot on the administration."

Mr. Wynch, Deputy Director of Revenue Settlement, Mr. W. S. Meyer, the Sub-Collector of Godaveri, and Mr. V. A. Brodie, the Collector of Godaveri, called attention to this scandal in connection with the re-settlement of the Godaveri District. "The corruption of Delta Superintendents," says Mr. Wynch, "is a matter of common talk. If a ryot has applied for water, or if, his field being wet, he has not relinquished it, he has to pay, whether water be supplied to him at right season or not." Again Mr. Meyer says:—"It is idle to blink the fact that in the Delta considerable lump sums are privately paid to the P. W. D. subordinates on whose good graces the supply of water to the villages depends." Mr. Meyer actually went the length of proposing that the burden which it imposes on the ryot, should not be left out of account in considering his cultivation expenses in the re-settlement. The ryots assembled in the District Conferences of Godaveri and Kistna have often discussed this matter, adopted resolutions and submitted memorials to the Government. Since the reconstitution of the Legislative Council, the matter has been pressed on the attention of Government by the elected members in season and out of season. The grievance is a real and long

standing one known to almost every Revenue officer. Some Delta Superintendents have also been prosecuted before Criminal Courts, though the prosecutions did not stand. It is now seriously asked how it is that the ryots tamely submit to such extortion. The reply is obvious. The enormous powers entrusted to the Delta Superintendents and the want of effective supervision over the exercise of those powers virtually compel every ryot to submit to the exactions of the Delta Superintendent.

Firstly.—Under the rules, applications for water are made by the ryots to the Revenue authorities, but their acceptance depends on the opinions recorded by the Delta Superintendents. The applications are forwarded to the latter and if they endorse thereon that water can be supplied, the applications are granted, otherwise they are rejected. These applications do not go to the Sub-divisional officer or Executive Engineer. There is no time fixed for communicating the refusal to the ryot, the only intimation in several cases being the imposition of penal water-rates. It might be said that the introduction of consolidated wet rates in the re-settlement has dispensed with the necessity for such applications in the case of the majority of the lands for which water is taken. But this is not the case. Either before or after the re-settlement, the ryot who applies for water for the first time for raising a wet crop on dry land has to go to the Delta Superintendent and procure his acceptance. Even before the re-settlement, the practice was, when a ryot applied for water and got it, the land for which he applied for water continued to be registered as wet, until he formally applied for the discontinuance of water. In the case of water for the second or dry crop, the Delta Superintendent's acceptance has to be obtained every year. There is a great deal of competition among the ryots for water for second crop, since the supply is limited and the demand great. To save disappointment, each village makes timely arrangements with the Delta Superintendent. There are no rules to regulate his discretion and determine the question of preference between one village and another. Ryots have also to arrange with the Delta Superintendent for the irrigation channels not being closed for repairs during the second crop season.

Secondly.—There is a rule that water should be granted free of charge on application to the Public Works Department for flooding lands made barren of "Tsoudu" (salt efflorescence) whenever a sufficient supply of water is available. No ryot can

take the benefit of this rule, unless the Delta Superintendent certifies that a sufficient supply is available. "Tsoudu" being the bane of so much of the Godavari Delta, as has been pointed out by the Collector, Mr. Brodie, ryots generally flood their wet lands before the closure of the canals solely with the object of minimising "Tsoudu." There are cases in which ryots have been charged penal water-fates for having taken water under those circumstances, if they incurred the displeasure of the Delta Superintendent. The water is allowed to go to the sea, while the lands deteriorate.

Thirdly.—There is the competition among the ryots for what is called "black water" to which Mr. Wynch refers in his report in the following terms:—

"There is very great competition for the 'black water' as it is called, that is to say, the early clear water which comes down before the first heavy freshes about the beginning of June. If transplantation is effected by the aid of this water, it is said that the crops are less liable to be affected by the disease called 'kodu' and being harder, are better able to withstand submersion if such should occur later on. Influential ryots and those whose lands are nearest the heads of the channels compete for the favor of the Delta Superintendent."

Fourthly.—There is a rule that the fields at the tail ends of the channels should be supplied with water first. But the ryots in the upper reaches try to utilize the supply to themselves without allowing the water to go to the lower reaches. Again, the ryots in the upper reaches cannot get a sufficient supply, unless all the sluices and spouts in the lower reaches are closed and cross bunds put up, wherever necessary. In granting permission to erect cross bunds temporarily to raise water to high lands, in the matter of removal, of raising, lowering, or replacing the palmyra spouts, the Delta Superintendent has a vast power in his hands. Where such permission is not obtained, penal rates are charged as if the lands were irrigated through an unauthorized source. All ryots, whether they own lands in the lower or upper reaches, have to look to the Delta Superintendent for the supply of water in season. The outturn of a paddy crop transplanted in August or September will be considerably less than that of a crop transplanted in June or July. The turns of the villages have not been revised with reference to the altered requirements. There are practically no rules for the distribution

of water. Hence, there is not perhaps a village in the Delta which does not contribute Rs. 50, 100, 200 or 300, according to its wet-ayacut, for payment to the Delta Superintendent. High level lands have to pay more than low-lying ones. The blackmail levied from each ryot varies from one anna to two annas per acre. One of the influential men in each village or the Delta lascar in some cases, collects and pays the amount to the Delta Superintendent. The amounts originally fixed have undergone revision at the hands of successive Delta Superintendents. This amount euphemistically called "mamul" is intended only for the first crop in normal years. In a season of scanty supply, the Delta Superintendent levies extra sums both for first and second crops. If the contribution is not paid before hand, no water will be given even for seed-beds. In the words of Mr. Meyer "if the ryots did not pay this blackmail, they would soon discover that the channel through which the water reaches their villages was out of order, or if the village was at the tail end of the irrigation source, that there was not a sufficient supply to reach it."

Fifthly.—It is to be remembered that the present irrigated area has far exceeded the anticipated area, adding, to the complications of the distribution of the available supply. Not more than 50 per cent. of the area can command the direct flow without turns and the supply to the other 50 per cent. is very precarious. In his Engineering work on the Godavari Delta, Mr. G. T. Walch, late Chief Engineer for Irrigation, says:—"Though.....there is, for three months or so in every year, vastly more water coming down the river than would suffice for every acre commanded, the excess passes over the Anicut and runs uselessly to the sea, whilst in almost every irrigation season the period of superabundance of water is followed by one of scanty supply which barely suffices, under existing arrangements, to bring to maturity the whole of the present area of wet crops."

When the supply in the canals is scanty, the Delta Superintendents can dictate their own terms to the ryots. No body knows better than the Delta Superintendent at what critical junctures a thirsty wet crop like paddy requires water. The ryot's necessity is the Delta Superintendent's opportunity. If the ryot should fail to get the required measure of water for his crops, he would be undone. The Delta Superintendent can favor one vil-

lage or ryot with an extra flow of water at the expense of another, and the highest bidders can be first served. 'Water wants fodder' is the saying among the people. Among other causes it was owing to the inability of the ryots to meet the high demands of the Delta Superintendents at such critical junctures, that several villages in the Godaveri Delta have abandoned sugar-cane and reverted to paddy cultivation. Water is specially required for a seasonable supply are very great. One rupee per acre is generally levied for the first watering alone after the re-opening of the canals.

Sixthly.—The ryots are not consulted in the matter of the construction or repair of sluices, distributaries or drains. Every village which wants a new work to be constructed or an old one to be repaired has to raise a separate fund for payment to the Delta Superintendent to get the work sanctioned and executed. There are channels and drains which have not been repaired for over ten years and the petitions of the ryots to the higher authorities have proved to be of no avail.

Seventhly.—If a ryot applies for a tank bed land or poramboke near any irrigation channel or drain, the application is forwarded to the D. P. W. and it is rejected unless the Delta Superintendent certifies that there is no objection on the part of his department to the application being granted.

These are some among the many ways in which a Delta Superintendent has the power to help or injure the ryots in the matter of supply of water and an officer of his pay and position is not likely to miss his opportunities. The supervision exercised by the Executive Engineer and the Sub-Divisional officers is inadequate and ineffective. Want of sufficient acquaintance with the language of the people prevents the European Engineer from coming into contact with the people and informing himself of their wants and wishes.

The Delta Superintendent has the ear of the Engineer and possesses great powers; the people have to do exactly as they are told. A complaint to the higher authorities against the Delta Superintendent means a good deal of expense and delay. If the crop should wither for want of water, it would mean ruin to the ryot. The complaint comes back to the same functionary against whom it has been made and often leads to no practical good. And even if the Delta Superintendent is transferred or punished,

his successor is seldom any better. The Public Works Department also resents the interference of the Revenue Department. The Tahsildars are as powerless as the ryots. The ryots have therefore been all the more at the mercy of the Delta Superintendents since the imposition of the consolidated wet rates.

The remedy for this lamentable state of things is obvious. European Engineers are not in touch with the people. They do not seek the co-operation of the people in the work that concerns them so vitally, and they do not tolerate the interference of the Revenue Department. It is an article of faith among the majority of the officers of the P. W. D. that they know better what the people require than the people themselves. They have absolute control over the distribution of water and they only require the Revenue Department to realize the revenue. This system cannot succeed and has not succeeded. It is necessary that the Executive Engineer and the Sub-Divisional officers should be altogether divested of their responsibility in connection with the distribution of water; and their duties limited to the construction and repair of works. In the Cauvery Delta, the Engineers have professional charge of the works, but not of the water-supply or distribution. The ryots are at liberty to distribute among themselves the available supply in the river according to their needs and look after their minor irrigation. The same method should be introduced in the Godaveri District. The Revenue Department should be in charge of the work of distribution. It is the Revenue Department that is in close touch with ryots and can be expected to ascertain their wants and meet them properly. There should be a Special Agency under the direct control of the Collector, to be in charge of the work relating to the distribution of water in the Delta Taluks. There should be an Irrigation Deputy Collector for each section of the Delta, *i.e.*, Eastern, Central and Western. The present class of Delta Superintendents should be replaced by Irrigation Revenue Inspectors, trained in Survey and Levelling, well paid and well educated. These Inspectors being mostly graduates, will have a wide field of promotion in the Revenue Department. They should be under the control of the Irrigation Deputy Collectors. Delta lascars should be replaced by Channel Superintendents on a higher pay. In every department of service, improvements have been effected within the present generation by the introduction of educated men upon suitable pay and assured prospects.

Similar improvements can and should be introduced in the Irrigation Department, by following the same liberal and indispensable policy. And while the work of construction and repairs must necessarily remain vested in the P. W. D., the work of distribution should be made over to the Revenue Department, that is, to experienced Deputy Collectors and their well paid and well educated subordinates, under the supervision and control of the District Collector. These are the broad lines on which reform should proceed. In his evidence before the Irrigation Commission, Mr. Castle Stuart-Stuart, the Collector of the Godavari District, has drawn pointed attention to the necessity of the Revenue Department being given control over the distribution of water-supply. If this principle, *viz.*, the separation of the work of distribution, be approved, the details of the scheme can be elaborated. I do not think that the proposed scheme would entail much additional cost. And Government cannot plead want of funds in this department. The Godavari and Kistna Ancient works have been yielding a net return of 12 per cent. per annum. They are considered to be the most profitable public works in the world. The water rates, originally intended to pay an adequate interest on the capital outlay, are being converted into a source of revenue; a revenue drawn virtually from the food-supply of the country. But this is a subject which requires to be dealt with in a separate article.

We will conclude this article with one more observation. It is not only desirable but absolutely necessary that the co-operation of the people should be enlisted by the Revenue Department in the distribution of water-supply. Under Hindu and Mahomedan rule, administration was less centralized and the functions of the Government were, by no means, so all-pervading as they are under the British Rule. The village communities were living bodies, and had ample powers to regulate village concerns; now they have gone. The present village officers are practically tools in the hands of the underlings of the different departments of Government. Villages should be, as far as possible, dealt with as units, and required to settle the distribution of water and all disputes arising from it. From Ceylon to the Punjab, we find this practice still pursued, wherever feasible. The 'headmen' are invariably encouraged to become answerable for the main administration and Committees or 'panch mahals' are especially created for the purpose on inundation canals. Even in

the Native States similar methods of local Government on a small scale have sprung up, testifying in the strongest and clearest manner to the necessity which everywhere exists for it in connection with irrigation. The associations of Irrigators in France, Italy and America represent the development in a higher form of the same principle of local responsibility. Why should not local committees be created in the delta tracts, to assist the Revenue Department in the matter of conservation and distribution of water for Irrigation?

If I have criticised without reserve the present administration of the Public Works Department regarding the distribution of water, I should not be understood as in any way disparaging the good work done by the Engineers in connection with the designing and execution of the magnificent irrigation works which have done incalculable benefit to the Godavari and Kistna Districts. It would be conducive to the interests of the people and Government alike, if the Engineers should give their best energies to the improvement of these works, for which they are so well fitted by their special training and qualifications, and leave the actual work of distribution to the Revenue Officials, which the Revenue Officials alone are qualified to discharge.

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ETHICS OF TASAWUFF.

ON a certain day the Prophet was sitting in the assembly of his companions. "All of a sudden" says Umar "a strange person appeared in the assembly." "He was clad in a milk-white garment and wore jet-black hair. There were no signs of travel on him, and none of us knew who he was. He sat in front of His Excellency, and very close to him as if to be within distinct hearing distance. Resting his palms on his lap, he sat on his thighs like a pupil sitting before his master, and said "Oh! Muhammad enlighten me about Islam." The Prophet said "Islam is that you bear testimony to the fact that none is to be worshipped but God, and that I am His messenger, that you say your *namaz* in the proper form, that you give *zakat* and keep fast in the Ramazan, and make pilgrimage to the Kaaba, if you have the means."

On hearing the reply, the strange man said "You have spoken the truth." "We were all filled with surprise," says Umar, "that the enquirer should have put a question and then himself vouched for the correctness of the answer." Again said he: "Enlighten me about Iman" (belief). The Prophet said "Iman is that you believe in God and in His Angels and in His books and in His messengers (prophets) and in the decrees of His fate." The strange man again affirmed correctness of the answer. Then he continued: "Enlighten me regarding Ihsan (virtue). The Prophet said "Ihsan is that you worship God as if you see Him; and if you cannot do this, worship Him, as if He sees you." Then again he said: "Enlighten me regarding the day of judgment." The answer to this was: "The questioned man is not more enlightened than the questioner." Then said he "Enlighten me regarding its signs." The Prophet said "It shall be when the maid-servant shall bring forth her master (i.e., people footed and the lifter of cattle enjoying themselves in palaces." After this dialogue, the interrogator left us and departed.

* This is the opening *Hadis* of the *Miscal*; and the narrator is Umar, subsequently the 2nd Kaliph. Umar was a person who narrated less than seventy *hadises*, as he was afraid of not quoting the very words of the Prophet. He did not quote a *hadis*, unless he was quite sure that he was repeating his very words.

The narrator of this *hadis* says "after hearing this conversation I stayed for a long time in the presence of the Prophet and did not ask him any questions, when he himself broke the silence and said "O! Umar do you know who the questioner was?" I said—"God and His Prophet alone know this." The Prophet said that it was Gabriel, the Archangel, who had come down to teach them their *din* (religion). Sir Saiyid Ahmed Khan—who did not believe in the existence of angels and evil spirits—commenting on this "hadis of Gabriel," as it is commonly called, says that when the Prophet said that an angel had appeared, he simply meant "an unknown person;" just as we say in ordinary conversation when the doer of a deed is not known that "an angel did this," a sort of *deus ex machina*. Sir Saiyid did not believe in the existence of angels as separate conscious agents who administer the will of God. With him they were mere forces of nature, known as well as hidden. But for all that, Islam has its angels and archangels and its *malai-uala* who support the throne of God. There is Michael, the Lord of Water and the embodiment of the attribute of existence; there is Gabriel the Lord of Earth, the embodiment of the attribute of knowledge; Israfeel the Lord of the Air, the exponent of the attribute of intention; and Izrael the Master of Fire, the embodiment of power, corresponding to Varuna, Kshiti, Indra and Agni of the Hindus. While recognising the existence of angels as ministers of God's will, Islam holds that they are imperfect manifestations and man alone is the true mirror of all the manifestations of God's attributes; angels, therefore, are not to be worshipped. The Lord of them alone is deserving of adoration and worship; while Hinduism enjoins worship of any embodiment a Deva might assume in which to manifest himself: "for the Deva will often graciously use a particular form in which to meet the thoughts of his worshippers." * This is distinctly *shirk* (creating a participator with God) and Islam proscribes such worship. Nowbeit, we have the pith and marrow of the religion of Muhammad explained from his own lips; and the tradition is handed down to us by one of the most reliable authorities.

The division of this religion therefore is threefold, viz., *Islam*; *Iman*, and *Ishan*. Islam is an exposition of the tenets of the faith. It is the ritualistic aspect of the religion, it is the foundation originally laid by Moses on which the

* Evolution of "Life and Form," Anne Besant, p. 48.

whole outward fabric of the religion rests. Iman is an exposition of the dialectics (*Kalam or aklidiyat*) of the religion; so that a person might fully and sincerely believe in every tenet that goes to build up the fabric of this religion. Ihsan covers the philosophical ground of the religion. In the first, certain actions are determined as the most suitable for a person to perform, if he wishes to reach the goal of his worldly travel; it is a broad and well-paved road on which the pilgrim travels, without having to make enquiries on the road-side. It is the *Shariat*. In Iman, you have certain things taken for granted, they comprise the postulates through which religious geometry is demonstrated, the existence of God, His attributes, His angels and His books. It answers to *Tarikat* (the special road). Unless you take postulates as postulates you cannot proceed further in proving your geometrical problems. They appeal to the intuitive side of human nature and constitute the stage reached by the Eastern dispensation at the advent of David. Then comes Ishan, the final stage of the evolution. It is a stage arrived at, through silent contemplation (*Murakiba*) that opens the door through which the divine light breaks on the pilgrim (Mushahidah or epiphany), who attains *marifat*, or true knowledge (call it *gyanam* in Hinduism), this is Christ's stage. The man who has climbed up the ladder, rung after rung, stands on the top at last. He cannot kick away any one of the lower rungs simply because he has reached the summit. If he does so, he and his ladder will come together to earth. The preservation and maintenance of all the stages in their due order without break or omission is Muhammad's stage in the eastern dispensation.

We shall now take up the ritualistic portion, and show how it prepares the way for the purification of the desires and exaltation of the soul. Islam like other religions begins with the purification of morals. It does not begin with the discussion of high philosophic doctrines of morality. It does not ask the devotee to discuss the difference between good and evil. It does not appeal to him:—

"To reason high
Of Providence, fore-knowledge, will and fate
Fixed fate, free-will and fore-knowledge absolute."

And then to find no end in wandering mazes list. Even Milton leaves such activity of pure intellect without the seasoning of devotion to be pursued by the inferiors of Satan in his

pandemonium. Islam commands the performance of certain duties, and assures the devotee regarding the attainment of certain objects, after that performance is done in an earnest humble and conscientious way. The prophet of Arabia fixed five such duties to be performed, viz., (1) the saying of the kalima, (2) the Namaz, (3) fasting, (4) Zakat, and (5) Hujj.

Kalima is the formula "There is no God but God, and that Muhammad is His prophet." The Arabs of the Pre-Islamic days believed in several gods who were servitors of one God and who they thought required their worship and propitiation. This Islamic doctrine of Kalima struck at the very root of polytheism. The manifestation of the names, Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer are not to be embodied in material forms and worshipped as the ancient Arabs did. In every manifestation, one God is to be thought of and worshipped. This is true Unitarianism. Namaz: When some of the tribes were asked to embrace Islam, they would not consent to five-times prayer. The Prophet could not relax this ordinance of God. He used to say "the coolness (or according to another reading the 'fixity') of my eyes is secured in prayer."

Whenever the eyes are cast, the whole creation appears in prayer, the mountains are in prayer sitting, the trees are in prayer standing, the quadrupeds bending and the creeping animals prostrating. All these postures are combined in Muslim prayer. First is standing (*Kiyam*), then there is bending (*Rukn*), and then sitting (*Jalsa*) and finally prostration (*Sijda*). The four aspects of prayer of the whole creation are combined in one who is the apex of creation. Prostration is the last action in prayer and is reserved only for the Deity. Although some Muslim Kings and for the matter of that, some religious teachers demanded prostration before themselves under the guise of "prostration of respect;" yet this has been against the teaching of Islam. Herbert Spencer's hypotheses based on a process of induction therefore does not hold good at least in the case of the Muslim prayer; for these observances have not "originated in militancy." * Daily Prayer in congregation and weekly prayer in the central mosque of the town have their own practical uses. They widen human sympathies and give a deeper insight into man's relation with his fellow-man. Fasting or *Raza*. This is intended to put well-to-do-men on the footing of poverty-stricken.

* Collin's Synthetic Phi. of H. S., p. 436.

people, and to practically teach them the nature of hunger and thirst. Socrates is said to have given his pupil Alexander an insight into the working of despotism by administering to him sound whipping though he had learned his lessons. The Prophet said "Satan is circulating in your veins with your blood, stay his course by hunger and thirst."

Zakat is contribution to the national fund to be used for the benefit of the poor, the crippled and the blind. It is the giving away of the fortieth part of your earning (exceeding Rs. 51) unencumbered with debts. The former ordinances do not touch the main-spring of human love for the world, so much as the *hujj* or the annual pilgrimage to Mecca. This is compulsory on a person in health and in possession of the wherewithals. It practically teaches the benefits of travelling and trading, for unlike the Hindu pilgrim the Muslim pilgrim is permitted to traffic.

It places the rich man and the poor man on the same footing of equality. All have to grow their hair alike, get shaved alike, and to dress alike in the most humble way. This levelling-down process destroys the canker of pride which eats into the spirituality of man. Thus when ritualism has been observed and the man's belief (Iman) in God and His attributes and His angels, etc., has been confirmed, he becomes fit to practise *Ishan* or contemplation.

Islam opened with preaching and exhortations. When the Prophet and His companions and their successors were alive, there was no necessity for more rules to regulate a life of contemplation than those described above. The presence of the Prophet and His companions had sufficient mesmerizing and spiritualizing power to purify the hearts of those who were brought under the influence of their magnetic personalities. After their days, people devised various ways and processes of keeping the torch burning. In the meanwhile Islam came in contact with various phases of philosophical thoughts in its expansion on its Eastern and Western borders.

During the time of Mamunul-Raschid, several Grecian and Sanscrit works were translated into Arabic. While the discursive ethical philosophy of the Greeks was absorbed on one side, the austerities of the Eastern nations leavened Muslim thoughts on the other. The Nicomachian Ethics of Aristotle with the commentary of Porphyry was translated into Arabic by Ishaq and the other two works of the same philosopher, Eudemian Ethics

and Magna Moralia, were translated by Abu Umar of Damascus. With the aid of these translations the moralists of Islam began to write original works and to adapt the Islamic preaching to the ethical speculations of the Greeks and *vice-versa*. The Philosophers who did much to bring this about were Abu Nasr Farabi, the immortal Abu Sena (Avicenna of the West) Ibni Muskya, Abu Talib Macci, etc. Their writing, however, did not find ready acceptance amongst the common people, for they were written in difficult philosophic language, and did not appear as based on religious foundation. Those of them that did appear in religious garb were not sufficiently rationalistic in essence, and could not be accepted by the learned. However the man and the hour came, Imam Ghazzali appeared in 450 A.D. He confined religion and philosophy in his morals. His *Ihya-ul-Ulum* and *Kimaya Saadat* are accepted both by the learned and the unlearned, by the philosopher as well as by the devotee. These are recognised as principal works of ethics amongst the Muslims. The highest aim of Muslim ethics is like that of all other theological systems, performance of duties to God and duties to man. However there is a substratum of spiritual purification underlying these duties. Although ritualism was the outward sign of all Islamic teaching; there were people even in the Prophet's own time who lived only on the love of God and of His Prophet. Purity of inward life was greatly emphasized along with the observance of outward ordinances. Man is the representative of God on earth—"the Khaliph of God on earth," as the Quran puts it. He has degenerated (more correctly devolved) and is, therefore to ascend the ladder again. It was not until the time of Shaik-Muhuid-din-ibni Arabi that it was distinctly expressed that man had come down from a higher rung of the ladder and his aim ought to be to climb it. Hence the end of ethics can now said to be the gaining of perfection. It is claimed that perfect evolution from plurality to unity was gained by one only, the most perfect representative, the "perfect man" as he is called, *viz.*, Muhammad the Prophet. He is the centre of the circle equi-distant from and nearest to all the points in the circumference. One arc of this circle descends from unity to plurality and the other ascends from plurality to unity, from Divinity to humanity and back again. Being the centre of this circle, the Prophet is nearest both to Divinity and to humanity at the same time. There can be other points in the diameter

of this circle, but, of course, they cannot be equidistant.* To attain this perfection, *Shariat* has prescribed ritualism. By performance of this in an earnest spirit, man can revolve back to his origin. The common and safe, though the slower road was chalked out for the bulk of humanity—the more arduous, the more thorny and the more perilous, yet withal, the surer road was reserved for those who were prepared to enter upon it, viz., the philosopher and the *savant*.

Since the idea of devolution was set forth by Ibnī Arabī, the corresponding idea of evolution gained ground. The path downwards was designated *Safar ul-Hukh* (Travel of the Truth) and the corresponding path upwards was designated *Safar ul-Ahd* (Travel of the Created).

† He is a traveller who passes on with haste,
And becomes pure from self as fire from smoke,
Know his journey is a progress of revelation from the contingent
To the necessary, leading away from darkness and defect.
He travels back his journey stage after stage,
Till he attains the grade of the perfect man."

This journey upwards is divided into four stages by Shaik Abdul Karim Jeeli who is called the second Sheikh Akbar.

Travel of God. This is the attainment of the necessary knowledge by man.

Travel towards God. Observance of ritualism in the right earnest way.

Travel in God.—This is the observation of the manifestation of God's names and attributes.

Travel from God.—This is travelling back after reaching the goal with the attributes of God.

"The course of the man travelling back is thus described by Gulshani-Raz."

"He finds life after dying to self and again
He runs another course, from his end to his beginning
He makes the law his upper garment
But know very truth is the station of his nature
He comprehends both infidelity and faith
Being endowed with fair virtues
And famed for knowledge, devotion and piety
All these in him, but he far from all these
Overshadowed beneath Divine epiphanies."

* Surmai-Ariah by Ghulam Ahmed Khudiani—Vide foot-note to page 162.
† Gulshani-Raz, Lines 315, 317, translated by E. H. Whinfield.

When the pilgrim thus travels back with God, his actions become God's actions. Thus when the Prophet threw a handful of dust on the army of the enemy at the battle of Ohad, "It was not thou that didst throw it, it was God himself."* In this stage, the *abd* is annihilated in himself and exists by the attributes of God. This is called *Kurbi-Nawafil*; in which God is the actor and the Salik (the pilgrim) his instrument. The opposite of this is *Kurbi-Farayaz* in which Salik is the actor and God his instrument. These terms, I believe, correspond to Avatara and Avesha in the Hindu Philosophy, but yet there is a world of difference between the two. In the one, the annihilation is only "in sight" and the travel is only "a motion in knowledge."† Thus travel to God is only a mode of motion in knowledge, from the coarse material to spiritual contemplation, while in the other it is an incarnation of God:—God himself appearing in flesh for the salvation of humanity "So far as is possible within the limits of form, the manifestation of the formless appears; so far as is possible, it came forth in that great one who came for the helping of the world.‡

The ways of reverting to the point from which one has descended are several:—one is the way of Love. Love according to Herbert Spencer is an emotion which is the aggregate result of man's attachment to his possessions:—wife and children, house and chattel, wealth and power. He feels his power over his possessions; and the result of this feeling is Love. Thus this was an acquired faculty, but through the law of heredity, it appears to be a faculty of spontaneous growth or an intuitive faculty.

Rev. Joseph Mullens in his "Hindu Philosophy" thinks that Love as understood amongst the Vedantists is the heat of enthusiasm created in man by the entertainment of certain feelings. But the author of Jawahirus—Suhuk § says that "when a believer believes in the justice of God having the attributes of perfection; and in his own perfection consisting in remembering these attributes; and when he repeats the names of God vociferously and then silently in his heart, till he is no longer able to repeat, finding himself near unto God in spirit, then the feeling is fixed and it is called Love." The

* Lines 348-357.

† Jawahirus-Suluk pp. 16 and 51.

‡ Mrs. Annie Besant's "Avatara," p. 21.

§ Page 97.

sparks fly upwards and a clod of earth sinks down, so every living and rational being has its own tendency. This tendency or craving is satisfied by the attainment of the object towards which it tends. There is a tendency in man to rise from plurality to unity and it is called Love. The tendency of man is to find himself as a manifestation of an *ism* (name) of God and lose his self in it. Each person or thing loses itself in the *ism* of which it is a particular manifestation. The perfect man was one who lost himself in *ismi-eat* (personal name) and that was the prophet himself. After annihilating oneself in the *ism* of which one is a manifestation, one finds oneself existent in virtue of that *ism*; as all the *asma* (names) of God are ever existing. This is *baka* (immortality) obtained after *fana* (annihilation). As all the names of God are everlasting, one who annihilates his self in the everlasting becomes everlasting in this particular sense. According to the classification of *Ibn-Arabi* the stage above attributes (*sifat*) is that of tendencies (*Shu-yu-nat*). The one is a potential attribute; and the other an actually manifested attribute. Stationary water on the top of a hill possesses the *shan* (potentiality) of flowing downwards. When it does flow downwards, the *shan* becomes an actuality or attribute of water. Thus losing one's self in the *shyyunat* is a higher stage than losing oneself in the *sifat*. The prophet lost himself in the *shyyunat*, while others can lose themselves only in the *sifat* (attributes) of which they are manifestations. The people who thus annihilate themselves are of four kinds.

(1) Simple Salik, (2) Simple Majzub, (3) Salik-Majzub and (4) Majzub Salik.

Salik is one who travels, but may or may not reach the goal. Salik is attracted to the centre but may or may not be absorbed in it. A Salik without earnestness falters in his purpose. A Majzub is one who is absorbed. He may never have travelled the regular way. A spark of Divine Love has flown towards him and illumined his whole mind. He is dead to the world, perhaps a raving maniac wandering in the forests. Salik-Majzub is one who has reached the goal and illumined himself; and Majzub-Salik is one who after his own illumination reverts to the world for its salvation.

The other ways of travelling is by *Zikr* and *Shagal*, *Fikr* and *Murakiba*. *Zikr* is the repetition of the names of God and *Shagal* is the practice performed or more correctly the posture

assumed when the *zikr* is repeated. There are as many modes of practising *Zikr* and engaging in *Fikr* as there are schools of thought or religious orders. A few of these may be mentioned by way of illustration.

The first is *zikri-jali* (vociferous devotion). This *zikr* is the main practice of the Chistiya order (founded by Khaja Muinuddin Chishti 636 A.H.—1238 A.D.). Then there is *Zikri Kafi* (silent-devotion). This is mainly practised by the Qadriyah order (founded by) Shaik Abdul Qadir Jilani of Bagdad 561 A.H.—1165 A.D.)

A vociferous *Zikr* is performed thus:—

In a single *Zikr*, the devotee sits down and utters the name of God with "hardness, length and height" from the bottom of his heart and with the force of his throat, and then stops till the breath returns.

In a *doubl Zikr* the devotee sits in the posture of Namaz and utters the name of God, as if he strikes it on one of his thighs and then on his heart; and repeats this process without intermission until his mind is concentrated. Then there is the *Zikr* of negation and affirmation. The *Zakir* (or utterer) takes up the formula (Kalima). "There is no God but God." He sits in the posture of Namaz, facing the Kibla and shuts his eyes. He says "there is no god" as if he brings this out of his navel; draws up his breath, till he brings it to his right shoulder, then utters "except God" as if he strikes these words on his heart.

These vociferous *azkars* (utterings) are intended to preclude thoughts from wandering to "other than God." Man's mind is never vacant, and is assailed by ideas (Khawater) every second. There is no other way of shutting out these ideas "of other than of God" (Masu-allah) except by such strained and sustained vociferous utterings.

After a man has practised himself in thus shutting out these ideas by an ostentatious attempt, he practises the same in silence. He shuts his eyes and closes his lips and repeats in silence and in his heart what he had vociferously done before. He thus learns *Passai-Anfas* (the Hindu Pranamaya) or observance on the outgoing and incoming of breath.

The devotees of the Chistiya order generally practise Chilla, i.e., they shut themselves up in a room for forty days, cut short their ordinary eating and drinking and sleeping. This order also indulges in hearing music. They are characterised by great

devotion to their *murshid* or teacher. One of their practices is to keep staring in his face. They also practise *Nasira* and *Mahmuda* which are practices akin to the Hindu Samathi, converging the two eyes on the tip of the nose, and then gradually carrying the point of convergence to the middle of the forehead. The practices of the Naksha-bundia are many. (This order was founded by Khaja Buhavuddin Nakshabundi 719 A.H.—1319 A.D.). The fakirs of this order go about with a lighted lamp and are noted for their mesmerizing and hypnotizing powers. Some of their practices are—

Hush-bar-dam—Observances of the breath that goes up and comes in. *Safar-dar-zatin*—Journeying in one's own native land. This is travelling from the evil attributes of man to the virtuous attributes of angels.

As already said, some devotees practise *Zikr* and some *Fikr*. *Fikr* or *Murakiba* is silent contemplation. A man picks up a verse of the Quran, e.g., "Everything on the earth will be annihilated except the face of the Lord thy God," and contemplates on its meaning, till he loses consciousness of all outward things. This is what has been called "Ihsan" in the *hadis* quoted in the beginning of this article.

It will be observed that several, if not all of these practices (except *murakiba*) appear to have crept into Muslim thought long after the time of the Prophet; and they are no doubt accessions from other systems of thought. Much has been said in favor of these innovations, but the fact still remains staring us in the face that they are of exotic growth.

* It is related on the authority of Tatarkhanian and Tawali that it was once reported to Ibn-Massod, the great narrator of *hadises*, that some men had gathered in a mosque and were repeating aloud the Kalima *La-ila-ha-Il-la* and the *darood* (blessing on the Prophet). He repaired to the mosque, told the men that such a practice was not in vogue at the time of the Prophet, and was in consequence an innovation; and dispersed the assembly from the mosque. Although such a practice was harmless and even virtuous, it was not one in vogue during the Prophet's time, and was denounced accordingly. The Prophet himself is reported to have said that other ways than those prescribed in the book of God and in his Sunna led to the wrong goal. The same narrator says that the Prophet once drew a straight

* Tasarruf—Ahmadiyah, pp. 7 and 81.

line and said that it was the direct road to God; he again drew lines to the right and to the left of it, and said that those were roads on which the Satan was intercepting.

The indigenous growth of Islam was purely Namaz, and the several postures appertaining to it.

No doubt with the incorporation of foreign accretions, Muslim thought itself underwent a change, e.g., the doctrines of necessitarianism and *Tawakkal* (dependence on God) which have taken such a strong hold on the Muslim mind have no doubt the Quran in their favor; but the way in which they are manipulated is certainly not in accordance with its teaching. When H. H. Agha Khan denounced necessitarianism at the last Muhammadan Educational Conference, he certainly shot wide of the mark in saying that it is not borne out by the Quran. Every divine book inculcates this doctrine; and teaches that God is the prime mover in all actions. Even in the Holy Scriptures, God proclaims himself to Cyrus through the mouth of Isaiah "I am the Lord and there is none else besides me, I form the light and create darkness. I make peace and create evil. I am the Lord that doeth all things."* Quran like the other messages from God to man does inculcate the doctrine of necessitarianism in which God is believed to be the prime source of all actions. This doctrine does not imply that we should abandon personal effort. Necessitarianism is the result of the minds' working in a particular way. It is a condition of mind gained by its working and contemplating in a certain way. When a man fully believes that all actions and circumstances have their origin in God, as the Prophet Isaiah did certainly believe, he gets into a certain state of mind in which he actually sees everything proceeding from an unknown hand. When a man is in this state, he performs his duties in earnest, considers himself as instrumental in carrying out God's wishes, and does not sit arms-folded and expect everything would be done for him. It is therefore a perversion of the Quranic teaching, to sit arms-folded and lead a life of indolence as it is done by the Muhammadans of these days. The Quran does inculcate this doctrine, but it is wrongly understood; otherwise the life of the Prophet and his successors would not have been what they actually were: busy-lives in which every moment was precious and for the right use of which they considered themselves accountable to God. This

* Isaiah XI, v. 6 and 7.

craving for asceticism appeared after Islam had expanded on its eastern border.

Imam Gazali has classified "instrumentalities" in actions into three kinds.

(1) *Absolute*, by which the affairs of the world are to be performed in their natural ways, e.g., no body can expect that if he sits quiet, bread will be brought to him or thrust down his throat or even digested for him. He must make an effort.

(2) *Necessary*—A person who performs a journey should provide himself with its necessities and so on.

(3) *Imaginary*—This is what is obtained by chance. A man need not concern himself with what may happen by chance. If he does so, his trust in God will be so much the less.

Look at what a modern writer says on the same subject (Saiyid Shah Mir who flourished at Cuddapah a century ago.) "Oh devotee, God is Providence. To sustain you in His Work. Why do you take God's work yourself." There is no doubt there has been a good deal of admixture of foreign element in the ethical philosophy of Islam. The purely devotional practices (like Namaz and Roza) remain in *statu quo*, but foreign accretions have gathered themselves around them and give quite another basis of morals for Muhamadans. These changes were brought about, when people went in quest of the esoteric meaning of the Quran and sought extraneous assistance in doing so.

KHAJA KHAN.

THE EURASIANS OF TRAVANCORE.

"Sweet are the uses of adversity
Which, like the toad, ugly and venomous
Wears yet a precious jewel in its head."
As you like it.—SHAKESPEARE.

WE have often had occasion to read of the Eurasian Problem in all its myriad ramifications. In spite of the different phases it has taken under the influence of particular passions prompting the pen of particular writers, the subject is still one of great interest. The ravages of time have not worked any appreciable change in the position that this particular problem holds in the estimation of those whose sympathies are towards the general progress of communities; and as such, the problem cannot but command the careful attention of men of such liberal views and ideas. It is to be hoped that our intentions will not be hastily misunderstood and that the comments that we may have to make from time to time on the subject would be liberally construed and viewed in the light of a guarantee of that good will and earnestness which prompts us to exhort the Eurasians to bestir themselves from their wasteful hybernation and the friends of the community to exercise a broader sympathy towards its progress.

It will be convenient, for purposes of observation and remark, to divide the subject into the following main heads:—

- (1) The status of the Eurasians.
- (2) The state of Eurasian society.
- (3) The standard of its present education.
- (4) The causes that have led to the decline of the community, and
- (5) The remedial attempts that have to be made for its progress in the future.

And first, as to the status of the Eurasians. Eurasian society, as it exists at present, is a complex whole. To the time when the European nations, for purposes of trade or territorial aggrandisement, made unimpeded ingress into the soil of India, we are in a position to trace the origin of the Eurasian community; and from its inception, it has grown and grown till we, at present, find almost a nation of Eurasians with varied

rights and privileges, burdens and disabilities. The purely British descendants among the Eurasians can trace their origin to the British settlement in Surat in the early years of the 17th century; and in those early days "the writers and factors and army men, unable to look forward to an occasional visit to the mother country, formed alliances—in most cases honourable—with Indian families, made homes for themselves on these shores, and they and their children were alike known and respected as the East Indians." * A series of inter-marriages took place which, in course of time, created colonies "that became a source of material strength to the home land." † But in Travancore, the majority of the Eurasians are descended from the early Portuguese, Dutch and French settlers, only a few being from the British. They generally call themselves, and are known among their friends as, *Eurasians*, though some take the name of *Anglo-Indians* and others cling to the primitive *East-Indian*. It must, however, be noted that at the present day those alone are called *East-Indians* who have no European blood whatever flowing in their veins, but who have nevertheless adopted the costume, customs and manners of the Europeans. The social status of the Eurasian is a point that has often given rise to differences of opinion according to the current of thought; but judging from the circumstantial environments of the Eurasian, we must say that he is not a natural born European. On the other hand, he is decidedly not a native. Thus then to define his particular social status we should have at least a glimpse into the customs and habits of the Eurasians as a whole—those customs, habits and mental traits that systematically characterise the general mass of the Eurasian community: not those that may be observed at either extreme of the link between the natural born Indian and the natural born European.

A Eurasian homestead may, for all practical purposes, be compared to one of a European middle class. The principles under which the members are held together in a family circle and the powers and privileges of the paternal authority over the members of the family are fairly identical. The father is no despot exercising unlimited sway over the person, property, nay, the will of the younger members as we have in the case of a

* The toast "The Domiciled Community" proposed by Mr. Herbert A. Stark at the first dinner of the Anglo-Indian Association at Calcutta on 3rd March 1902 quoted in the "Indian Medical Record," dated 12th March 1902.

† *Ib.*

Malabar Tarawad, where "the property is vested in the head of the family, not merely as agent or principal partner but almost as an absolute ruler." * Whatever authority is exercised by the *patel*, it tends always towards the cultivation of independent thought and action. At a very early age, the son is made to feel that the father lives only for the purpose of finding his actions and conduct in the right groove: not for creating them and working them himself, allowing his sons to hang on to his apron strings. No less is the freedom accorded to a daughter, though to a lesser extent among the Eurasians than the Europeans; and the privileges conferred on the wife are characteristic of the two communities that we are engaged in comparing and contrasting. However, in this particular national trait, one can easily detect the greater judicial control placed over the actions of a Eurasian wife. In the mode of living, perhaps, there is a compromise between the systems as observable among the Europeans and the Indians; and there appears on the surface a disinclination among the Eurasians to indulge in too many of western luxuries. It is just possible that this disinclination, as will be seen later on, may be purely due to a continued dependence of such tastes on the pecuniary circumstances of an individual which, in the particular case of the Eurasians, is not such as to create any amount of envy. Whatever be the cause, it must be admitted that there is a shrewd reluctance, though often shrouded by indiscretion, to pamper oneself with the so-called conveniences of life—a circumstance which might be taken advantage of in bringing about the redemption of a community which has unfortunately fallen low in estimation. The mode of dress is identical with that of the European, adopted, of course, to suit the circumstances of the country in which the Eurasians have been born or domiciled, the climatic difference having had great influence in modifying the quality or texture of the clothing of a Eurasian. But the indispensable concomitant of an artificial state of society—fashion—fashion which thrives on the whims and caprices of human nature, finds an encouraging atmosphere in Eurasian life. In the struggle of nations towards wealth, progress and enlightenment, in which the promptitude of resource, ready wittedness, manliness and a spirit of adventure guided by dictates of the intellect could alone secure the palm, it cannot be asserted, with any degree of fairness, that the Eurasian must inevitably

* "Hindu Law and Usage," by Mr. John D. Mayne, P. 220, 5th Ed.

fail, for the qualities which bring about an amelioration of the condition of a community through the civilising process of nationalisation are present in the Eurasian, but only dormant for want of activity and stimulation. There are various other characteristic traits, but we might, on the whole, from a consideration of the various points urged, take it that the Eurasian is a strong link between the west and the east—an inference suggestive of great developments. "We are a mediating influence between the foreign and indigenous elements in India, and if we rightly recognise our privileges and responsibilities, we shall endeavour, by friendly intercourse, to reconcile the conflicting entities in this land of our birth or adoption. We are not birds of passage with fleeting interests and passing ambitions. We have been born in this country, we live in this country and we shall, probably, most of us die in this country—we have an affection for it as we have for our mother country beyond the seas: and we should endeavour to confer on both whatever advantages may be obtained from our descent and domicile." *

We next come to a consideration of the state of Eurasian Society in general. The only reliable source of information that we have on the statistics of the community is the well compiled Census Report of Travancore for the year 1891;† and until the one for the year 1901 is issued by the Commissioner without further delay, we shall have to base our statements on the references contained in the former. This report puts down the number of Eurasians in the whole of Travancore at 532 excluding the East Indians who seem to number 2,072. In spite of the two names of different etymological origin that appear in the Census list, there is no reason to believe that as regards social status the two communities grouped under the two nomenclatures are materially different. On the other hand, it will be within the recollection of several that, in the past, the name generally adopted by the very community that is now styled 'Eurasian' was 'East Indian,' the name 'Eurasian' coming in indiscriminately as is further attested by existing old documents, executed in those early days by 'East Indians' whose legitimate descendants of to-day call themselves 'Eurasians' and that it had gradually given way to the new nomenclature, those ignorant of the change

* Speech by Mr. Herbert A. Stark quoted *supra*.

† The Census Report of Travancore for 1891, by Mr. V. Nagam Iya, B.A., F.R.Hist.S.

or tenacious of the reminiscences of the past still clinging to the name 'East Indian.' There are 11 individuals returned as 'Anglo-Indians' who may be considered among the 'Domiciled Community.' Of the number returned as 'Europeans'—264—, at least one-half of them would not hesitate to put in their lot with the Eurasian or Domiciled Community. The total number of Eurasians in Travancore thus comes up to 2,740 from which we have to eliminate at least a few, who, without any legitimate claim to such a name, have adopted the name of 'East Indian' or 'Eurasian.' The total number is not insignificant; and when one considers that even fewer numbers have guided the destinies of different nations and formed the mainstay of political governments, we would not be justified in having our estimation of the subject lowered by a paucity in figures.

In the picture of stern reality that we have to draw of the state of Eurasian Society in Travancore, uncanny shadows are apt to creep in. In the centres of civilisation, the progressive agency of liberal culture has not been slow to permeate the atmosphere of Eurasian Society. The primitive age* following the channel of progress, has undergone a thorough diversion. As the Poet Lowell has so aptly remarked,

"New times demand new measures and new men;
The world advances, and in time outgrows
The laws that in our father's days were best."*

As in the laws, so in the ordinary avocations of life, we notice a decided grafting of improved ideas on the old stem; or at least, what we are pleased to call such. In the chief towns, the Eurasians have not been far behind the times; but it is unfortunate that the same may not be said of the outlying districts, towns and villages. There, the generality of Eurasians would be found to be in a state of abject helplessness, innocent of even the rudiments of culture. To say that among them are wealthy individuals engaged in a lucrative profession as agriculture would be no derogation to the community: on the other hand, it would only emphasise the inherent trait of industry of the community; but to assert that they are quite callous to progress from the rudimentary state of the profession and industry beyond the hoarding up of as much wealth as they possibly could scrape together would, while enlisting our sympathies on their behalf, not be

* Quoted by A. R. Wallace in the "Wonderful Century."

creditable. Taking even a casual survey of these wealthy households, one is struck with the simplicity of their life and the economy of their internal administration which are indeed brilliant features; but every quality of the Eurasian as a class—mauliness, spirit of adventure, adaptability and intelligence—is extremely dormant, if not completely absent. Modest aspiration and noble ambition to compete on a field of equality with other communities in the march of progress are entirely wanting. Liberality of views and ideas which a system of liberal culture alone could induce is unknown, and if present, extends only to the members of particular families. The living is frugal and the dress simple even to absurdity leaving a fair surplus for efficient undertakings; but, except for steady accumulation and bequest to succeeding generations, the process has not been actuated by any nobler aims. All over the world, in fact, during the wonderful century that has just closed, one has seen that “with the increase of wealth, there has been a positive and very large *increase* of want”* and taking all the facts without prejudice or prepossession we are forced to the conclusion that “during the latter half of this most marvellous of all the centuries, while science has been enlarging man’s power over nature in a hundred ways, resulting in possibilities of wealth production a hundred-fold that of any preceding century, the direst want of the bare necessities of life has seized upon, not only a greater absolute number, but a large proportion of our population.”† These remarks apply with equal force to the Eurasians; and seeing that the surplus wealth of a few might have been utilised towards the redemption of a greater number, we might say that such a system of jealous isolation of capital has indirectly helped the retrograde movement of the community.

Except the few wealthy Eurasians of the Mofussil, the generality are not in a very prosperous condition. The hand-to-mouth existence which most of them lead, the general penury of the masses, the dormant state of the noble qualities of their forefathers, their fool’s-paradise of happiness in the conviction of the absence of anything beyond their poor understanding, their idea of their complete security from the keen competition and rivalry of the world beyond and their complete ignorance of the doctrine of the survival of the fittest in the struggle for existence

* “The wonderful Century,” by A. R. Wallace, p. 381.
† *Ib.*, p. 381.

and of even the rudimentary principles that must actuate an aspiring nationality are taints that cast a gloom on our picture; but the successive work of ages rather than the faults of a particular individual, has brought about this unhappy fate. They are chiefly labourers or artisans earning a few coins by the sweat of their brow and expending perhaps a greater number in indulging in certain of the so-called social necessities which they can well be without. Living beyond the little means at their command through a false conceit, they are irretrievably dragged into the slough of pecuniary embarrassment and the generations following in their train into a well of misery beyond easy redemption.

Turning to the Eurasians of the principal towns, we are in a position to gather certain redeeming qualities which at least shed a streak of luster on an otherwise dull canvass. Here, one finds that the Eurasians, as a rule, are more enlightened, more active and alive to the demands of the generation in which they are born, more aspirant of progress and more keenly conscious of the struggle for existence around and the consequent desirability of putting forth every latent energy at their disposal. While carousing in a happy state of comfort, though without even a semblance of surplus wealth, there is still unhappily the national tendency of the Eurasians to overbalance his means. Constantly lulled in false safety, they are apt to forget or rather neglect the means to an end. Though active, intelligent and with a spirit for independent thought and action guided by principles, they are yet lacking in that perseverance which alone could pave the way towards ameliorating the condition of the masses. “A contented mind is a continual feast,” but modest aspirations should not be allowed to rust. In giving such a glowing sketch, we are far from winking at the undeniable fact that even here there are a good number to whom the features delineated as characteristic of those in the outlying districts, would be fittingly applicable; but all things considered, Eurasian Society in the towns is not half so unfortunate as that in the Districts, though the general aspect of Eurasian Society, as seen through the light of modern requisites for national progress, is such as to command our sympathies.

There is the standard of education to be noticed next. We have again to fall back upon the Travancore Census Report for 1891 which, so far as the primary education of the community is

concerned, gives us a comparatively high percentage of 15.77 for Eurasian males and 10.12 for females, while those of Europeans is 11.42 and 22.51 respectively and Hindus 4.07 and 7.73. As regards 'literates' we have 203 male literates out of 285 and females 140 out of 177; while out of 995 East Indian males we have 435 literates, and 305 female literates out of 1,077. In so far as English literates are taken into consideration, there would appear to be 177 literate males (Eurasian) and 61 females out of 285 and 247 respectively and 38 female literate East Indians and 180 males out of 1,077 and 995 respectively. In the percentage of the educated out of total population, the Eurasian comes fourth with 41.59, the European topping the list with 68.70, the Jews with 56.00 coming next and then the Sheiks 47.34. Now, if we should trust entirely to these percentages in the Census Report for an idea of the standard of education among the Eurasians, we would be forced to draw an inference diametrically opposed to facts. For, the statements are defective in several ways. In the first place, we are not given to understand, what is meant by 'Primary Education'—whether it is 'English Primary Education' or 'Vernacular.' Secondly, we have not the definition of 'literates' and thirdly, we are not given a glimpse into what the report means by 'general education.' On the other hand, what we are chiefly concerned with is the standard of English Education and its higher developments. At the outset, it must candidly be admitted that University attainments are not the sole test of intellectual development and mental superiority. Some of the greatest men among the different communities that India has produced from time to time and on whose merits and capacities even enlightened Europe has not been slow to pass well-earned eulogiums, were not among those who were honored with a University degree. Not to carry ourselves too many generations behind our own times, we have only to take the case of Sir T. Madhava Row, well within our own recollection. It is admitted on all hands, that he was one of, if not the, greatest statesman that Indian soil has nurtured into prominence; but still, he was no University man. However, at the present day, such self-taught prodigies are rare, and the best of our men now living owe their present position to the sound principles and ideas inculcated in them by our Universities, and their intellectual pre-eminence has been due to a steady University career.

Such as it is, we have but the University records to guide us in a comparative estimate of the progress of different communities. Judged by this, it would be regrettable to have to note that higher education among the domiciled community is at a very low ebb indeed. For, in the whole of Travancore, we have not been able to count up more than 5 Graduates in Arts, 2 or 3 in medicine (which last having taken service outside are practically lost to us), none in Engineering and none even in Law—the most attractive field, because once most lucrative—in which other flocks so eagerly graze. This is indeed most deplorable. Why in a community adapted by its nationality for higher Western civilisation, by its characteristic traits for national progress and by its unique position as a link between the west and the east—"a mediating influence between the foreign and indigenous elements in India"* for a higher standard of usefulness, there should be so much dearth of activity is perhaps inexplicable; but suggestions as to causes might be liberably advanced.

Directing our attention to higher female education among the Eurasians, it will not be a little gratifying to note the comparatively high standard disclosed by the University records, *i.e.*, when compared with the standard of higher education among the females of the other communities in Travancore. We can, with just appreciation, glance over the names of at least one Graduate in Arts and one in Medicine (which last, perhaps, is again unhappily lost to the community as before). The foregoing is not a romantic picture drawn by a fevered brain but a plain statement of facts as regards higher education. There is still the question of general education, if one understands it in a sense wider than that presumably intended by the Census Report. Here again in the case of the males, we may not wink at facts. Dark blots creep in which no amount of patient and sympathetic touching up can adequately obliterate. We are left face to face with stern realities which, but for commanding our sympathies, leave no other feelings behind. We are very doubtful indeed if there are more than a couple or so living who have passed their F.A. and about a dozen who have got through their Matriculation. The percentage of the school-going population is really very satisfactory; but even in the chief towns where there is every facility offered for cheap education of great efficiency, the higher classes are hardly availed of by the Eurasian boys.

* Speech of Mr. Herbert A Stark, *supra*.

A peep into some of our well-equipped High Schools would convince the most unrelenting patriot of the truth of the assertion. One cannot deny, certainly, that the Forms up to the Third are liberally patronised by the Eurasian youths, but beyond, not to speak of the college classes, the Eurasian youth figures only as an unique ornament and a subject of extreme curiosity. On the other hand, the status of general education among the Eurasian girls gives us a brighter side of the convass. Here, as in higher education, the Eurasian girl has to come to our aid. From the lowest class in the Primary Schools for girls to the highest in the High Schools, we see a good number of the pupils hailing from this community and even in the F.A. classes of our Second Grade Girls' Colleges, the Eurasian girl gives the lead. When the Eurasian lad, on the completion of his 14th year or even earlier, thinks it high time he had left school and commenced a series of frivolous gallantries, we find the Eurasian girl of 20, nay, even 25 or more, plodding steadily on through a University career. It is no wonder then that the Eurasian girl should be justly ashamed of the Eurasian boy and prefer leading a celibate life to mating herself with one whom she cannot respect or seeking a better partner for life from some other community. Neither is it surprising that the Eurasian youth should look below and seek his 'better-half' (or to speak more correctly the 'worse-half') from among the more illiterate classes of nationalities other than his own. A serious check to the healthy growth of the Eurasian Community is the result.

The causes of the decline of the Eurasian Community have to be noticed next. Not a single cause or even a few but several circumstances working in unison have contributed towards dragging it to the level at which one finds it at present. The chief cause, however, is the poverty of the masses. It is just possible that this argument may strike one as untenable at first. It would be hard to believe, for instance, that in a flourishing state such as Travancore is, with every facility for enriching oneself through the varied natural resources, the Eurasians alone should not have been enabled to better their pecuniary position, while the other communities have attained a stage highly surprising their members becoming in the generality of cases great landed proprietors owning large extent of arable land cultivated by a host of tenants and their granaries ever replenished by the outcome of their own exertions. It is only in the case of the Eurasian that

one seldom comes across a landlord except perhaps in some of the interior taluqs. Yet if one traces the history of the Eurasian a few centuries backwards to its cradle, the cause of this abnormal state would become obvious. In the early days of the Eurasians, there is no doubt that they were the most enlightened of the communities that flourished in Travancore as in India, at least in so far as western civilisation was concerned. Generally bred up in the homes of their European fathers, with all western environments and with ample opportunities to assimilate the characteristic traits of a western mode of life, customs, habits and manners, they were destined to come to high favour with the early Portuguese, Dutch and English settlers in the administration of their trade monopolies in the east. And having a better knowledge of the European languages, they were naturally preferred by those mercantile companies to the natives in disposing of the official patronage in their hands. There was a rush to the sedantary desk. More profitable occupations and professions that go a greater way towards the national progress of a community were neglected; every Eurasian found himself enthroned on a seat as a clerk or manager or superintendent. But for the sham dignity that a Government office is supposed to confer on the recipient of the honor, it seldom was and is a profitable concern. Agriculture and commerce constituting the wealth of a nation, were unrelentingly relinquished for the unremunerative quill which has landed them in the present pecuniary embarrassment. The mode of life has equally contributed towards this result; and the Eurasians will candidly confess that useless luxuries involuntarily deduced from western necessities in spite of the natural disinclination, have accelerated their downward career. In every age the average Eurasian has been found to labour under a delusion that a close approximation to his European ancestors without judicious forethought was absolutely indispensable to his material prosperity. Practically it has been a bane to him. Without wealth, in the march of nationalities towards progress, the Eurasian has been sorely handicapped. In 99 per cent. of cases, it will be found that a Eurasian parent is hardly in a position to maintain, much less educate, to a high standard, his son or sons. When he attains the age of 14 or 15, he is invariably removed from the school and launched into the world to earn at least a pittance for himself, if not to help to redeem the embarrassed

family. He becomes a fitter or a driver on a small salary or emigrates to distant lands to better his own material welfare. Without prospects in a department where the scope is very limited, he shifts his position from time to time and eventually ruins himself and the community by an acquired vacillating character. Of the emigrant the community never hears again except perhaps in a few cases where, after a term of years, he comes back like a flash not alone but with an half-starved family in no better position than when he left his father's home years ago. Where the parent feels the responsibilities of his situation as a moving spirit in the national organisation of the community and is prepared even to stint his very crude fare for the higher education of his sons, it will be found that those for whose benefit it is meant are slow to take advantage of it. There has grown in the character of the Eurasians a sad disinclination for higher education and a licentious craving to pamper early in life with western luxuries, though in the matter of luxuries of a purely local nature there is certainly a decided disinclination as observed before. A longer time must elapse before a scholastic career can bear pecuniary fruit, and the only resource that is handy is an early relinquishment of the school and an entrance into service of some kind or another without a judicious choice.

We next come to the last but by no means the least important, *viz.*, the remedial attempts that have to be made from within and without to start afresh the progressive development of the community as a whole. We have incidentally referred to certain of the directions in which reform might be effected towards the object in view, *e.g.*, the accumulation of capital by a judicious curtailment of useless luxuries, the encouragement of higher education among the members of the community, etc. In the first place we have the economic virtue of thrift. What then is thrift? Various derivations have been attempted for this old English word, but none perhaps expresses adequately the power of that economic virtue or the duty it stands for as the one taken from a very old source, the Sanskrit *Tri*—"to go beyond, to shoot ahead, to pass."* It means much more than a mere dictionary definition can give us. It does not signify, as some persons would have it, "a cheap and parsimonious mode of living in order to hoard or save."†. As a

* Mutual Thrift, by J. Frome Wilkinson, M. A.
† *Ibid.*

matter of fact, a thrifty man does not stint in such a manner as to starve himself at the cost of his health, the stock-in-trade of the workman. Nor does it consist in saving wisely or spending wisely only; but "it concerns the whole man; and as such is more even than a piece of economic conduct; it stretches out into the domain of conscience and of morals—in other words, thrift is a virtue" * which enables a man "to shoot ahead," and "to pass" his less thrifty fellows, since it secures his independence, built on self-respect and self-reliance."† And then a stimulus has to be applied to higher education: and simultaneously with it, a steady encouragement of local industries. Though one certainly ought to be amazed "at the avidity of this community in hankering after State offices, the bulk of which are poorly paid"‡ yet in Travancore, under the beneficent rule of an enlightened, just and impartial sovereign, His Highness's Eurasian subjects will have to look to State service for emoluments for a long while to come. In these circumstances, there would be a justification for the Eurasians, with the other Christian sects of Travancore, to claim equal treatment with the other communities. Why the State appointments really worth having, *e.g.*, the higher ranks of the Magisterial and Revenue Services, should be closed by artificial barriers "which depress the natural ambitions and aspirations of the community," § is inexplicable. Surely the Eurasians of Travancore may, with Dr. Wallace, exclaim that "there ought to be no royal road to fortune." || In every free country every man should have a fair and equal chance to rise and to prove the worth of his talent and his ability." ¶ Under the very successful sovereignty of a model sovereign of a model state, the personification of liberal culture, views and ideas characteristic of a model line of Kings, we may not have long to wait for such a consummation. But if it is too early to deviate from the traditional policy and bring about such drastic innovations, then at least in the departments of the State open to the Eurasian, there ought not to be a rigid rule of three guiding the distribution of patronage. It must, however, be conceded that, having regard to the various steps by which various

* *Ibid.*

† *Ibid.*

‡ Dr. Wallace's speech quoted *supra*.

§ *Ibid.*

|| *Ibid.*

¶ Dr. Wallace's speech *supra*.

nationalities have arrived at a stage of pre-eminence and progressive enlightenment, "we are driven to the conclusion that as our expectations of limitless progress.....cannot depend upon the blind operation of the laws of heredity, so neither can they depend upon the deliberate action of National Governments." *

The progressive impetus must be applied from within. We are not in a position to account for the abnormal apathy of the Eurasians to industrial pursuits and independent enterprises either in the professional, mercantile or trading avenues that are truly open to all and when the advantage to be taken of them forms the "Social, material and political prosperity of the domiciled community," †

"Honor and shame from no condition rise.

Act your part well, there all the honor lies."

and as such the Eurasians need not be ashamed of different enterprises provided they are lucrative and calculated to promote the prosperity of the community. It is to commerce, trade and industrial arts that "we must look for material satisfaction and independence." ‡ The prosperity attending perseverance, industry and ability seen on every hand among the British and European fellow-subjects of the Eurasians "and their success in carving out their fortunes in independent spheres of life.....ought to serve as a stimulating object-lesson to our people." § The Eurasians as a class have been known from time immemorial, and throughout the whole course of their history, for their natural adaptability in being able to turn their hands to most extant professions with generally signal success. There is that originality in them which, in the days gone by, had proved their mainstay, and their dauntless energy has been highly beneficial to their commercial employers. Even at the present day, the superior intelligence, resourcefulness and tact of the Eurasians is in high requisition by gentlemen traders. In fact there is every quality in the Eurasian that goes towards individual progress; but as regards the national progress of the community there is unfortunately lacking that spirit of perseverance in a course of higher education or profitable professions without

* "A fragment of progress," in Essays and Addresses, by Arthur J. Balfour, M.P., now Prime Minister.

† The speech of Dr. Wallace "The land we live in," at the Anglo-Indian Dinner referred to *supra*.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ Speech of Dr. Wallace *supra*.

which they must necessarily fall behind the other nationalities that flourish here. The want of patriotism evinced by its individual members for the welfare of the community as a national body must also bear the brunt of criticism.

In the economic regeneration of different trades, unions of men interested in such trades with the one central object of pushing forward their particular hobby have generally proved successful when other measures have failed. As in trades, so in social movements, history provides us with innumerable instances of associations or unions of individuals having been the only method whereby a progressive impetus has been given to a declining nationality. The Imperial Anglo-Indian Association at Calcutta and the sister Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association at Madras have done immense good to the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Communities of India. There is no reason why a similar one with similar objects should not be started in Travancore. The absence of a spirit of union among the different individuals for good or for evil is a regrettable feature of Eurasian Society here. It seems to be a well defined social process in accordance with natural law that "to a period of social elevation succeed a relapse into the strife and antagonism of conflicting social interests." * But in the case of the Eurasians of Travancore, whether the community ever experienced such a period of social elevation in the whole course of its history is very doubtful. This, however, is certain that paltry "strife and antagonism" based on an imaginary state of conflicting social interests characterises this community of to-day. The interests of every member of the Anglo-Indian and the Eurasian Communities are alike; and it is only by putting their shoulders to the wheel of progress without distinction and identifying themselves as a homogenous whole that their status can be raised. Such a spirit alone can ensure success. We may lament with Lord Ampthill that "there should be no expression in the English language for that which the French call *esprit de corps*, for now here is that potent spirit of local and corporate patriotism so strongly developed as in the Anglo-Saxon.* It would indeed be a matter for extreme regret if that 'potent spirit of local and corporate patriotism' is belied in their otherwise worthy descendants. Every member of the two communities irrespective of the idiosyncracies of colour or

* "History of the English Parliament, by Dr. Rudolph von Gneist, p. 188.

be discussed in this brief note. We may, perhaps, gauge Major Phipson's capacity for deciding such questions by considering his views on land tenure in India—a subject with which the readers of this Review are probably more familiar than with the possible effect of an inconvertible paper currency. He seems equally positive as to his own infallibility in this respect also, and yet it is easy to shew that he is not really quite familiar with the facts of the Indian Land question. So far as Major Phipson insists on the necessity of all Governments, and especially that of India, actively exerting themselves for the general good of the country they profess to govern, many people would agree with him. As things are it is apparently no one's business, in England at any rate, to see that the best possible use is made of the country as a whole. We are too much enamoured of private property, especially in land. But it is not true that the Indian Government "denies the existence of any economic questions at all." As the chief "shareholder" in all the land of India much of its time and the time of all its revenue officers is devoted to the development of its vast estate. Judging from his subsequent paper on "India's Difficulties" (reprinted from the Asiatic Quarterly Review), it seems impossible he can have read the exhaustive Resolution of the Government of India (dated 16-1-02), or he could hardly have fallen into so many mistakes as are to be found on pages 22—30 of that pamphlet.

Whether the exaction by the Government of a share of the produce of all land, a share which is tolerably well fixed on principles that are gradually becoming better known and will, it may be hoped, soon become as certain as things human can be, it called a "rent" or a "tax" still seems to us, as to Sir George Campbell, a dispute about "words," though it seems more than probable that it is *neither*, and that all the arguments and theories about rent and taxation of which Major Phipson makes so much are wholly beside the mark in India where the "revenue" due to Government is simply a fixed share of the produce committed for a term of years for convenience in collecting. That, at any rate, is the old immemorial common-law of India of which Major Phipson is so enamoured and which he accuses of ignoring. To say that "the exaction of increases" whenever they occur "reduces every" tenant "to serfdom" under such a system, and that "even the tradition of a 'rent'—(revenue)—payer's assured 'estate' in the land he occupies disappears," &c., is nothing

but the wildest exaggeration. Surely Major Phipson must have heard of the "Acts for the acquisition of land required for public purposes," which provide ample compensation for any ryot who is deprived of what has been over and over again officially admitted to be his "estate" in his land whenever it is required by Government for any such purpose. It is true, of course, that being "revenue," and not, strictly speaking, "rent," it is open so the Government *in case of need* to increase its share (*up to a maximum of 25 per cent. of the gross produce according to Manu*), just as the Chancellor of the Exchequer in this country it justified in doubling the income-tax whenever we choose to indulge in the luxury of war.

It is an absolutely monstrous perversion of the truth, to say that the cultivator in India is "periodically fleeced" by the Government to such an extent as to be "stripped of everything but the barest subsistence even in good years." With the evidence of our old friend, Rangunada Rau, before our eyes, it is impossible to say that such an event has never occurred in Madras, probably the most highly assessed of all the Provinces of India; but even he would agree that the assessment now in force has no such general effect, and that, on the contrary, land in such an exceptionally highly assessed district as the valley of the Tambraparni commands extremely high prices nowadays, whereas at the beginning of the century it was officially reported to have "no saleable value."

Pages might be filled with what appear to be wildly misleading statements on this subsidiary but not unimportant subject but one more must suffice. On page 24 of the pamphlet he says: in so many words that the Indian Government has never "recognised (even in theory) that tenants, unprotected by written contracts, have any 'estate' in the lands they cultivate," and again "there is complete disregard, where there is not absolute denial, of *any* estate, property or interest pertaining to the cultivator in the land he cultivates." Statements of this kind seem to shew quite phenomenal ignorance of one subject at any rate on which Major Phipson ventures to lay down the law with equal confidence. Apparently he cannot have read any of the recent discussions on the subject or he would surely have had the modesty at least to refer to the opinions of others perhaps more familiar with the subject than himself.

THE POOR MAN'S BURDEN IN INDIA.

To the Editor of the "Madras Review."

DEAR SIR,

On page 4 of his "Letter to Lord Curzon" Dr. Murdoch says "Mr. Pennington calls the Salt Tax, The Poor Man's Burden in India." I must ask you, therefore, to let me explain to your readers that the title of my paper was none of my choosing, as it might even seem inconsistent with the view I have always taken of the Salt Tax. As a matter of fact I have never looked upon it as excessively burdensome to the poor in a merely pecuniary point of view. My objection has always been to the tax itself much more than to the rate at which it was levied, for the reasons given in that article and more fully in the "Asiatic Quarterly Review" for October 1893, and in the "Indian Spectator" long before that.

By calculating the "average" wage of an agricultural labourer at 7 Rupees a month and leaving out of account the salt eaten, (or which ought to be eaten), by his 'family' Dr. Murdoch makes out that the Salt Tax only amounts to about $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. of his income, against 4 per cent. as calculated by Sir James Caird. Dr. Murdoch allows $\frac{1}{4}$ an anna a month, or very little over 1lb. of salt per mensem; but this figure should be multiplied by 5 at least, to provide a reasonable amount for an average family. I am therefore inclined to think that Sir James is nearer the mark in the case of the really poor who certainly don't get anything like $\frac{3}{4}$ Rs. a month all the year round: probably less than half that amount. Now $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas on such an income is about 5 per cent. I enclose copy of an unpublished letter written some time ago which shews more fully the view I have always taken. You are at liberty to publish it also if you please.* I have sent a copy to Dr. Murdoch.

Yours,
J. B. PENNINGTON.

* See next page.

THE INDIAN SALT MONOPOLY.

More than twenty-seven years ago the "Times" was so extraordinarily liberal-minded as to admit a rather lengthy communication in which I was permitted to denounce the Salt Monopoly and all its works to my heart's content; and in all these years I have never seen any reason to doubt that I was right in objecting to the tax itself even more than to the rate at which it was levied.

Of course we should all agree that a reduction of the rate would be better than enhancement, but no mere reduction will get rid of the inherent mischief of the Tax as I showed (entirely to my own satisfaction) in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for October 1893.

I am glad to see that Sir Henry Fowler has not lost sight of the subject, though he evidently fails to see it from my point of view. When he denounced the Salt Tax in 1895 as "such a heavy burden on the population of India," (which it is not really from a merely pecuniary point of view), I ventured to invite his attention to that article and said that "though most people would agree that a reduction should be made as soon as India can boast of a surplus, my objection to the Tax is absolute. I fight neither with great nor small duties, but with the Monopoly only." I added (and I still think) that "no probable reduction would materially diminish the innate evil of it, and that it is only when there is no Monopoly at all that we shall discover what injury it has been doing to the country." The curse lies in the Monopoly: not in the weight of the Tax. Indeed Lord George Hamilton is no doubt quite right in saying that "the tax is viewed by 'the natives'" (i.e., those who talk and write) "with very different feelings from those which prevail amongst"—enlightened people. It is only the extremely poor who are seriously oppressed in person by the Salt Monopoly, and they are voiceless.

As I said in my letter to the "Times"—"It is the unknown injury that is done to agriculture as well as to commerce and to the health of the country" (both of men and animals) by stinting the supply of salt, and the terrible demoralization that is caused among the poor by the clandestine manufacture of earth-salt that afford the strongest argument against the continuance of the Tax. I repeat once more that my great objection to the Mono-

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poly has always been that we have no means of ascertaining the injury it does to the people, the cattle and the industrial development of India. I am satisfied (though I admit I cannot prove) that we destroy untold millions of the wealth, (including the health) of the people in order to gain an annual revenue of about 5 millions sterling. A Poll Tax of 6d. a head would more than balance the account and do infinitely less real harm. It might even be graded like the Income Tax so that the well-to-do might have to pay at least as much as they pay now for salt, and so perhaps bear half the burden; leaving about 4d. a piece to be paid by the lower orders in lieu of the 7d. they *ought* to be paying now (if they consumed as much salt as is good for them) but certainly *do not*.

16-17-02.

J. B. PENNINGTON.

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THE MADRAS INDUSTRIAL EXHIBITION.

'PROGRESS' says Guizot, 'is the fundamental idea of civilization.' But whether the modern civilization of India can be said to be characterized by progress in the material and industrial direction is somewhat questionable. There is no doubt that the progress of industrial activity, in its modern sense, is of comparatively recent date. At the dawn of civilization, the hand with the aid of simple mechanical contrivances gave gigantic evidences of complete sway in manufactures of all kinds. The early history of the world is teeming with works of the artizan's skill, which are even now admired for their beauty and permanence. But these ancient arts and manufactures which had so long flourished with much success, have now to struggle hard against the machinery of the present day. In fact the present age of mechanical appliances for all industrial purposes has almost been a death blow to hand production. The inventive genius of the modern handicraftsman has no scope in the modern demand for cheap materials. The one great effect of this development of machinery upon the condition of the working men is to create a large class of unemployed who have hitherto been subsisting by their hand. A grave crisis is now threatening our country in the pauperism which has thus been created. Though economists are not tired of regarding machinery as the great element in the progress of a country, still in a country where the people have long been living on the hand-system, the grave danger in its being supplanted by machinery is a factor which cannot be ignored. Sir George Birdwood says

in his 'Industrial Arts of India' 'I do not mean to depreciate the proper functions of machines in modern civilization, but machinery should be the servant and never the master of men. It cannot minister to the beauty and pleasure of life, it can only be the slave of life's drudgery; and it should be kept vigorously in its place, in India as well as in England. When in England, machinery is, by the force of cultivated taste, and opinion, no longer allowed to intrude into the domain of art manufactures which belongs exclusively to the trained mind and hand of individual workmen, wealth will become more equally diffused throughout society; and the working-classes, through the elevating influence of their daily work, and the growing respect for their talent and skill and culture, will rise at once in social, civil and political position, raising the whole country, to the highest classes, with them; and Europe will learn to taste of some of that content and happiness in life which is to be still found in the pagan East, as it was once found in pagan Greece and Rome.'

It must be conceded that one great cause of the poverty of India is the want of a spirit of industrial enterprise. It is the most enterprising nations that are the commercial and political dictators of the world and form the vanguard in the march of civilization. 'Trusts, combinations and syndicates' of the modern day are quite novel ideas which must take time to take root, but people for want of practical application and experience are extremely indifferent to undertake and work big speculative trusts which, though at first set with enormous difficulties, have in the long run proved so fruitful of important and beneficial results. Investment in large machinery implies the existence of large capital, which is with difficulty to be met with in an agricultural country like India. Perhaps a few capitalists may not be wanting, but the spirit of combination among such is lamentably deficient. The present condition of the great bulk of the people of this country is well described by Mr. Crooke. 'There is no more pathetic situation in the whole range of human history than to watch those dull, patient masses stumbling in their traditional way along a path which can lead only to suffering, most of them careless, of the future, marrying and giving in marriage, fresh generations ever encroaching on the narrow margin which separated them from destitution. Anxious statesmen peer into the mists which shroud the future and wonder what the end of

all this may be.' In the words of Sir William Hunter, "The English in India are now called upon either to stand by and witness the pitiless over-crowding of masses of hungry human beings or to aid the people in increasing the food supply to meet their wants. The last stage in the abject misery has now been reached by the displacement of hand-production by the machinery." "This state of affairs can be only ascribed, to use the language of a great statesman, to the fact that the overwhelming importation of British manufacture also is even more detrimental to their prosperity and influence, for it has in many places brought wholesale ruin on the hereditary native craftsmen and forced them into agriculture and even domestic service. But the guilds by the stubborn resistance, further stimulated by caste prejudice, which they oppose to all innovations, still continue in this forlorn way, to serve a beneficial end, in maintaining, for probably another generation, the traditional excellence of the sumptuary arts of India, against the fierce and merciless competition of the English manufactures." Poorly clad and poorly fed, the hand-workers of the country constitute a class which is almost being exterminated by the cheap competition of the modern day and which can only thrive under the fostering care and liberal patronage of a benign Government who are interested in their welfare. Sir H. S. Cunningham hit the right nail when he said that "although protection from foreign invasion, the maintenance of order and the diffusion of a feeling of security are conditions precedent to all industrial progress, the accomplishment of all those invaluable objects does not complete the task of the Government, the direct, deliberate, systematic promotion of industrial enterprise, is though a later, not a less important duty, and its thorough recognition by the state would, I believe, be the most important administrative reform of which the Indian system is at present susceptible."

The one way by which the Government can benefit industries is the increasing facilities afforded to technical education. Even in countries, like England, which are the great industrial centres of the world, statesmen have been deploring the want of the spread of technical education. Sir John Gorst said that 'no one could render at this moment a higher service to the country than by securing the advancement of Technical Education.' Even Lord George Hamilton in his Budget speech of 1897 condescended to ask 'Is it possible to so alter the current and tendency of the education we give as to associate it with

objects of a practical and technical character, by which India's latent resources might be developed, her industries multiplied and her productive power extended?" The great impetus given to education by Macaulay and others who were the pioneers of English education in India has borne good fruit in disseminating a knowledge of the various arts and sciences in widely-scattered areas and in introducing civilization and refinement where darkness previously prevailed. But the real education suited to the requirements of the country has yet to be imparted. A slavish imitation of English models has been the bane of our administrators. The purely scholastic part of the present-day education has been the means of encouraging pedantry in the place of sound thinking and practical conduct. "While it has been gladly acknowledged that even at present Indian education is doing great good, it is not perhaps too much to say that it is robbed of nearly half its usefulness by want of adaptation to the country." That system of education which would be best adapted to the various classes of men engaged in various industrial pursuits is the great desideratum which our rulers have to supply. Great good also can be achieved by an Industrial Survey of the country which will best help in finding out the means of developing new industries and in bringing to prominent notice and reviving those arts and industries which are slowly languishing, if not dying, for want of practical encouragement. "An Industrial survey will not only be of importance to the business classes of India and England, but it will also perform some services for the Government of India. In the first place, the materials accumulated by it will admit of an estimate being made of the national income of India on a much better basis than at present. This national income of India has been variously 'guessed' at from 300 to 500 million pounds sterling. In the next place the new Department of Revenue, Agriculture, and Commerce will possess in the organization for the Industrial Survey a very convenient, in some respects perhaps indispensable, instrument in the planning and executing of measures for the advancement of Agriculture and Commerce. And finally it may be mentioned as a further matter of importance that the proposed survey may help to diminish the cost paid by the State for stores by pointing out Indian means of supply for various articles and products at present imported from Europe." And not less promising is the part played by Art and Industrial Exhibitions in not only

widening our knowledge of the various industries, but also in encouraging the skilled workman in producing works of rare beauty and of practical utility.

The age of steam, the age of railways, and the age of telegraphs have been succeeded by the age of Röntgen rays, wireless telegraphy and motor-cars. But the dawn of the twentieth century is, by pre-eminence, the age of exhibitions. The Calcutta, Ahmedabad, and the Great Delhi Exhibitions have cast their lustre of usefulness far and wide and have become the absorbing topic of the day. It will not be uninteresting to trace the early origin and purpose of such exhibitions in general. An anonymous writer in the Dublin University Magazine of 1857 traces their origin thus: "In a large and sagacious spirit it was that these great world-fairs were first devised. It was meet and very wise that when men had prepared the way of knowledge all over the earth, when Art and Science had exalted valleys, and made low the hills and the mountains—had made the crooked places straight, and the rough places plain—that then the great glory of this knowledge, which is the delegated power of God, should be revealed to all nations, and that each, bringing to the appointed spot that which he knew, should lay it upon the precious file for the good of others, and in return take back with him to his own land that which before he knew not. And so the first phase of these exhibitions—the exhibitions of industry—arose." There can be no two opinions as to the great usefulness and purpose which the Exhibitions serve. These greatly help in the opening up of new markets and possess the advantage of a direct intercourse between the producer and the consumer. They are invaluable as a medium of technical education. Most 'healthful competition and friendly rivalry' are secured by awarding money-prizes and medals to worthy exhibitors. These are also calculated to promote intercourse among various trade-guilds, which is sure to result in widening their knowledge and in improving their skill and dexterity of production. With such evident proofs of their worth and usefulness, pessimists are not wanting who will minimise the worth by ascribing the results to other causes which are inexplicable on any other hypothesis. We cannot bring ourselves to sympathize with the unreasonable attitude of such men who fail to be convinced of their promising results. Although we may not entirely shut our eyes to the fact that

those exhibitions may teach 'the stranger within her gates' of her resources' and teach 'every nation to know its own weakness and respect its neighbour's strength,' still it stands to reason to believe that, taken all in all, the advantages far outweigh any defects and drawbacks which must necessarily be incidental to organizations of this sort.

Madras will this year be the cynosure of all eyes not only for the holding of the National Congress, but also for an Industrial Exhibition which is to comprehend all Arts and Manufactures available in this and in the sister Presidencies and requiring the active patronage of liberal philanthropists. At the Calcutta Session of the Congress held in 1901, a novel departure was made by holding along with it an Exhibition of the Industrial works of the country, which greatly tended not only to relieve its monotony, but also contributed to the instruction and profitable recreation of a large number of people. The one held at Ahmedabad last year was a still greater success under the distinguished Presidentship of the Gaekwar of Baroda who has already endeared himself to the Indian public by his many acts of sympathy, generosity, and broad-minded statesmanship. Worked under the immediate auspices of the Congress, it has a peculiar fitness and appropriateness in helping the advancement of the indigenous industries. Under the wise and experienced guidance of the leaders of the community, it has already justified its continued existence and ensured its usefulness as a valuable adjunct to the great national movement itself. The amelioration of the condition of the poverty-stricken people being one of its long-cherished aims, what can more appropriately carry out such a practical object than an Exhibition of the National Industries, which is prepared to extend a ready and helping hand to the disheartened workman and otherwise encourage him to produce works of skill which would redound to national credit and glory? In spite of the most obvious and beneficial results accruing from its association with the Congress, some attempts of interested men to make it independent of the other are not destined to be successful owing to the strong opposition which would be surely evoked, if further seriously pressed. Such tactics are really unworthy of all true education and sense of honour. The exhibition is still an infant which requires the tender and watchful care and invigorating help which true philanthropy and honest intentions can

summon to their aid. Petty bickering and personal animosities can only strangle it, while large-minded co-operation and broad sympathy can place it on a firm basis and make it a sound institution of permanent influence and usefulness.

The idea of an Exhibition of Industries in India was first conceived by the Right Honorable Lord Harris, the Governor of Madras, with the object of encouraging useful productions of all kinds in Agriculture, Machinery, Manufacture and Arts, who opened an Exhibition in Madras in 1855, and who further resolved that "Exhibitions should be annually held in the provinces, either in each province or in a town centrally situated for exhibiting together the products of two or three adjoining Collectorates in the hope that, though the native cultivators might be unwilling to send their produce to Madras they might be roused by a spirit of emulation, were local expositions held and prizes awarded on the spot." It was thus that Madras had the honour of taking the lead in the matter of the first Exhibition that was ever held in India. Exhibitions with similar objects were held in 1864 at Calcutta and Agra, though the exhibits here were principally of Agriculture. The Industries of the North-West Provinces were next exhibited in 1867 at Agra, as also in Broach and Kurrachee in 1868 and in 1869. An Exhibition of Indian Cotton was held in 1870 at Guzerat. Madras greatly contributed to the success of the International Exhibition held at Calcutta in 1883 by sending valuable and interesting exhibits. It is now again the turn of Madras to call forth all its energy and to make this year's Exhibition as great a success as is consistent with its time-honoured traditions. Started under the most favourable auspices, patronised by the most august personages and strengthened by all the ties of natural sympathy, overflowing zeal, and unbounded patriotism, the Committee will no doubt endeavour to carry out the objects with all the enthusiasm and exuberance of spirit inseparable from true love and characteristic energy. The recent Government Order on the subject is most assuring and encouraging. Their ready co-operation and sympathetic attitude are not among the least-hopeful signs of its ultimate success.

Favorable as are the circumstances, there is much up-hill work to be done. The greatest publicity needs to be given in the elaborating of the Exhibition for evoking the interest of workmen whose natural aloofness and unostentatious work make them alien to their environments and apathetic to most momentous events of

life. We must admit that, among artizans as a class, the ignorance of one part of India with respect to the products and manufactures of the other parts is something profound, the native productions being confined to periodical fairs and markets. The consequence is that production is confined to a small scale and to a large extent 'wasteful and costly.' "It is only productions on a large scale that can preserve and develop the traditions of artistic and technical skill and render possible the alliance of those important elements with the European methods of manufacture,—establish an independent industrial organization able to compete with the products of other countries,—and make India participate in the marvellous development which the application of science to the common and useful arts has wrought in Europe and America." It should therefore be our duty to lead these artizans from their self-imposed obscurity and to turn their knowledge to such an account as will not only relieve their miserable existence, but will also popularize it with a view to a wider extension and greater utility.

It has been mentioned above that the great utility of Exhibitions consisted in their giving a more or less complete picture of the material resources of the country, of the commercial and technical spirit which creates all this material wealth. The present moment may be regarded as one of paramount importance for the future of Exhibitions generally. They are of great educative value to the masses in impressing upon them their importance and profitable nature. The practical ends which it is their object to serve are a great incentive to an otherwise slothful and indifferent workmen in bringing into execution many practical conceptions which may be dormant. That the Exhibitions have already wrought a considerable change in the public may be safely inferred from the fact that greater interest is shown in their organization and development. Their continuance will therefore depend on their adaptation to practical ends. The greatest service which they have rendered and will render is 'the great stir and public interest in economic questions which they have excited, an interest which have given importance to many a useful reform—such as the increasing need for technical education.'

The present Exhibition cannot realize its objects till its results are tested by the amount of practically available and definite information regarding the various kinds of manufactures

which will be concentrated on the spot. A mere display of these before the eyes of the visitor without giving him any really industrial and commercial description of the articles, for instance, their geographical distribution, their quality, their methods of production, consumption, and variability of price, their uses and their markets or places of sale, means of extending their production and usefulness and various other kinds of information which will help to unravel their history, will be 'somewhat like turning a man without books into a garden to learn botany, or sending him out of doors at midnight to learn astronomy.' Accuracy of information should therefore be ensured. Such an information coming from the exhibitors will to some extent depend on the motives with which they send their goods. In order to induce and encourage them, we have to appeal strongly to their interests—to the extension of their business, in consequence of the increased acquaintance of the buying public with their productions.' Such a personal interest can be secured by distribution of medals, prizes and certificates, though there have been many liberal-minded exhibitors who have readily responded by freely placing all available information at the disposal of the public. If the motives of the exhibitors be mercenary, and if the necessary information is withheld on purely personal and selfish grounds, the difficulty in gaining accurate information will no doubt be enhanced, but everything will depend upon how they are approached and coaxed for gaining the requisite knowledge and information. Though instruction is the primary object of Exhibitions, still without perhaps giving an undue preponderance to the various artistic elements and devices, it is essential that they should be made attractive by artistic arrangements which will please the eye without dazzling it. Though it may not be within the power and means of our Exhibition Committee to raise a grand building constructed with all the artistic skill that we can command, still a commodious one might be expected to be raised which may, on a small scale, illustrate the life and vigour of the local art industry, and which may be regarded as a commentary on the articles preserved within its enclosure. In short 'the eye must see for itself, and not learn from the ears, the effects of form and space and colors and light, all of which are the components of every building.'

The Madras Industrial Exhibition, as the name implies, has for its object the bringing together, for show, and competition, a

judicious collection of industrial products, though works of art immemorably found a place along with them, the principal consideration in the latter being their artistic excellence, in the former their industrial and commercial importance. It is no doubt desirable that every facility should be given for the production of such articles as can be supplied to the people more cheaply than by labour on the spot. It is only thus that the work will be benefited. The extension of the 'mill system' in India may be a source of benefit to the mass of the people by supplying them with their clothing at the cheapest possible rate, but there are certain fabrics which can only be made exclusively by hand. This is found to be the case even now in England where everything is done by machinery. "The hand-loom weaver still exists even among us, nor is it possible that he will ever cease to do so. Less likely still is it that machinery will ever be able to drive him from the field in India. The very fine and richly decorated tissues of that country will probably always require the delicate manipulation of human fingers for their production. In such manufactures the foremost place will be taken by that country which can most cheaply supply labour, intelligence and refined taste—all three combined; and this being the case, it is not probable that England will ever be able to compete successfully with the Indian manufacturer in the production of fabrics of this sort, for which eventually there may be a considerable foreign competition." It is in this direction that the greatest encouragement must be shown. The high-class manufactures are peculiar to our country and unique in their characteristics, and can never be ousted by machinery. But no improvements can be effected till competition supplies the motive and the manufacturer is convinced of higher profit. Productions of a high order of design can come into existence only by paving the way for greater publicity and by showing their artistic excellence before a discriminative public.

The progress of industrial displays was not considered complete, till Fine Arts were represented as their necessary and invaluable adjunct. It is said that man's nature, even when most utilitarian, is ever craving for the beautiful. It was thus that 'beautiful forms in sculpture somehow found their way into the mazes of those halls, where the textures and the fabrics that serve for man's wants were crowded; and the strains of the organ and the voice of the trumpet were heard amidst the hum and click and booming of machinery.' Sir George Birdwood says

"The spirit of Fine Art is indeed everywhere latent in India, but it has yet to be quickened again into operation. It had slept ever since the Aryan genius of the people would seem to have exhausted itself in the production of the Ramayana and Mahabharata. But the Indian workman from the humblest potter to the most cunning embroiderer in blue and purple and scarlet is not the less a true artist, although he seldom rises above the traditions of his art." The decoration and sumptuary arts of India were early developed as the result of encouragement given by the great native rulers and also as the result of the refined tastes of the people. There is no doubt that in the art of painting, the indigenous workman pays little attention to perspective and light and shade. But it is not impossible that a class of men with a knowledge of the principles of modern painting may arise, who will give a new turn to it by producing works possessing much grace and beauty. The well-known paintings of the famous Ravi Varma of Travancore have already given a fresh impetus to a study of the art in which a knowledge of the principles of the art of the East and West are combined. The Fine Arts Society of Madras has done a great deal by way of fostering and encouraging indigenous talent worthy of recognition. The local Exhibition Committee should invite talented votaries of the art by a system of prizes and medals for exhibits sent by them. A portrait gallery must form an invaluable adjunct to it. And lastly, though not of the least importance, is the industry connected with the manufacture of musical instruments of which there exists a large variety. Without referring here to the large number of such instruments—of the vibratory, percussive, pneumatic and concussive kinds, it may be stated that, in the construction of these instruments, native workmen use a variety of substances, wood (of various kinds) bamboo, reeds, gourd, horn, brass, gut and skin. For ornamenting these iron, brass, ivory and bone are freely employed. The fine metallic wire that is used for vina, sitar, soranda and other fretted instruments is well-known for its ductile property and adds greatly to the musical effect. Such a wire is made in various places varying in quality. For drums even earthenware is used. Upon this a critic remarks "though uncouth-looking, it is remarkable that as far as rhythm is concerned, they have been considered by competent judges to be superior in construction to European drums." A collection of musical instruments of our country will form a not unimportant

exhibit which, for their novelty and instruction, will hardly evoke less appreciation than other exhibits which will find a place here. This form of industry is carried on differently in different places, a comparison of which will prove most interesting, by way of the relative appreciation of the various kinds of natural products employed in their construction. The Madras Exhibition will present a distinctive feature by organising a museum of musical instruments.

The object and purposes of Exhibitions in general have been set forth in more or less detail. It is impossible to estimate the natural service which they are calculated to render by giving a fresh impetus to the languishing industries, by whipping into activity the apathetic workman whose conservative habits prevent him from taking to new paths of industry, and by inducing him to produce works of great delicacy and refinement, for which he has the best aptitude. Nobody can boldly assert that by this means the proverbial poverty of the artizan can be entirely rooted out, but it may be reasonable to state that they will go a great way to ameliorate his present condition by removing that state of chronic despondency which is the parent of all domestic misery and affliction. It is to be hoped that the efforts of the Madras Exhibition Committee will be crowned with even greater success than that which has attended its prototypes of Calcutta and Ahmedabad. Unqualified success can only be the result of willing co-operation, while mutual distrust will prove the worst clog in its wheel, as it will be 'the bane of bliss and source of woe.'

C. TIRUMALAYYA NAIDU.

THE EARLY STRUGGLES OF THE FOURTH ESTATE.

THE early history of the Press is not without interest to lovers of liberty in all parts of the world. To the sturdy Briton it is the very breath of life. Wherever he has gone he has taken it with him. In whatever part of the world the British flag waves, the newspaper flourishes in security beneath it. In the colonies, in India, and in every other part of the British Empire the Press is regarded as a valuable possession, an engine of power and a means of instruction. Bentham thought it "the best means of directing opinion—of quieting feverish movements—of causing the lies and artificial rumours by which the enemies of the State may attempt to carry on their evil designs to vanish." Through it "instruction may descend from the Government to the people, or ascend from people to the Government." This view is as correct to-day as it was in Bentham's time; and if there was in India in the fifties a strong indigenous Press, as there is to-day, the lies and rumours which provoked the Mutiny would have been arrested in their course and prevented from leading to the violent explosion. In times of peace when the Government feels itself strong and powerful, the value of the Press is not fully appreciated. But to the far-seeing statesman it must ever be an object of jealous regard.

Among the zealous defenders of the Press are found men held in honour alike by their contemporaries and by posterity. The most eminent scholars and the most eminent statesmen of England are found eulogising its merits, its virtues and its irresistible power; and many of the most honoured names in English history belonged, at one time or other of their lives, to the profession of journalism. Even Napoleon was so much impressed with its importance and power as to declare that "a journalist is a giver of advice, a regent of sovereigns, a tutor of nations" and that "four hostile newspapers are to be more feared than a hundred thousand bayonets." Carlyle is perhaps guilty of exaggeration when he says that "every able editor is a ruler of the world"; but no exception can be taken to the estimate of Samuel Johnson.

who says that "it is the protector of freedom, a watchful guardian, capable of uniting the weak against the encroachments of power," or of Oliver Goldsmith who affirms that "it secures that publicity to the administration of laws which is the main source of its purity and wisdom." Indeed, the Press is apt to be corrupt and irresponsible, but it cannot be said that it has ever been so bad or unscrupulous as its opportunities allow it to be. On the other hand the abuse of power by men in authority has been infinitely greater and more harmful than the worst that the Press has done. This is the case even in India where so much is said by the ruling classes against the Press. The Police or Magistracy of a single taluk have committed more crimes and more acts of injustice and rendered more people miserable than the entire Press of India has ever done. We think that if the Indian newspapers were larger in numbers and more active in watching the conduct of men entrusted with the actual work of administration, there would be far fewer instances of injustice, oppression, and wrong-doing generally. This is the faith of most men in these days. It was the faith of the most eminent men in England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Sheridan said in the House of Commons on a memorable occasion: "Give me but the liberty of the Press, and I will give to the Minister a venal House of Peers—I will give him a corrupt and servile House of Commons—I will give him the full sway of the patronage of office—I will give him the whole host of ministerial influence—I will give him all the power that place can confer upon him to purchase up submission and overawe resistance, and yet, armed with the liberty of the Press, I will go forth to meet him undismayed—I will attack the mighty fabric he has reared with that mightier engine—I will shake down from its height corruption, and bury it amidst the ruins of the abuses it was meant to shelter." A Press which is thoroughly independent and fearless cannot be under a difficulty to do what Sheridan here details; and there can be no doubt that since Sheridan's time the Press has become infinitely more important and powerful, and that it is distinguished by greater ability of thought and writing.

Yet if we look into its origin we shall find that it began in a very small way, and developed into its present state through perpetual war with the King, the Ministers and Parliament. The newspaper undoubtedly owes its origin in England to the craving for news which was felt by the more intelligent and well-to-do

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classes. The nobility and gentry began gradually to employ a class of news-writers who, for a fixed annual salary, supplied their employers with such news as they could get from various sources. Like the modern penny-a-liner, these news correspondents went about collecting news and every post day sent to their masters the products of their industry and labour. This was a regular profession in those days, and the "news correspondents" seem to have been paid variously from £3 to £10 a year, and when the printing-press and the regular newspaper were established these gentlemen lost their occupation, and were therefore taken on the staff of newspapers to furnish news at the rate of a penny a line. According to one authority there were three stages: first the written news letter furnished to the wealthy aristocracy; then the ballad news, sung or recited; then the news-pamphlet; then the periodical sheet of news; and lastly, the newspaper. It was not till towards the latter end of the reign of James I. that newspapers began to be the fashion, although several news sheets seem to have been published in the reign of Elizabeth. The first newspaper, however, contained only foreign news, probably because none dared to publish anything about the Government at home. They had to contend against prejudice, ridicule and the jealousy of the news correspondents. But their greatest enemy was the licenser. The first newspapers had no Editor or Sub-Editor, but only the Reporter who supplied news. The printer filled the place of all. There were no leading articles or editorials, but only news. The editorial "we" appears to have been first used in 1640 by the printer of the "Weekly News" in announcing to the readers the fact of a change for the better in the office of Censor. Then came into existence the practice of inserting advertisements; and, lastly, comments on public affairs. The political parties began to value these comments, and the party in the ascendant rewarded the services of the partisan writers. It was thus that the writers of newspapers began to be recognised by Governments.

The political articles were often written in execrable taste. They contained personal attacks of the worst sort; and natural deformities, domestic bereavements and private afflictions were freely made themes for malicious comment. One journal, for example, exulted over the probability of Hampden's wounds proving fatal, and declared that his home troubles—the loss of two or three daughters successively—were the judgments of Heaven

upon his political sins. The Censor and the Parliament often curbed the freedom in which the newspapers indulged; but the recklessness of newspaper-men seems to have circumvented the Censor and the Parliament. The Censor was not always rigorous in the exercise of his authority; but with the Restoration in 1660 the Censorship became more rigorous. The good natured Monarch who spent his time in the company of courtesans and concubines did not like the newspaper. The Parliament shared the feeling of the King. They were not satisfied with the measures of repression, but were bent upon killing the Press altogether. But not being successful in their attempt, they started a Government organ which afterwards became the *London Gazette*. They, however, did not give up the attempt to silence the voice of public opinion. The prerogative of the Crown the authority of Parliament, and the might of the executive were all used against the Press. Men conducting newspapers were prosecuted, convicted against evidence, and punished against law. Subservient and unscrupulous Judges were ready to carry but the wishes of the Government without any regard for law and justice. Some bold spirits, however, defied the Tower, the pillory and the scourge; they disregarded the Censor; they evaded his authority. In spite of the licensing system unlicensed newspapers were published under the titles of licensed newspapers. All the efforts of Charles and his Parliament, all the unscrupulousness of Scroggs and Jeffreys did not succeed in stifling the Press. Seventy new journals were started between the years 1661 and 1668, and they were still increasing. Most of the papers were published once a week, and none more than thrice. No newspaper had at first an office of its own. It was in 1661 that this came into existence.

With the Revolution there came a change for the better. With the fall of the Stuarts, the Licencing Act of James fell into disuse; and William was too shrewd and clear-headed a statesman to pursue the methods of his predecessor. The Government would not now dare to coerce the Press, but appealed to it, and through it to the nation, for help and guidance in re-arranging the existing order of things. William considered that Parliament and the Press were the two mediums through which he could appeal to the mind of the nation, and he listened to both. The new Government started their own organs, the *Orange Intelligencer* and the *Orange Gazette*; but their opponents were permitted the fullest freedom of replying in newspapers of their own.

But though the King and his Government were disposed to be considerate to the Press, the Parliament was disposed differently. The Commons saw with jealousy the rising strength of what was one day to become their rival and tried to throttle it; and they began accordingly to use their authority and might against it. One Dyer was summoned to appear at the bar of the House of Commons for printing the proceedings of the House and was made to acknowledge his offence and kneel down and receive the reprimand of the speaker "for his great presumption." The House then proceeded to vote "that no news-letter writer do, in their letters or other papers that they disperse, presume to inter-meddle with the debates or any other proceedings of this House." The Licensing Act was revived for another year, but further attempt to shackle the Press was given up in despair. The newspapers now began to increase in numbers; and between the accession of William and Mary and the year 1692, 20th May, as many as twenty-six new papers had come into existence. With the advance in numbers and influence of the newspapers the advertising system became more fully developed; and the charge for advertisements appears to have been one shilling for eight lines. It is noticeable that during the reign of William not a single newspaper was prosecuted by the Government. With the introduction of the editorial articles came into existence a class of Editors; but the printer was the responsible person. It appears from the evidence given in a trial by a printer of a weekly paper that the Editor was to write once a week and the printer was to give him half a guinea for it. The printer used to strike out a line here and there, but never to alter the sense. He used also to take out words and insert others in their places; beyond this the production was the Editor's who, in those days, was never paid more than twenty-six guineas a year. But their liberty and life were always in danger. Judge Jeffreys was feared by all; he was to be most feared by newspaper men. One man was tried for seditious libel and was acquitted by the Jury; but before receiving his discharge, his real name being mentioned to Jeffreys, the latter had him brought into Court, and without trial, sentenced him, for assuming a fictitious name, to remain in prison for seven years, to be whipped once a year through every town in Dorsetshire, to pay a fine of one hundred marks, and find security for good behaviour during life. The unfortunate man, however, managed to obtain a pardon "by

dint of petitions to the King, bribes to the Courtiers, and presents to the Judge," only to be waylaid one night and beaten to death.

The first daily newspaper was started in 1702. It was called the *Daily Curant*, and printed on one side only, consisting of but one page of two columns and containing five paragraphs translated from foreign papers and a modest prospectus, the leading features of the paper being, as announced by the Editor, that it is half the size of other papers; that it has no private sources of information, and that it gives no comments or reflections on the topics of the day! Other papers sprang up, and began to give more varied matter, with comments on the topics of the day. The Editors of the time are described as "a rabble of hacking scribblers... a rabble of scandalous hackneys, fit for no company or honour but a house of correction." But a change seems to have soon come for the better, and the standard of writing to have grown higher. A better class of writers came into the front: Addison, Swift, Steel, De Foe, Bolingbroke and Prior established a style and standard of political writing which had the effect of banishing the Grub Street writers to the rear.

Nevertheless the persecution of newspaper editors continued. In 1711, fourteen editors, printers and publishers were committed to the Newgate Prison at the instigation of Swift; and Sir James Mackintosh in the House of Commons denounced Swift as a traitor to the Press and as "that paricide, who endeavoured to destroy the very Press to which he owed so much—to which he owed all his fame, and, at that very moment, all his preferments." The Queen was also led into using her power and influence to add to the difficulties of the Press. She concluded one of her messages to Parliament by representing the licentiousness of the Press and recommending the House to find a remedy equal to the mischief. A tax was thereupon imposed on the papers in the shape of a red stamp. This led to the discontinuance of many papers as they could not pay the duty. Several papers still survived, and they were conducted by a better and more respectable class of men. Among these were such papers as the *Taller*, the *Spectator*, the *Examiner*, the *Freeholder* and the *Englishman*, all of which have a place in the history of English Literature; and among the writers were Addison and Steel. The *Englishman* was under the editorship of Steel, and two numbers of that Journal contained what was alleged to be seditious libel. Attention was called in the House of Commons to these numbers,

and a formal complaint was lodged against Steel who was a member of the House. Strong language was used against him, but he defended himself with moderation and calmness. Walpole but he defended himself with moderation and calmness. Walpole defending Steel said: "The liberty of the Press is unrestrained; how shall then a part of the legislature dare to punish that as a crime which is not declared to be so by any law framed by the whole? And why should that House be made the instrument of such a detestable purpose?" The Ministers had their redress at Law: why, he added, appeal to the Parliament? In spite of everything that was said in his favor Steel was expelled the House "for his offence in writing and publishing the said scandalous and seditious libels."

The King, the Lords, the Commons and even the Jurymen were now turned against the Press, and the persecution of the Fourth Estate was carried on with almost fanatic zeal. Nevertheless the Press continued to thrive, and in 1726 appeared the first number of the *Craftsman* which became a great political force. It was edited by Nicholas Amhurst who was assisted by Lord Bolingbroke and Pultney. Its influence was immense, and its circulation went up to 10,000 or 12,000, a number seldom reached by any newspaper of that time. Many Newspapers were bribed by the Government for defending them and for abusing their opponents. Walpole was the general corrupter. One Editor alone received from the Treasury more than ten thousand pounds for his services while five other papers received among themselves over fifty thousand in ten years between 1731 and 1741. Personalities were very common, and violent abuse was freely indulged in. One Editor was described by a rival Journalist as "that tool Walsingham, a contemptible fellow who is retained on purpose to assert falsehoods," at the direction of Walpole. The Editors of the *Daily Gazette* replied on the part of Walpole denouncing the conductors of the *Craftsman* as "grovelling, abandoned and despicable implements of slander." More specimens of this kind of language may be quoted to show the character of Newspaper controversy in England. To us in India, except perhaps in the early days of Anglo-Indian Journalism, there has been nothing similar to this.

The House of Commons, it will be remembered, had resolved not to allow the Press to meddle with its affairs. Its proceedings were not therefore reported. But Edward Cave purchased his own Press and started the *Gentleman's Magazine* on 1st Jan-

uary 1731. He introduced the system of Parliamentary reporting and carried it on vigorously. Cave taking with him a friend or two, somehow managed to secure admission for them and himself into the Gallery of the House of Commons, and then they privately took down notes of the speeches, they then adjourned to a neighbouring tavern, and with the help of the notes and their memory they made out the substance of the speeches. This was then put in shape by an abler literary man whom Cave had employed for the purpose. In this way the Parliamentary proceedings began to appear in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for two years, without any remonstrance from the House of Commons. But after that period the Speaker's attention was called to the fact by Sir Thomas Winnington who indignantly cried out? "You will have every word that is spoken here by gentlemen misrepresented by fellows who thrust themselves into our Gallery: you will have the speeches of the House every day printed, even during your Session, and we shall be looked upon as the most contemptible assembly on the face of the earth." Sir W. Pultney followed with the observation that to publish the speeches made in the house would look like making the speakers accountable without for what they say within, and that no man could be so guarded in his expressions as to wish to see everything he says in the House in print. Only one member, Sir William Wyndham, insisted that the people had a right to know what their representatives were doing. The House resolved that no proceedings of the House should be published in any Newspapers. Cave had till now given, in reporting the speeches, the first and last letters of the speaker's name; but this having been voted a breach of privilege, he took to quite another method. He now began to publish the famous "Debates in the Senate of Lilliput"; and of these Debates the author was Dr. Johnson who, as is well-known, so prepared the speeches that "the Whig dogs should never have the best of the argument." The famous Doctor used his own language, rhetoric and argument in such a way as to make Voltaire declare that "the eloquence of Greece and Rome is revived in the British Senate." Fielding easily concluded that these speeches could not have been made by any Members of Parliament, but must be "the work of some historian of great eloquence." Thus circumvented by Cave, the House practically gave in, and except occasional growls there was no summoning of newspaper men to the bar of the House for pub-

lishing its proceedings. It was Cave, who secured this privilege for the nation, a privilege which is still acknowledged only tacitly.

Between this time and 1762 the newspaper was comparatively free from trouble, for we find but one paper being in conflict with the Government, its printer being committed to prison for attacking it. This was in 1746. In 1762, appeared the first number of a paper called *The Briton* under the editorship of Smollet, of whom it is recorded that by becoming a party writer "he lost some of his old friends, and acquired but very few cold-hearted new ones in their stead." This paper did not continue long. It was vanquished in literary contests with rivals. Smollet, it is said, was always of a too irritable a temper for a journalist, and was declining in health and mental vigour. John Wilkes was his rival, and he wrote in a paper called the *North Briton*. Being at war with the Government, Wilkes was arrested on a general warrant and committed to prison. The warrant described the *North Briton* as "a most infamous and seditious libel, tending to inflame the minds and alienate the affections of the people from His Majesty, and to excite them to traitorous proceedings against the Government. Wilkes was a Member of Parliament, agitator and demagogue." He was not cowed down by anything the Ministers did. When he was brought before the Court of Common Pleas, he made his own speech protesting loyalty to the King and opposition to the Ministers. Finally he was discharged on the ground that his privilege as a Member of Parliament exempted him from arrest. He retired amidst shouts of rejoicing by the mob outside who followed him to his house. Here he found his papers had been seized and removed, and then wrote to Lords Egremont and Halifax, accusing them of having robbed his house in his absence and being in possession of "stolen goods."

Irritated apparently beyond measure, both Houses of Parliament went up to the King with an address, expressing their abhorrence of *North Briton*, and soliciting its suppression; and shortly after resolved that the privilege of Parliament did not exempt persons from arrest for libel. The House of Commons on the motion of Lord North voted that the *North Briton* was a false, scandalous and seditious libel, and many other things besides; and further resolved that it should be burned by the hands of the common hangman. This was done

the next day, when a great mob pelted the executioner and constables with filth, broke the windows of the Sheriff's carriage, and began further violence when the authorities decamped leaving King Mob to rescue the remains of *North Briton* and bear it in triumph. For this indignity to the House, an address was presented to the King, praying for the punishment of the offenders; but a motion in the Court of Common Council for a vote of thanks to the Sheriffs for their attempts to carry the order into effect, was negatived.

During the debate in the House Samuel Martin, late Secretary to the Treasury, complained that he "had been stabbed in the dark by the *North Briton*" and would like to know his antagonist. The next day Wilkes informed him that he was the author of the attacks. As a specimen of the language that was usual between two Members of Parliament in 1763, Martin's reply to Wilkes is interesting. He wrote: "Sir of the *North Briton*, who had stabbed me in the dark, was a cowardly as well as an infamous scoundrel, and your letter of this morning's date acknowledges that every passage of the *North Briton* in which I have been named, or even alluded to, was written by yourself; I must take the liberty to repeat that you are a malignant and infamous scoundrel, and that I desire to give you an opportunity of showing me whether the epithet cowardly was applied rightly or not. I desire you to meet me at Hyde Park immediately, with a brace of pistols each to determine our differences." The challenge was taken up; the combatants met; and Wilkes fell, shot in the belly. The wound, however, did not kill him; and in the following month his action against Robert Wood, Under Secretary of State, for the seizure of his papers, was tried by Chief Justice Pratt and Jury; and he was awarded 1,000*l.* damages. It was on this occasion that Chief Justice Pratt decided general warrants to be "unconstitutional, illegal and absolutely void." This declaration had the effect of putting an end to the ever-present danger to the liberty of person and the sanctity of the decision was great, and was shown by the City of London presenting the Judge with its freedom as a mark of its admiration of his conduct. But the House of Commons did not foregive Wilkes. It expelled him from the House for writing

the *North Briton*; and he was tried in the Court of the King's Bench for republishing the *North Briton* and also for printing an infamous and obscene "Essay on Woman," and found guilty of both. He refused to surrender for judgment, and was thereupon outlawed. He went over to the continent, and appealed to the King for pardon; but not succeeding he surrendered and was punished with fine and imprisonment. Immediately after this, he was returned as one of the members for Middlesex but was not allowed to take his seat. Although his outlawry was in the meantime considered and declared illegal, and although he was four times repeatedly returned to Parliament, the House of Commons each time refused to permit him to take his seat. He however raised the question of general warrants by an action against Lord Halifax and got 4,000*l.* damages. Subsequently he became Sheriff, Lord Mayor, Chamberlain for the City of London and Member for Middlesex and died in 1792 at the age of seventy. He was not thus the least conspicuous of those who fought for the liberty of the Press or the least successful in the struggle.

It is curious that, amidst the persecution of the Press, several of its members were rewarded by the Government. The writers for the Ministry got substantial rewards. They were given lucrative appointments and liberal pensions. Even those who had been once pilloried were selected for honour, distinction and reward. The writers were sometimes as eccentric as were the titles of some of the papers in which they wrote. There were papers such as the *Devil Man*, the *Old Maid*, the *Humorist*, the *Prater*, the *Crub Tree* and the *Busy Body*. In the absence of leading articles there was no need for an Editor as in present day. The Sub-Editor was the publisher himself, and the Reporters were promiscuous penny-a-liners. Those who wrote for the newspapers were not paid very high sums. We find that one man was paid at 5*s.* per column. Oliver Goldsmith who wrote the correspondence of a "Citizen of the World" got 2 guineas for his first week's contribution to the *Public Ledger*, and for the future he attached himself to the paper, writing twice a week and receiving a guinea for each article.

At this time, 1762, began a sort of true Parliamentary reporting; and some of the London papers thus attained celebrity. There was nothing more than an abstract of the speeches, made out from memory after hearing them in the House of Commons. But the practice again brought upon the Press the anger of

Parliament which once again declared war against the liberty of the Press on the ground of its privilege. The House of Lords objected to any nobleman being mentioned by name, and the fine imposed for disregarding the rule was usually 100*l*. Lord Marchmont made it a part of his daily duty to read every newspaper, and whenever he found any Lord's name printed in any paper he immediately made a motion in the House of Peers against the printer for a breach of privilege. Several printers were thus brought before the Bar of the House, and some were fined even to the extent of 500*l*. The House of Commons also began to summons Members of the Fourth Estate for printing its speeches. Numerous were the men who were thus brought up and committed to prison. But a discomfiture was in store for the House. On the 12th of March 1771, complaint was made against so many as six newspapers, and the printers of all these were ordered to attend at the Bar of the House. One Balcanquhall, obedient to order, made his submission and was graciously discharged. Two others surrendered, acknowledged their offence on their knees at the Bar, asked pardon, and promised not to print debates in future, and on payment of the fees, were discharged. But one of the number, Miller, of the *London Evening Post*, not surrendering, was ordered to be taken into custody by the Sergeant-at-arms; but four days after, the Sergeant-at-arms made the startling announcement to the House that his messenger had succeeded in arresting Miller, but was immediately given into custody by him for assault, and carried before the Lord Mayor, the Speaker's warrant having been declared to be illegal. The House was staggered by the news. Other printers who had been arrested by the order of the House were also similarly let off, and the captors charged with assault and false imprisonment. Alderman Wilkes declared the arrests by the order of the House illegal and subversive of the liberties of the City of London, inasmuch as a Speaker's warrant could not be executed within its boundaries without the endorsement of a City Magistrate. The Lord Mayor and an Alderman were then summoned to the House, and the former producing the Charter granted to the City of London by Edward III. contended that it exempted the citizens from any law process being served upon them but by their own officers, and that he and the Aldermen were bound by the oath to defend the privileges and liberties which the City enjoyed. The House began to solemnly consider the

question, when a messenger announced that a tumultuous mob was outside, insulting and impeding the members on their way in. The House got excited, and resolved that the acts of discharging Miller out of custody, signing the warrant against the messenger, and holding him to bail, were each and severally breaches of privilege. Eventually it imprisoned the Lord Mayor. But the City of London did not quietly submit to the imprisonment of their Chief Magistrate; the whole community raised its voice against the arbitrary proceedings, and the Commons as they marched out of the House were received with shouts. One of the messengers of the House who had arrested a printer was tried for assault, convicted and imprisoned for two months. The House was powerless to put down this emphatic display of public feeling; and it bore its humiliation and shame in silence, never again attempting to interfere with the liberty of printing its speeches.

Thus after a hard struggle the Press established its position as the acknowledged representative of the people; and like a watchful sentinel it took its place in the gallery behind the Speaker's chair. The House of Lords which had not till now admitted the right of the Press to report its proceedings, took warning by the example of the Commons; and silently conceded the point. Newspapers were now left more or less to the jurisdiction of the legal tribunals. If they published seditious or libellous things, it was recognised that the House had nothing to do with them. Newspaper men almost ceased to be brought before the Bar of the House to make their submission; and they were safer in the hands of legal tribunals who acted with greater dignity and propriety. Editors, however, were not altogether free from summary chastisement. They were liable to personal collisions with their opponents. It was necessary for them to be as skilful with the sword as with the pen. An encounter between one Captain Stoney and Mr. Bale, Editor of the *Morning Post*, is related. It was in January 1777. An offensive paragraph had appeared in the paper reflecting on the character of a lady for whom Captain Stoney felt particular regard. The Editor and the opponent met, and expostulated; and not coming to an amicable conclusion, they engaged a room in a tavern, shut the door, and furnishing themselves with pistols discharged them at each other without effect. They then drew swords; but before they could inflict wounds the door was broke open, and the combatants were rescued.

In 1777 there were seventeen Newspapers published in London. Seven of them were daily and came out in the morning, eight were tri-weekly, and only one weekly. Of the Journalists of this period, one Hugh Boyd came to India and started the *Indian Observer* at Madras in 1782 and died here two years later. Newspapers had now begun to be established in distant lands where Britons had established interest or sovereignty. In England itself the most honoured names in literature and politics were connected with the Press. Burke and Sheridan were in its ranks, and so were numerous other eminent men. It was at this time that what was to become the greatest Newspaper of the world was published. On the thirteenth day of January 1785 appeared the first number of the *Daily Universal Register*, a paper of four pages. The price of the first number was two-pence-half-penny, and the printer and proprietor was John Walter. Three years afterwards, he changed the title of the paper into *THE TIMES*, "that iron name which every morning knocks at the door of a sleeping world, and bids it, in a voice of thunder, awake!" At that time the paper gave no indications of its future greatness and power. It no way equalled several of the papers of that time. Its circulation a century ago, in 1803, did not exceed 1,000 copies a day. *The Morning Post* circulated 4,500, and no other paper exceeded 3,800.

The *Times* had its early struggles and misfortunes like other papers; for while Parliament had given up, for a time, its persecution of the Press, private individuals waged a war on their own account, when they were attacked in its columns. The *Times* following the example of its contemporaries began to freely and boldly criticise public men and measures; and this landed it in the Courts. In 1781 Walter was criminally prosecuted for some strictures on the Duke of York, and sentenced to pay 50*l*, be imprisoned for one year, and stand in the pillory for one hour, besides giving securities at the end of his term of imprisonment. In the next year Walter was prosecuted for two libels on the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, and one on the Duke of Clarence. Walter was thereupon brought up in custody from prison where he was undergoing his former punishment, and was again fined and sent to jail for another year. About this time the income from newspapers was not much, the *Morning Chronicle* alone enjoying an income varying from six to ten thousand pounds per annum. The Fourth Estate counted at this time among its members men of great ability, of honour and high repute, as well

as some disreputable personages. Of one of the latter description it is recorded that he was "a man of meagre education but great taste, not only gross and sensual in the matter of wine and woman, but refined in regard to literature and art." We cannot say how much of the liberty of the Press in England is due to the low reckless people. It is not the better placed, better educated and the more respectable that always defy persecution, that laugh at the prison and the pillory, but the men who have yet to achieve a name and distinction and who have no high connections or associations to induce in them a feeling of delicacy about dangerous discomfitures in fighting men in power. We believe, therefore, that but for the reckless and audacious class who furnished recruits to the Press in its earlier days, it could have hardly established itself as a power, as one of the estates of the realm, within so short a time.

(To be continued.)

PAY AND STATUS OF HIGH COURT JUDGES.

WITH reference to the retirement of Sir V. Bhashyam Aiyengar from the Madras High Court Bench in obedience to the new Age Rule, a certain amount of noise has been raised both in Parliament and in this country. The strict application of the rule in the case of the distinguished Judge has been viewed from two different standpoints. While certain sections of people in this country have desired an evasion of the rule subject to which Sir Bhashyam Aiyengar was appointed to the bench, others have seriously objected even to the accidental extension of his term of office by six months. While on the one hand it is urged that his services are too valuable to be lost to the public by the operation of an inexorable age rule, on the other it has been contended that it will be a serious blow to the independence of High Court Judges if they are made to depend upon the good will of the Government or the Secretary of State for any exceptional indulgence or favour in disregard of a well defined rule. The latter contention has, indeed, great force. A man must be a Judge of the High Court either for a previously fixed period or for life. He should not have the favour of an extension of service dangled before him while performing his high judicial duties. Although the ideal conception of independence associated with the position of a High Court Judge is not always realised, nothing ought to be done by rules or regulations to engender a feeling of dependence of any kind in one occupying that office. He must have no favour to look to, no act of exceptional indulgence to be expected. This seems to have been recognised by the Secretary of State himself when he sanctioned the new rule; for in his despatch to the Government of India Lord George Hamilton clearly stated that he "did not think it would be expedient, in the case of a High Judicial Officer like a Judge of the High Court, to admit the possibility of making an exception to the rule of retirement on attaining the age limit, and it should therefore be understood that no relaxation of the rules is practicable."

In these circumstances, the extension for six months was itself an extraordinary departure, and rightly provoked indignant

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criticism in certain quarters. Nevertheless it is natural to feel a regret that a Judge of Sir Bhashyam Aiyengar's capacity and attainments should be lost to the bench at a time when he is able to do full justice to his duties. To himself personally a judgeship is not a very great thing. Many other men of his position at the bar would not have cared to accept it. He occupied the highest position and enjoyed the largest income in the profession. He had received distinctions such as had never before fallen to a Vakil. He was the first Vakil to be made an Advocate-General, the first member of the local Bar to receive a knighthood. He is not very much greater by having been a Judge, nor better by having to give up his practice at the Bar. Worse than all, he accepted the office at a time of life when he could not hope to retain it for more than two years, and the prospect before him after that period was either retirement from active life or resumption of practice at the bar.

Still he preferred to become a Judge. The truth is that he had early set his heart on the High Court bench. A High Court judgeship was ever his highest aim, and time and success and distinction did not diminish its value in his eyes. So far for Sir Bhashyam himself. But to the High Court itself and to the general public his appointment was of infinite value. He added to the bench great ability and great legal acumen; he undoubtedly towered over most of his colleagues; and we cannot help regretting that he was not allowed to continue longer in his high position.

We admit that a rule is made to be observed, and not to be broken; and certainly the very first case that arose after the new rule was framed could not have been decently made to illustrate its futility. While, therefore, we are not permitted to condemn the wisdom which enforced the rule, we may question the wisdom which made it. A High Court Judge is to continue in office under the law "during His Majesty's pleasure" or for life. The new age rule contravenes both law and practice. It was devised solely to facilitate promotion among Civilian District Judges to the High Court bench. It was applied to all to secure uniformity of status for all classes of High Court Judges. Some Civilian Judges of the Calcutta High Court had stayed unduly long; and the Senior District Judges seeing no prospect of promotion began to retire from the service. In their despatch to the Secretary of State, dated 18th February 1890, Lord Lansdowne's

Government pointed out the mischievous results which had at times ensued from Judges remaining in the service when it would have been to the interest of the public service that they should retire; and subsequently in August 1898 Lord Elgin's Government entered more fully into the circumstances then existing. They showed that among the Judges of the Calcutta High Court Mr. Justice Prinsep had remained on the bench for twenty years from August 1878. Mr. Justice Macpherson from 1885 and Mr. Justice O'Kinealy from 1883. These three had entered the Civil Service in 1855, 1856, and 1862 respectively; and although they had far exceeded 35 years' service, they still remained as High Court Judges. Of the three all but Mr. Justice Prinsep have since retired; and the latter who is now on leave has threatened to return, though he has now a total service of 45 years as a Civil servant, and of 25 years as a High Court Judge. These facts, in the opinion of Lord Elgin's Government, pointed to the necessity of limiting the period of service for Civilian Judges of the High Court; and they accordingly recommended that they should be compelled to retire like other Civilians on their completing 35 years' service, or that if they had not completed 5 years as Judges of the High Court, then on their completing the latter period as is the case with Civilians appointed as members of Council or as Lieutenant-Governors. Lord Salisbury had before this suggested that gentleman whose period of service was approaching completion should not be recommended for appointment to the High Court. To this Lord Elgin's Government replied that none of the three Judges mentioned had been appointed permanently when they were nearly completing their 35 years' service, and that it was important that a member of the Civil Service should prove his suitability for the appointment of High Court Judge by officiating in a temporary vacancy before he was permanently appointed to the office, and that it appeared to be difficult to overlook the claims for permanent appointment of Senior District Judges who had officiated in the Court with special credit and efficiency, unless they happened to be on the verge of completing their 35 years' service. Thus the Indian Government, while acknowledging the expediency of not appointing to the High Court District Judges who are on the verge of completing their 35 years' service, pointed out that that restriction alone would not remove the difficulties which arose from time to time; and accordingly recommended that a rule should be laid

down to apply to all Civilian Judges appointed thereafter that they must retire at the end of 35 years' service, or, if they had not completed 5 years as permanent Judges of the High Court, then on the completion of 5 years from date of their appointment to the High Court.

Lord George Hamilton, in dealing with the above recommendation, expressed the opinion that it would create an undesirable inequality between different Judges in the conditions of tenure of appointment if such a rule were made for Civilians alone, but that the result desired might be attained by a rule prescribing retirement, at a fixed age, applicable to Civilian and other Judges alike. His Lordship, therefore, thought it would be sufficient if notice was given to a Judge on accepting the appointment that he should resign on attaining the age of 60, and acceptance of the condition obtained and duly recorded. The 60 years' limit was fixed for the reason, as stated by His Lordship, that "as the average age at which the Civilians now enter the service is 24, thirty five years' service brings an officer to 59."

Along with this rule was also prescribed a reduced period of service to entitle a Judge to his full pension. Till 1891 the period of service had been fixed at 11½ years; but in that year it was raised to 14½ years. The sixty years' rule and the extended period of pension were incompatible inasmuch as a Judge, unless appointed about his 45th year, could not serve out the full period for pension. Even apart from this there had been dissatisfaction with the extended period. Lord George Hamilton, therefore, in accordance with the recommendation of the Government of India, restored the old rule under which 11½ years' service entitled a Judge to his full pension. Thus now unless a person is more than 48½ years of age on his permanent appointment to the High Court bench, he shall be entitled to his full pension, while one appointed after that age shall be entitled only to the half pension of £600 obtainable on Medical Certificate after 6½ years' service. This rule did not necessarily apply to Judges appointed when the old rule was in force; but it was left to their option to declare their intention of being governed by the old or the new rule as they liked. The system of graduated pension according to the length of service was thus dispensed with; and the only pensions now granted are £1,800 for the Chief Justice of Bengal, £1,500 for the Chief Justices of other High Courts, and £1,200 for Puisne Judges after a period

of 11½ years' service; or a half of the total pension after 6½ years' service.

Hence, under the new rule, a Judge appointed after he is more than 53 years and 3 months' shall be entitled to no pension, while one appointed before that age and after 48 years and six months shall get only half the amount of the full pension. There must be difficulty in getting men of the proper age to accept Judgeships under the 60 years' rule since a difference of even a month or a few days may deprive them of the right to any pension whatever. A member of the bar who becomes a Judge after he has passed the age at which he can expect even the half pension has nothing to look forward to in the evening of his life unless he chooses to resume his practice at the bar. There are obvious objections to a gentleman who has been a permanent Judge of the High Court coming down to the bar and pleading before his erst while colleagues or even before men who had been once pleading before him. But if one casts aside all delicacy in this matter, the appointing authority may become disinclined to elevate to the bench men who are likely to be left without any pension after retirement.

At the same time as the age rule was prescribed, the general question of the pay and status of the High Court Judges was also revised and the Puisne Judges of all the High Courts got an unexpected increase to their salary from Rs. 3,750 to Rs. 4,000 a month. The Puisne Judges of Calcutta were originally, and the Chief Justice is even now, paid a higher salary than the Puisne Judges and Chief Justices of other Indian High Courts. The Chief Justice of Calcutta has always been in receipt of a monthly salary of Rs. 6,000 while the Chief Justices of other High Courts have been paid Rs. 5,000 only. A similar difference prevailed even with regard to Puisne Judges. The pay of the Puisne Judges of Calcutta used to be Rs. 50,000 a year and that of the Puisne Judges of other High Courts Rs. 45,000. This difference seems to have struck the then Secretary of State for India, Lord Cranborne, who in his Financial Despatch, dated 12th February 1880, observed as follows: "The salary of a Puisne Judge of Calcutta is Rs. 50,000, and that of one in the other High Courts is Rs. 45,000. I am not aware of any sufficient reason for this difference, and shall be glad to learn whether you see any objection to the reduction of the salary of the future Puisne Judges at the Calcutta High Court to the same amount as

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that of the others which should, in all cases, be fixed at Rs. 43,200. The Government of India were divided in their opinion; but the Secretary of State siding with the minority directed that the of future European Puisne Judges of all the High Courts should be fixed at Rs. 43,200 a year, that of Native Judges being fixed at two-thirds of the pay of their European Colleagues in accordance with the rule of the Statutory Civil Service. The Calcutta High Court and the members of the Judicial Service in Bengal dissatisfied with this decision, appealed to Lord Ripon's Government; and Lord Hartington, then Secretary of State, decided that the pay of all the Judges of the High Courts should be the same, but stated that the exact salary of the Indian Puisne Judges had not been finally fixed by him. This was in August 1882. A few months later, in January 1883, Lord Kimberley again decided that there should be no distinction in the matter of salary between the Native Judges and the European Judges of the High Courts, and that the salaries of all Puisne Judges should be fixed at Rs. 45,000 a year. The Puisne Judges of the Calcutta High Court were thus brought down to the level of the Puisne Judges of other High Courts.

This did not naturally satisfy the Calcutta Judges who clamoured for the restoration of the original salary; and Sir Alexander Mackenzie, as the then ruler of Bengal, supported them. It was recognised by Lord Elgin's Government that in Calcutta it was impossible to induce Barristers of eminence to accept High Court Judgeships; for, they said, "the scale of fees paid for legal advice in India is so high that it has been impossible in the past and will in our opinion be so in the future to induce Barristers who are in the enjoyment of the best practice at the Indian bar to accept a seat on the High Court." And they feared that no change in the rates of pay they could contemplate would be sufficient to induce the best men to accept Judgeships. The salary, in order to be attractive enough, must be substantially increased; but they did not think it necessary to pay increased salary to either Indian or Civilian Judges, while to give a deferential salary to Barrister Judges would afford ground for the impression that one of the Puisne Judges is inferior or superior to another.

Accordingly they were content to recommend more favourable terms as regards pension by restoring the old period of 11½ years and giving graduated pensions according to the

length of service after a certain period to Barrister Judges alone, they being of opinion that the graduated scale was not necessary in the case of the Native or Civilian Judges. In the year 1881 the pensions of Native Judges were by the rules published by the orders of the Secretary of State fixed at Rs. 9,000 a year after 11½ years' actual service compared with £1,200 in the case of European Judges, and at Rs. 4,500 compared with £600 on Medical Certificate after 6 years and 9 months' actual service. In 1886 Lord Dufferin's Government recommended that the rules regarding the pensions of Native Judges might be assimilated to those which applied to their European Colleagues, and although Lord Kimberley was unable to accept their recommendation, the concession was made subsequently in 1889 by Lord Cross in connection with the recommendations of the Public Service Commission.

In 1891 again the pension rules were modified and the period of service extended to 14½ years. At this time Lord Cross raised the question whether the maximum pension of all Puisne Judges to be appointed thereafter should not be fixed at £1,000 a year, and the pensions of the Chief Justices should not be reduced to £1,500 for the Chief Justice of Bengal and £1,200 for the Chief Justices of other Courts. Lord Lansdowne's Government agreed to these proposals. But Lord Cross, after consultation with the Lord Chancellor, determined not to reduce the amount of the full pension, but extended the period of service from 11½ to 14½ years, with the attraction of graduated pensions after an actual service of 10 years.

This did not prove satisfactory, and, as we have said, the clamour of the Calcutta people led to a reconsideration of the matter by Lord Elgin's Government who recommended the reduction of the period of pension to the old limit of 11½ years and a graduated scale of pension before that period to Barrister Judges alone. There is, in our opinion, they remarked, "much to be said in favour of the view that Civilian Judges of the High Court should not be eligible for a higher pension than that admissible to those members of the service who attain the highest executive posts of Lieutenant-Governor, Members of Council or Chief Commissioner of a Province, but we are not prepared to recommend the abolition of the maximum pension in the case of Civilian or Native Judges."

It was thus that Lord George Hamilton came to deal with the whole question and arrive at the arrangements now in force. His Lordship definitely came to the conclusion that "it is not possible to make a distinction between the Puisne Judges of the different High Courts in India, and that any increased advantage which it may be thought necessary to grant should be applicable to all alike." Nor was he able to accept the proposal that differential treatment should be applied to Judges of the High Court according as they are recruited from the Bar of the United Kingdom on the one hand, and from the Civil Service, the Indian or Native Bar, or the Provincial Judicial Service on the other; for he said that "any such difference would lead to a feeling of dissatisfaction among those who are placed in an inferior position, and thus tend to disturb the harmony of the Courts besides being inconsistent with the decision given by Lord Cross in announcing the decision of His Majesty's Government upon the Report of the Public Service Commission." His Lordship therefore decided to treat all Judges alike, and accordingly increased the salary of Puisne Judges all round to Rs. 4,000, reduced the period of service for full pension to 11½ years, and made it obligatory on all Judges appointed in future to retire on the completion of 60 years of age. The matter is not likely to be re-opened until after a considerable period; but we fear that the age rule may cause difficulty in finding men of

HISTORY OF THE TRADE OF ANCIENT INDIA.

(Continued).

CHAPTER VI.

TRADE WITH CHINA.

THE early history of Chinese commerce remains yet to be written. We are not however without a hope in rearing up a new structure from the few materials we have access to. Events in other countries cast side-lights on the movements of that colossal Empire; and all the rays combined afford "a search-light strong enough to dispel the gloom" that hovers over that vast and unexplored region and reveal the landmarks in its trade history. The opening up of China to foreign trade is bound to set enquiry into motion. The day may not be far distant when research would be directed towards that country and bring to light events in its past now shrouded in obscurity.

43. The foreign intercourse of China has been traced to very remote antiquity. It dates so far back as 2000 B.C. The Chinese assert that Tayu, who was the founder of the Hiaki dynasty and who flourished in 2205 B.C. was the first to introduce the art of ship-building.* Under the Tsin dynasty (248-207 B.C.) the fame of the Chinese Empire had spread far and wide. Tsin-che-hwang-te, the second king of this dynasty, has the glory of having given his name to the Empire.† Some suppose that the Jews settled in China in 249 B.C. But more authentic information fixes their introduction in the latter half of the first century of the Christian Era. They numbered originally some 70 families scattered over Peking and several other cities. Their descendants were traced at Calicongfu in the 17th century. It is said that they came from Siyu—the west country. Their Hebrew language betrayed

* Gray's China (Vol. II, p. 246).

† The name Tsin, the patrimonial territory of Che-hwang-te, during his reign was applied by foreigners to the Empire. When he had pushed his conquests as far as the trading ports of Cochin-China, the natives of the Malay Islands in their commercial visits to those ports became acquainted with that name. Not having the sound *ts* in their language they pronounced the name China appending the final *a*. In like manner the Hindus who came in touch with China about the same time called it by that appellation. (Thornton's Hist. of China, p. 255).

evident signs of corruption from the introduction of Persian words. They were employed in agriculture and trade. They had cultivated learning with success. Some of them had been highly honoured with the imperial favour and had attained the rank of Mandarins. One inscription of the year 1515 A.D. praises the Jews for their integrity and fidelity in agricultural pursuits, in traffic, in the magistracy and in the army and in their strict adherence to their own religious rites and ceremonies; it assures them of the Emperor's high esteem.*

44. Except, however, for a few shreds of references, we have no information whatever as to the courses into which trade was then flowing until we come to the days of the Roman Empire. Long before the Greeks and Romans had explored the trade routes to India, the merchants of Armenia, Persia and Turkestan were engaged in the land trade between China and Europe across the desert of Gobi and the plains of Central Asia. Silk was the staple of this trade. When Rome first got a taste of this Oriental luxury, the import of silk was in the hands of the Phœnicians, who interweaving the silk with flaxen thread dealt it out to the merchants of Rome. During two centuries of Roman civilisation the silk apparel was the much-prized monopoly of Roman ladies, but in an effeminate age this precious stuff, of which one pound sold for 12 ounces of gold, was worn by the male population as well. Virgil is the most ancient writer to allude to the "soft wool" which was combed from the trees of Seres (China). The love of luxury which characterised the tastes of Roman ladies did not escape the satire of Pliny. Writing about the year 79 A.D., he says, "The first race then encountered are the Seres (Chinese), so famous for the fleecy products of their forests. This pale floss which they find growing on the leaves, they wet with water, and then comb out, furnishing thus a double task to our women-kind in first dressing the threads and then again weaving them into silk fabrics. So has toil to be multiplied; so have the ends of the earth to be traversed; and all, that a Roman dame may exhibit her charms in transparent gauze."†

As soon as the Romans extended their sway over Western Asia, and came in touch with the merchants trading with China they established direct relations with them for the purchase of

* History of the Jews, (Family Library), Vol. III, pp. 163-164.

† Trans in Yule's Cathay, Vol. I., CLIV.

silk. The Romans who visited the fairs of Armenia and Nisibin took delivery of the silk and passed it on to Europe. The cities of Samarakand and Bokhara in Turkestan were advantageously situated to serve as emporiums between the eastern and the western world. The Sogdian caravans travelled through the wilderness of Gobi, till they reached the province of Shen-se in China. Up to this day commerce flows in this route, but the gains are less. Ptolemy (Circa 158 A.D.) makes mention of this trans-Asiatic route which in his day was said to run along what was called the *Stone-Tower*.

45. The continual wars between the Romans and the Persians put a stop to this traffic. In order to escape the raids of the Tartar robbers and to explore a better road which might exempt the merchants from the heavy exactions of the Persian tyrants, the caravans bearing the silk from China travelled over Tibet and came down either the Indus or the Ganges and awaited in the ports of Guzerat and Malabar the annual fleets of the West. Distinct reference is made to this Indian route in the *Periplus Maris Erythraee* which says that from the country of *Thin* "raw silk and silk thread and silk stuffs are brought overland through Bactria to *Barygaza* (Baroach), as they are on the other hand by the Ganges river to *Lyimrice* (Malabar)." Ptolemy also testifies to the existence of an Indian route which, he says, goes through Palimbothra (Patna). In a subsequent chapter, we shall find occasion to sketch out in greater detail the northern land routes across the mountain passes of the Himalayas and the Hindu-kush. At present we have only to bear in mind that by these routes India was first opened up to Chinese trade.

46. The Chinese were not long in cutting out a new and more expeditious route by sea. They repaired with their vessels to Ceylon, an island familiar to their Geographers by the name of *Seih-lan* or *Kun-lun*. It is hard to fix the date of this great discovery of ancient navigation. In 166 A.D. an embassy was despatched by the Roman emperor Marcus Antoninus to the Chinese emperor Yan-hi *by way of Egypt*.† It is probable that this embassy travelled by sea to China, but it gives us no sure clue to such an inference, because it might as well have proceeded by one of the land routes across the Indian frontier. Nor do we find any mention of this sea route in the writings of the European Geographers and travellers of the time. The evidence

• (Gutzlaff, Vol. 2, p. 196.)

† Auber's China, p. 42.

available points to its establishment in the 4th century. The first intercourse is ascribed to the time of the Eastern Tsin dynasty (317—420 A.D.). The island of Ceylon was then known to the Chinese by the name *Sze-tsze-kwo** signifying literally "Kingdom of Lions" which is also a rendering of the Sanskrit "*Sinhala*." It may also be gathered from Fa Hian's travels that communication by sea was kept up between India and China towards the close of the 4th century.

47. As we proceed in our investigation we come again in the wake of the rivalry between the Persians and the Romans for the trade of the East, and here we light upon an important landmark of trade history. Though baffled in their blackmailing career by the diversion of the silk trade towards India, the Persians carried the combat for supremacy to the Indian waters where they contested the trade of the highways across India. They were not slow to take advantage of the explorations of the Roman merchants and mariners. By the end of the 4th century the tide of Persian immigration had set in. Missionaries and merchants came in rapid succession and made vigorous efforts, the one to extend the "vineyard of the Lord" and the other to acquire a share in the commerce of India and China. The competition must have told against the Romans; it appears that the Romans were again driven out to sea to seek yet another channel in which to trade with China free from the harassing influences of their rivals. For, about this time, Ceylon became the centre of trade between China and the west. On the one hand Buddhism had brought the Chinese into contact with this island, on the other the vicissitudes of commercial enterprise had landed the anxious Roman mariner on its shores. Ceylon thus became the meeting place of the adventurous merchants of the Roman and the Chinese Empires. From Cosmos Indicopleustes (6th century) we learn that *Taprobane* (Ceylon) midway between China on the East and the Persian Gulf on the west had become from its situation a great staple of trade, that into it were imported the silk of China and the precious spices of the Eastern countries, which were conveyed thence to all parts of India and Persia and the Arabian Sea. This evidence leads us to believe that the Romans were pursued by the Persians even as far as Ceylon, and were ousted from their emporiums therein. For the Roman merchants do not find a place in his description of that island.

• Thornton's History of China.

No sooner had the Romans lost their hold on the trade of the east than they began to feel its effects nearer home. Silk from being a luxury had now become a *sine qua non* of elegance. The supply of silk was cut off and the lucrative trade in it was brought to an instant standstill. When Justinian took in hand the reins of the Roman Empire the question of the supply of silk had already loomed into a problem. In order to deliver his subjects from the raids of the Persians, Justinian tried to wrest a portion of the silk trade. Two Persian monks employed as missionaries in India came to his rescue at this critical time. They had made a long sojourn in Ceylon and from thence had ventured as far as China to learn the art of silk manufacture. Equipped with a knowledge of the art they returned to Constantinople where they acquainted the Emperor with what they had learnt. Encouraged by liberal promises the monks repaired to China. School boys are familiar with the stratagem of the hollow bamboo stick in which the eggs of the silk-worm were conveyed by them to Europe and how afterwards the rearing of the silk-worm spread in Greece, Italy and Sicily.

48. In the foregoing paragraphs, ages of Chinese history have been traversed without bringing home to him more than a very faint idea of the extensive trade which China must have carried on with India and other countries during this long spell. We have had only some glimpses into the unravell'd past. What, during this early period, was the attitude of the Chinese towards foreign commerce? The Chinese of to-day are anything but a commerce-loving people. But the present is not indeed a safe standard by which to measure the past. An Empire that extended its boundaries to the farthest limits of the Asiatic continent, that sent diplomatic missions to the Rulers of Europe, and guided the footsteps of its religious instructors to the shrines of Buddha in distant Ceylon, that was drawn upon for the supply of the rarest luxuries by the civilised world, would be ill-judged by the eccentricities of the degenerate, narrow-minded and crafty celestial of to-day who would fain shut his door to the "hateful Fan-quis" to be left alone in his idle but contented poverty. The Chinaman of old was very different from his progeny now. He belonged to an enterprising and mercantile race which, when in its youthful vigour, pushed its efforts in every direction to secure an expensive foreign trade. In course of time, however,

a wealthy and ease-loving class of Mandarins soon grew up, who sought safety from foreign aggression by keeping the foreigner out of Chinese soil in defiance of the interests of the trading population. As ideals of exclusiveness gained ground in Chinese counsels, attempts were frequently made to suppress foreign trade which brought the children of Han into closer contact with barbarians. But the Chinese merchants have always found means to evade the vigilance of their rulers. For long ages their mercantile instincts prevailed in face of the decrees of the paternal Government to stifle them.

49. Having traced the beginnings of Indo-Chinese commerce we now take up its history at a time when it has more or less established itself. Its history falls into three distinct periods:— (1) from the 4th to the 9th century, (2) from the 9th to the 13th century, and (3) from the 13th to the 15th century. Evidence from all sources goes to show that commercial intercourse between India and China was maintained during the first period, that it then slackened to revive again during the third period, which brings us very near the history of modern times. Fortunately, the material which is accessible to us, lends itself to a lucid exposition under these outlines.

50. *The first period (4th to 9th century A.D.)* This period may be aptly called one of Chinese expansion—one of those fruitful seasons in the lifetime of a great nation, when, under the beneficent rule of a succession of great kings or under the influence of liberal institutions, the growth of national resources receives a healthy impetus and the country emerges from an inactive and dormant state into an all absorbing activity and a vigorous career. The latent forces break out in a tidal wave of expansion and work off their exuberance by going forth in search of fresh fields and new adventures. Statesmanship in our days brings out forcibly the features of such a development of China in the expressions "Yellow wave," and "yellow peril" with the difference, however, that centuries ago it was the movement of an advancing race, while in our more civilised days it gives cause for alarm. The palmy days of the Celestial Empire belong to the history of the past. The degeneracy of centuries has now brought the country to a chronic state of decay and to the verge of dismemberment. To let loose upon the world 300 millions of this vile race, so long kept penned within the Great Wall, would be a stroke of policy attended with considerable risk to the peace of the world.

Naturally therefore are the Great Powers uneasy about the future of this Eastern Colossus. But to gain an insight into Chinese History during the long stretch of years through which our investigation runs, the reader must as a first step disabuse his mind of his impressions of modern China and its people.

51. During the 4th and 5th centuries of the Christian Era, the way was paved for territorial and commercial expansion. Fresh fields were explored by land. A new route to India was discovered by sea. A great deal of energy was put forth by the Chinese in their diplomatic intercourse with the neighbouring states. Their ambassadors were seen now and again making their way to distant kingdoms carrying peace and war in the folds of their silken robes and demanding allegiance to the "Ruler of the World." With conquest went commerce. The commercial awakening in China was far reaching in its effects. We have already noticed the causes that led to the rivalry between Rome and Persia for supplying themselves with the silk of China, how as trade increased and rivalry became keener the trans-Asiatic highways of commerce were diverted to India; and how about the 4th century the Chinese found their way to Ceylon and met there the Roman and Persian merchants from the West. Early in the 7th century, China had begun to regain that influence over the states of Central Asia which it exercised in the prosperous days of the Hans. Under Taitsing of the Tang dynasty (627—650 A.D.), the frontiers of the Empire were carried to the Bolor and even beyond it as far as Persia. Chinese camps were scattered over the entire territory which came under the paramount power of the Emperor. Tribute was exacted from the feudatory states. An effective sway was thus established over almost the entire length of the Asiatic continent. India too had her share of Chinese suzerainty. For well over two centuries political intercourse was maintained without a break between the two countries. In the middle of the 7th century however their relations were broken. The rupture resulted in the conquest of Northern India by the Chinese who were assisted in the campaign by the kings of Tibet and Nepal.* It is said that 58 Indian cities surrendered to the foe, while the king himself was made prisoner and taken to the Chinese capital. For a whole century India remained under foreign yoke. It is unlikely, however, that the overlordship was anything more than a pre-

* (Colonel Yule's Cathay, Vol. I, p. LXVII).

text for the collection of the tribute. For when the loss of Holang, the territory stretching between China and India, severed the two countries, the political relation came to a standstill. The Indian rulers ceased to send tribute and asserted their independence. Nothing was again heard of Chinese sway over India.

52. Under the influence of political power, Chinese trade had made its inroads into all the countries, overland and maritime, between the Levant and the Pacific. India by its position between China and the west afforded ample facilities for the sea-trade. The times were also peculiarly favourable, as during this period, several forces were at work to draw closer the bonds holding the two countries together. They directly or indirectly helped the cause of commerce. They were chiefly, (1) the spread of Buddhism, (2) the Arab trade, and (3) the influence of Christianity. We shall examine the extent of each of these factors and in what way each tended to stimulate the growth of commerce.

53. *The spread of Buddhism.* As early as the 3rd century B.C., Missionaries from the illustrious King Asoka went forth into Central Asia and China preaching the religion of Buddha. In the course of a few centuries Buddhism established itself as the national religion of the Chinese. This Buddhist colony looked up to India as the fountain head of its religious tenets. It was the sacred land of its great apostle. As the life of Buddha receded into the past, a halo of sanctity gathered around everything connected with that life. Pilgrims began to pour in from the surrounding countries to do honour to the shrines of the apostle. Missionaries from China came to seek religious instruction. On their return they not only carried with them the sacred books from India, but also bore tidings of the enormous resources of the country. The travels of Fa Hian in 400 A.D. and Hsien Tsang (629-645 A.D.) belong to this period. Religious intercourse brought in its turn political complications, and the reduction by the Chinese of the recalcitrant powers. Events in Ceylon illustrate this process. Being the seat of Buddhistic shrines and learning, Ceylon became the favourite resort of Chinese monks and pilgrims. As early as the 6th century the kings of Ceylon acknowledged themselves vassals of China. Ere the lapse of another two centuries, we witness foreign merchants arriving in China by sea bearing with them large quantities of precious articles from the "Kingdom of Lions," to be presented

to the Emperor on behalf of Shiloshikya their king. No less than four such embassies from this island are recorded during the 8th century.*

54. *Arab trade.* As soon as the Arabs were reclaimed from their barbarism by the Kaliphs, they extended their conquests, their religion and their commerce in all directions. They led the way in most of the discoveries of the time; they cultivated the sciences which they had found among their vanquished foes; and they proved more enterprising in the maritime exploits than even the Greeks and Romans. They were not long to find their way to the shores of China. As early as the 5th century, ships from India and China were constantly to be seen moored in front of the quays of Hira, a city lying a few miles south-west of ancient Babylon. The Euphrates was then navigable as far as that city.†

55. The chief port in China with which the Arabs traded was Canton. They established a factory at this port. Their settlement increased in numbers so rapidly that in the year 758 A.D. they were strong enough to attack and pillage the city.‡ They then set fire to it and fled to their ships. In the narratives of Arab travellers are also mentioned *Khanfu* (probably the modern Hang-chau) and *Cumdan* (Nanking?). The latter was a splendid city and the residence of the monarch. *Khanfu* was the port most frequented by Arab navigators. A large foreign population was resident in *Khanfu*, composed of Arabs, Christians, Jews and Guebers (a sect from Persia). Public worship was conducted by each community without hindrance or molestation. The Mussulmans had a Kazi at their settlement. Trade was considerable, but was subjected to rather severe restrictions and exactions. When a foreign ship arrived, the officials took charge of the cargo and locked it up; it was not placed at the disposal of the owners until all the ships of the season had come and a duty of 30 per cent. levied. If the king wanted anything for himself the highest price was paid in ready money.§

56. We derive from Chinese annals of the seventh and eighth centuries definite information as to the course followed by

* (Yule's Cathay, Vol. 1, p. LXXX).

† (Colonel Yule's Cathay, Vol. 1).

‡ (Reinard's Relations i, p. 64).

§ (Suleiman's voyages to India and China; Yule's Cathay, i, p. CV).

Chinese junks on their voyage from the port of Canton to the banks of the Euphrates. They touched at several ports in Cochin-China, and the Moluccas, crossed the Bay, rounded Ceylon; they passed in front of *Molai* (Malabar), after which they coasted ten small kingdoms towards the north-west and after two days' sail to the north-west across the Gulf of Cambay, they reached *Tiyu* (Diu). Ten days further voyage carried them past five small kingdoms to another *Tiyu* (not identified) near the *Great River Millan* or *Sintou* (Indus). In twenty days more they came to the frontiers of another country where there was a great light-house in the sea; one day more brought them to Siraf and thence they set sail towards the mouth of the Euphrates.* It is also supposed that ships from China used to visit Aden as well as the banks of the Indus and the Euphrates. But this point has not yet been established on sure evidence. The return journey took much the same course. The following account appears in Renandot's *Relations of the voyages of the two Arabian travellers of the ninth century*:—"Most of the Chinese ships take in their cargo at Siraf where also they shipped their goods which came from Bassora and other ports. When ships have loaded in Siraf they make sail for Maskat. From here they took their departure for the Indus and first they touch at Kan-Cammali, and from Maskat to this place is a month's sail with the wind aft. Kan-Cammali is a frontier place and the chief arsenal in the province of the same name, and here the Chinese ships put in and are in safety. Then they proceed eastwards." Kan-Cammali is undoubtedly the city of Quilon which we know was the most important emporium of Chinese trade in India. When engaged on this extensive ocean trade Quilon afforded a safe harbourage to the larger Chinese ships. Ceylon also came in for a large share of this ocean trade during the same period. The traffic between India and China appears to have been considerable, because towards the close of the ninth century strangers from India are spoken of as having been established in the eastern provinces of China.

57. *Christian Missions.*—During the first period of Chinese commerce with India, the efforts of Christian Missionaries contributed perhaps as much as any other factor to bring the two countries in touch with one another. Just as the Arabs were the

* (Yule's Cathay, Vol. I, p. LXXXIX).

pioneers of the west to trade with distant China, so the Missionaries of the Chaldean Church were the first to bear the tidings of the Gospel to the shores of the Yellow Sea. The traditions of the Eastern Churches take back the preaching of the Gospel in China to the very infancy of Christianity. Not only Saint Thomas but also the Apostle Bartholomew is spoken of as having preached the Word of God to India and China. Whatever the validity of these evidences of the early spread of Christianity, there is not a shadow of doubt that the seventh century saw its acceptance on a large scale in parts of India and China. The Nestorian Christians were firmly established on the West Coast of the Indian peninsula before then. The Nestorians of those days were inspired by a strong apostolic spirit, so that from India they soon pushed their way into China. The Syrian Metropolitan of Malabar always subscribed himself the Metropolitan of all Hindustan and China. In the year 720 A.D. China was constituted a Metropolitan See. The Ecclesiastical annals, the accounts of Arab travellers and the evidence of Chinese records are consistent in their testimony of the large extent of Christianity in China. The attitude of the Chinese in those days towards strangers and foreign religions was very different from what it is in modern times. They did not look down upon the foreigners with suspicion and contempt. On the contrary they were tolerant and liberal: they tried to cultivate friendship with them and allowed them to settle in the country and to openly practise their religion. Nay, they even stimulated the spread and the development of Christianity and Mahomedanism. Several modern writers on China, who claim to have lived among its people and known their character and tendencies, seem to have been carried away by their impressions of modern China in stamping upon the entire history of the country the stigma of religious intolerance and an inherent contempt of foreign political or commercial intercourse. But the history of bygone days has a very different story to tell. The monument of Singanfu bearing date 781 A.D. will speak for itself. The following facts are brought to light by this remarkable fossil of history. In the year 635 A.D. Olopan a missionary from the empire of Tathsin (Rome) arrived in China bringing with him sacred books and images; these books were translated into Chinese; his doctrine was approved by public authority, and permission was

* (Yule's Cathay, Vol. I, p. LXXXIX).

given to preach it publicly. In the year 638 Emperor Taitsung issued a decree in favour of the new doctrine and commanding the construction of a church in one of the public places of the capital, a portrait of the Emperor being placed in the Church. Imperial patronage was extended to Olopan and his doctrine also under the reign of Kaotsung (650—683); Christianity spread in the empire; but at the close of the 7th century Buddhism established a preponderance and succeeded for a time in suppressing the new doctrines. Under Hewantsung (713—755), however, the church recovered its prestige and a new missionary called Kiho appeared; the successive Emperors Sutsung, Taitsung, and Tetsung who ruled from 756 to 783 continued each in his turn to favour the Christians.

Such then is the sketch of the course of Christianity as presented by the mural slab unearthed in Singanfu: a spectacle very different indeed from what one would expect to arrive at by judging of the past by the measure of Chinese standards of to-day. The Christians were however persecuted about the year 713 A.D.; but persecution however fierce does not seem to have extinguished the zeal of the Nestorians, for they soon gloried in having a royal convert among the Khans of Tartary, the celebrated Prestor John. When the mighty Emperor Chengish Khan entered on his victorious career, he subdued the rebels and took the leaders prisoners. He placed seventy cauldrons upon fires and seventy of the most guilty chiefs were cast headlong into the boiling water. His arms were first directed against the Christian monarch Prestor John, Khan of the Keraites, whom he put to death and whose silver-encased skull he used as a drinking cup. When Marco-Polo visited Central Asia he found there one of the descendants of Prestor John.*

58. That commerce was a favourite avocation with the Christians in China is apparent from the fact that they formed a strong element in the foreign population of Khanfu, then a place renowned for its trade. We have already noticed that the Jews were among the settlers of Khanfu, as also that strangers from India were established in the eastern provinces of the Empire. Now, we know that Jews had settled in large numbers at Cranganore and the adjoining ports of Malabar, and we have also noticed the progress of Christianity on the West Coast with its centres at Cranganore and Quilon. Quilon has also figured as the only

* (Gutzlaff, Vol. II, p. 103).

port in Malabar touched by Chinese ships on their ocean trade with the west. It does not require a very wide stretch of the imagination to infer from the above considerations that Christianity in its career from India to China bore with it the prospects of a commercial intercourse between the two countries. We shall see presently how just as Christianity and commerce developed in China side by side, they also went hand in hand in their decline, and finally in their total extinction. The process by which commerce and religious proselytism act and react on one another is well illustrated in the establishment of the Portuguese in India and with less success in China. The chartered merchant-ships issuing from the shores of Portugal had on board Missionaries sailing under the protection of the national flag, destined for the east. The British Empire in India does not present these phenomena to any marked degree. Modern conditions of political or commercial expansion stand on a different footing altogether. A purely missionary spirit underlay the movements of society during the earlier centuries of the Christian Era. A time however came when the religious undercurrent had spent itself out and yielded place to more venal pursuits. But the change was gradual. At first conquests and expeditions were undertaken on behalf of religion, and proselytism paved the way for commercial intercourse. The history of the world during the first ten centuries after Christ is mainly made up of religious wars. Before the lapse of another five centuries we find commerce and conversion pursued side by side. The Spanish and Portuguese Empires proceeded on this basis. The enormous gains which their adventures fetched induced other nations to launch on commercial enterprise. What was in early days a purely religious undertaking had in course of time degenerated into money speculation. Foreign adventurers set out not for love of religion, but for the acquisition of wealth. The religious motives which once guided the foreign policy of states have now gone into the background, if they have not quite died out, while the gains of commerce have come conspicuously to the front.

• 59. At the close of the 10th century, the foreign commerce of China had ceased. From this time till the dawn of the 13th century, every trace of it has disappeared. History furnishes scarcely any material wherewith to span this obscure interval in Chinese trade relations. But the clue is easily got at. The same causes that helped the growth

of that trade now bring about its extinction. At this time the entire east is seized by a general paralysis. The days of Egyptian, Greek and Roman activity are forgotten; Buddhism is for ever banished from the shores of India; the feeble trade relations of Persia and Arabia are snapped; the religious proselytism of the Nestorians slackens in its career, and Christianity is overpowered in the east by persecution. In this distracted period Mahomedanism asserts itself by the fire and the sword and throws the world into a tumult. Nations are landed into one of those convulsions of nature which carry with them universal destruction and undo in a short space of time the work of ages. The blighting influences of this period severed all the ties which held India and China together.

• 60. We have already referred to the extinction of Buddhism in India. It slackened the strongest bond of union between it and China. We have also noticed the rupture in the political relations between China and the feudatory kingdoms in India by the loss to the former of the intervening territory (*supra* para. 51). With the growing influence of the followers of Mahomet in Southern Europe and Central Asia, the Arab settlers in China began to be overbearing in their conduct and a source of annoyance to the Mandarins. In the year 758 the Emperor Satsung being hard pressed by a powerful rebel, called to his aid Arab auxiliary troops from the Chinese frontier on the west. These troops became so unmanageable that they broke out in open mutiny, pillaged Loyang, the eastern capital of China, and on their way to embark for the west they burnt and sacked the port of Canton. From this time the followers of Mahomet became a thorn in the side of the Chinese Empire. They looked hateful to Chinese eyes. The peace of the country could not be secured until they were banished from its shores. Matters came to a head in the year 877 A.D. when a revolution took place. An officer named Baichu joined to his banner malcontents of every description and marched against Khanfu famous as an emporium of Arab trade. He became master of the city and put all the inhabitants to the sword. There perished on this occasion 120,000 foreigners consisting of Mahomedans, Jews, Christians and Guebers (a sect from Persia). The retaliation provoked by the misdeeds of Mussulmans fell on all foreigners alike. The mulberry trees were cut down and the silk trade began to fail. The whole empire was thrown into a state of anarchy. There arose many un-

just dealings with the merchants who traded thither; they extorted from them what was not due; they seized their effects and behaved towards them contrary to law. Despairing of all chances of trade under such hostile treatment, the merchants forsook the traffic, abandoned the place and returned in a body to their respective homes in India, Persia and Arabia.

61. Meantime Nestorian Christianity was being undermined in its own home. Severed from the bosom of the Church of Rome and smarting under her Anathemas, while Mahomedan fanaticism threatened its very existence, this Christian sect was reduced to the utmost straits. Time and adversity had taken the edge off the heresy. The missionary spirit of the early Nestorians had died out. Persecution instead of adding fresh vigour to their efforts, had smothered them. Some fell under the sword, some fled, while others practised their religion in secret. Their churches were destroyed. By the end of the 9th century Christianity was practically extinct in China. With Christianity trade was doomed. Foreigners were stamped out of Chinese soil and trade was banished from its ports as an ignoble and impious craft. The curtain falls on Chinese trade to rise again after the lapse of three centuries.

CHAPTER VII.

TRADE WITH CHINA—(Continued).

62. The 13th century discloses revived indications of commercial intercourse between India and China. Ceylon and Malabar figure again as the spheres of this renewed trade activity. Singhalese writers record imports from China at this time. In 1266 Chinese soldiers are represented as having taken service in the army of the Ceylonese King. Envoys are again seen treading their weary way between the two countries with all the paraphernalia of royal presents. Officers from the Emperor make for Ceylon to collect specimens of gems and drugs. This trade revival began with the accession of the Mongol Tartars to the throne of the Celestial Empire. Kublai Khan steps into Chinese history as the exponent of an age of regeneration. Under his enlightened rule China is again seen straining every effort to extend her influence beyond the Great Wall and regain her ancient national prestige.

63. Religion plays but a subordinate part at this stage. This revival belongs to that stage of progress in which religion goes hand in hand with commerce. The age of religious unrest has passed by. Buddhism and Hinduism have fought out their claims and fallen back upon their respective spheres. The pretensions of Mahomet's followers to the supremacy of the world have dwindled down to a more reasonable ambition; while Christianity has settled down into the slumbers of the middle ages after the exhaustion of the wars waged against the heretics and the Mahomedans. Religious zeal and bigotry having cooled down, people turn their minds to the gains of commerce. While the Venetian Republic is absorbing the trade of Europe and Western Asia, China with the advantages of its early civilisation catches the spirit of the dawning age and leads the way in the enterprise of Indian trade. Even in the "Dark Ages" Christianity went a great way in helping on the cause of commerce. The Church of Rome has never lacked that enduring vitality which has enabled it, even in its most trying times, to send succour wherever the interests of humanity and civilisation called for it. During the first period of Chinese trade the Nestorian Christians had worked to obtain a footing in China. The period of revival opens with the successes of the Catholic missions in the heart of the Mongol country.

64. Anxious to avert the dangers of repeated Tartar invasions, Pope Innocent IV sent Carpini and Rubruquis to convert the furious Tartar warriors. The Mongol Emperors viewed Christianity with a partial eye; and their good disposition tended to reconcile the Tartars with the Christian powers of Europe. In 1274 Abaka the western Khan of the Mongol empire implored the aid of the Christian princes against the Mameluk Sultan of Egypt. The same year his ambassadors were admitted at the Council of Lyons where they concluded a treaty with the Pope and the ambassadors of St. Louis and the other Christian princes. Ere long Nayan, uncle of the great Kublai, embraced Christianity. He established his sway over several cities of the Mongol Empire and was able to put into the field an army 400,000 strong, several of whom were Christians. With these he advanced against the Khan. But he lost the battle and was put to death. Kublai Khan was himself an admirer of the Church of Christ. It is said of him that at the next feast of Easter after the signal victory, he summoned all his Christian subjects to his presence.

bringing with them the Four Gospels of the Evangelists; that after causing the book to be repeatedly perfumed in a ceremonial manner, he devoutly kissed it and commanded the nobles present to do the same.* We have it on the authority of the Armenian traveller, Haiton, that Kublai with his whole house was baptised by Rubruquis, before he had established his power over China and that he willingly promised to co-operate with the Christian princes against the Saracens for the rescue of the holy sepulchre. But this story of his conversion can scarcely be reconciled with his letter to the Pope, which he is supposed to have entrusted to the care of the friars Nicolo and Maffiapolo. In this letter the Khan explained the circumstances which had come in the way of his professing Christianity, but at the same time he suggested the way the missionaries might work out the conversion of the whole of China. It was that the Pope should send out missionaries who would perform miracles so as to silence the idolators who pretended to have been endowed with supernatural powers. "When I am witness of this I shall place them (the idolators) and their religion under an interdict and shall allow myself to be baptised. All the nobility will follow my example and this will be imitated by my subjects in general† It is possible that Kublai became a Christian in his Tartar home, but when fortune placed him at the helm of the Chinese Empire he was compelled for political reasons to conceal his change of religion. In compliance with Kublai's letter, the Pope sent some zealous priests to China, but they were detained long on their way as hostilities broke out against the Mahomedans. When they arrived in China, Kublai Khan was dead. It is said that they were given a welcome reception at the Emperor's Court. But with what success their mission met has not been placed on record. Monte Corvino, a friar of the Minorite Order, went also in 1289 on a mission to the Tartar potentates from Nicholas IV. He travelled by way of Persia and India and reached the capital of China soon after the accession of Timur Khan to the throne of his grandfather Kublai in 1294. On his arrival at Peking, he built a church there. He converted the heretical Tartar Khan George. Upon his representations, new missionaries came out from

* (Gutzloff, Vol. 2, p. 106).

† (Gutzloff, Vol. 1, p. 110).

Europe. Christianity was gaining a firm footing in the country and every prospect was held out of gaining over the entire Yellow Race to the fold of Christ. But events to come will prove the futility of human calculations.

65. The above facts give us a fair insight into the character of the nation. A pagan nobility and populace that could look on without perturbation when the sovereign openly advocated the cause of Christianity may well be given credit for some enlightenment and tolerance. The little prejudice that might have lurked in the Chinese mind against foreigners and their religion must have given way before the interests of commerce which at the time had forced itself upon the world as a concern of supreme importance. Side by side with the spread of Christianity in China we find an upsurge of trade activity. Indeed, the two causes were bound to further their mutual interests. It is significant that the great emporium in India of Chinese trade happens to be the city of Quilon, a place which was fast gaining in importance as the nucleus of Catholic propagandism in India.

66. With the revival of Chinese trade in the 13th century the centre of commercial activity in Malabar shifts from Cranganore to Quilon. We are left entirely in the dark as to when exactly Cranganore lost its ancient prestige and yielded its place to Quilon, or as to the causes which brought about its downfall. We must look to the circumstances under which Quilon rose to eminence for a possible explanation of the fall of Cranganore. Is it likely that the whole episode of the decay of the one and the growth of the other might have been pivoted on the revival of Chinese trade? In the elucidation of this point we derive much light from the analysis of a principle underlying the origin and growth of trade emporiums. In a country like India, with its unlimited resources, ample facilities have been afforded for the founding of rival markets. Attracted by the wealth coming into the hands of merchant settlers and encouraged by the success attained by those who were first in the field, foreigners rushed into an Indian market with all the greed and recklessness of money-grabbing speculators and scrambled for the gains of commerce. But they have had to struggle against heavy odds. Being unable to make headway against the "good will" already secured by the older settlers and the combination to which the latter are usually driven at their approach, the eagerness of the in-

coming hordes receives a rude shock. Baffled, as they usually are in their efforts, they go in search of other markets close by or found a new one in the vicinity, but sufficiently distant not to feel the harassing effects of their opponents' rivalry. Though at a disadvantage at the start, the push, energy and daring which the pioneers of a new trade always bring to bear on their business, help them in the long run to oust from the field the older merchants before ever the latter, fattened as they are on their gains and lulled into security, become conscious of their losing ground. Steadily the new settlement gains in importance at the expense of its predecessor. At the end of the race the latter finds itself entirely outrun by the former. Not always does competition alone decide the fate of a rival settlement. What a superior mercantile genius cannot achieve is often attained by an appeal to arms. To put the matter shortly it comes to this: the gain of one is the loss of another. Throughout the period covered by the history of Indian trade the law above enunciated furnishes the clue to the origin, growth and decay of trading cities; and where historical data are wanting to explain any phenomena in the growth of such cities, the application of this law helps us to clear our way through the tangled mass of legendary lore and ill-founded tradition and to forge many a missing link in the chain of events.

67. We have seen that Cranganore, the ancient *Musiris* of the Greeks and Romans, took rank as the first emporium in India; it was the western capital of the kingdom of Kerala; it was the earliest settlement of the Christians. When however Marco Polo visited India in the 13th century, he found Quilon carrying on a flourishing trade and a large share of the Indian traffic had passed into the hands of the Chinese. Cranganore had lost her former prestige and had shrunk into an insignificant town except as the Missionary head-quarters and the scene of the rivalry of the Nestorians and the Roman Catholics. But the fall of Cranganore is shrouded in obscurity, and as thick a mist hovers over Quilon before it emerges into its sudden grandeur. Is it possible that Quilon owed its eminence to Chinese trade? We know that during the earlier period of that trade Quilon was the only port in India at which the larger Chinese ships touched. It is not improbable therefore that when they appeared again on this coast, after many a futile attempt to wrest the monopoly of trade from the Persians and the

Jews at Cranganore, they were driven to seek new markets and spotted the harbour of Quilon which was already known in the annals of Chinese trade and which, on account of its shallow opening, afforded a peculiarly well suited anchorage to their flat-bottomed junks. Having made sure of their ground in Quilon they might have waged either a tariff war or an armed conflict against their rivals at Cranganore and exterminated its trading population. Any information, derived from research or from tradition, throwing some light on the events in Malabar during this obscure period, would be a valuable aid towards verifying the truth of the above inferences. Till then our speculations cannot be given a place in history.

68. Even before the Chinese revival Quilon was a city of no little importance. It finds a place in the writings of the Roman and Greek geographers under the names of *Covalam*, *Colis* or *Colias*. *Colon* is referred to in the annals of the Christian church as the southernmost limit of the sphere of their influence in the middle of the 7th century. The Malabar era which begins with 824 A.D. takes its name *Kollam* from the same city. During the period of revival, however, Quilon takes a conspicuous place in the trade history of India. In the year 1282 envoys were sent by the king of Quilon to the Emperor of China. They proceeded to the capital by way of *Layton* (the modern Chinchifau).* The Emperor responded by despatching a mission with Yang-Tang-Pi, an officer of rank, at its head, to the king of Quilon. It is said that about this time a vast merchant fleet from parts of Malacca, Southern China and Lewchew arrived in Malabar and that many of the Chinese on board settled in the country and left descendants.† Marco Polo found Quilon carrying on a flourishing trade and its king holding sway as far as the mouth of the Tambraparni river. A roaring trade was kept up in brazil wood, indigo, ginger and its other variety known as *Columbine* ginger. Of course pepper must have been the staple of this trade. Among the imports from *Mansi* (Southern China) he mentions copper, gold and silver as also cloths of silk and gold.

69. Marco Polo also records that he found the ships going to the eastward ten times as many as those going to the west. The traffic therefore with China must have been on an enormous

* (Translation of M. Panthier).
† (Gaspar Correa's Account of the voyages of Vasco da Gama.)

scale. The size too of the Chinese merchantmen forces on us the same conclusion. The accounts handed down by travellers of this period give us a fair idea of their huge dimensions. Each of "their great ships requires at least 200 mariners. Some of them "300. They are indeed of great size, for one ship shall carry 5,000 "or 6,000 baskets of pepper—and they used formerly to be larger "than they are now."* The ship in which Odoric, the famous friar, made his voyage from India to China had 700 souls on board. Friar Jordanus relates that "the ships which they navigate to "Cathay be very big and have upon the ship's hull more than "one hundred cabins, and with a fair wind they carry ten sails." Ibn Batuta referring to their enormous size and splendid equipment observes that "on each ship four decks are constructed "and that there are cabins and public rooms for the merchants. "Some of these cabins are provided with closets and other conveniences and they have keys so that their tenants can lock "them and carry with them their wives and concubines." The mention of cabins on board for the accommodation of wives and concubines is suggestive of the fact that merchants took with them their families and often settled at the ports where they carried on their business. This fact is corroborated by the before-said account given by Gaspar Correa of the Chinese emigrant fleet which arrived in Malabar. In comparing Ibn Batuta's description with that of Marco Polo, Colonel Yule is inclined to think that the revival of trade with India, which Kublai Khan stimulated, may have in its development under his successors led to the revival also of the larger ships of former times to which Marco Polo alludes.†

70. After an uncontested monopoly of the Indian trade during two centuries, trouble began brewing for the Chinese merchants. By the end of the 13th century the Mahomedans had established their sway in Southern India. With the power and influence of the ruling sovereigns behind them, the Moor traders were achieving remarkable successes in the Indian markets. The Moor fleets gained the command of the roads in the ports of Guzerat and the Kanian. In their career southwards they came in conflict with the Chinese—who were well established in Malabar, with their stronghold at Quilon. Early in the 14th century the conflict appears to have been carried on vigorously on either side. The

* (Yule's Marco Polo, Vol. II. Ch. on Malabar).
† (Yule's Marco Polo, Vol. 2, pp. 198-199).

scene of the rivalry happens to be not Quilon but Calicut. Ibn Batuta who explored Malabar in the year 1341 A.D. describes Quilon as one of the finest cities in Malabar with magnificent markets and very wealthy merchants. But a portion of the trade had passed into the hands of the Mahomedans, who had the control of the port. Again Joseph of Cranganore in the *Novus Orbis* records the following, "The people of Cathay (the Chinese) "were known to be men of remarkable energy and formerly drove "a first rate trade at the city of Calicut. But after the lapse of a "hundred years the king of Calicut having treated them badly they "quitted that city, and returning shortly after inflicted no "small slaughter on the people of Calicut and then returned no more." These two pieces of evidence will bear some close examination. The evidence bears out the truth of the principle set forth above which regulates the growth of trade centres. Applying the law to the present case, we are able to trace the sequence of events at this turn of the tide in the fortunes of the Chinese. The trade of the latter was mainly restricted to the port of Quilon. When the Moors came in touch with the Chinese, they appear to have challenged the supremacy of the latter; but unable to dislodge them from their strongholds at Quilon, the Moors withdrew some distance towards north and set up a rival settlement at Calicut. This settlement probably diverted a great deal of the western trade from Quilon, dealing thus an effective blow to Chinese commerce. To avert the evil consequences of Moor successes, the Chinese seem to have carried the combat to Calicut itself and achieved signal success for some time. "They drove a first rate trade at the city of Calicut."* The conflict was continued with varying successes for nearly a whole century. In 1341 "a portion of the trade (at Quilon) had passed into the hands of the Mahomedans who had the control of the port." The Chinese were already losing their ground on the West Coast. They could not hold out very much longer, because the Zamorin ranged himself on the side of the Moors and the people of Malabar evidently had a weakness for the children of Islam. Thwarted at every step by the relentless rivalry of the Moors and by the hostile disposition of the local rulers the Chinese settlers found the odds too heavy against them. They abandoned all their ports in India and retraced their steps towards China..

* Joseph of Cranganore in the *Novus Orbis*.

71. The withdrawal of the Chinese from India is indeed a melancholy event. The Portuguese learnt that "the King of Calicut having treated them badly they quitted that city and returning shortly after inflicted no small slaughter on the people of Calicut and then left the shores of India to return no more."* The despatch of a grand naval expedition from China about the same time is reported in Chinese annals. In the year 1406 the Emperor commanded the celebrated warrior Ching-ho, a native of Yunnan, to go through the western ocean in order to capture his predecessor who was supposed to have escaped from the country and been hiding beyond the seas. Whereupon Ching-ho collected officers and troops to the number of 28,786 men and a great quantity of silver and treasure. He then fitted out 62 large ships each 44 *chang* (440 ft.) long and 18 *chang* (180 ft.) wide. Starting from the Looka river near Soo-Chow, they went out to sea and came first to Foo-Chow. It is said that with these war-junks, Ching-ho achieved wonderful exploits and victories at Ceylon, Sumatra and other places in the western ocean.† We have every reason to believe that the punitive expedition referred to by the Portuguese writers is the one commanded by Ching-ho.

72. Just as Quilon had attracted to itself the trade of Cranganore, Quilon was in its turn robbed of its maritime supremacy by the rival Mahomedan settlement at Calicut. In fact the introduction of the Moor element was the signal for the withdrawal of the Chinese. When in the year 1498 Vasco de Gama arrived in India, the Chinese traders had abandoned all their posts west of Sumatra: in fact there was no trace left of China's relations with India except a few of their traits in the local architecture of Malabar.‡ Nor did the Mahomedan sway over the West Coast hold out long. Though they mixed up with the native with wonderful ease and adopted the local custom they were too demoralised to make any stand against Portuguese enterprise and maritime genius. They fell an easy prey to the European foe who formed a settlement at Cochin and from that base went on harassing all those who came in their way. Their adventures and deeds of daring were not restricted to the limits of India, but the booming of the

* Joseph of Cranganore in the *Novus Orbis*.

† Heeren's *Researches in Asia*.

‡ *Ind. Antiquary*, Vol. XXX, p. 421.

"tremendously loud guns" of the "Fah-lan-ke" shook the shores of China far and near.* Between the rivalry of the Portuguese and the Moors, Quilon courted its downfall. For early in the 16th century, the massacre of a few Portuguese by the Mahomedans was avenged by the brave Don Lorenzo who bombarded Quilon and destroyed the city and its inhabitants.

S. N. SALDANHA.

* *Ind. Antiquary*, Vol. XXX, p. 441.

WHAT DOES THE RĀMAYANA REPRESENT?

RĀMAYANA is the second great epic poem of the Hindus, or it may be termed, the epic of the Solar race, in contradistinction to the first epic, the Mahābhārata, which may be styled the epic of the Lunar race of India. It may be easily imagined that none of the various texts which we now possess is exactly what was composed by the author. In the first place the poem was not originally written but sung, and changes would readily creep in so vast a composition committed to memory alone, supposing there had been no motive to alter passages. Even when it was written down, it received changes and additions from interested writers, as time went on, though not anything like to the extent which the Mahābhārata has received. This latter epic being more of human interest than the Rāmāyana was more popular and more revered by the people; consequently preachers who had a new cult to inculcate, or a poet who had a new story to tell, or the ancestor of a chief to honor, or a philosopher who had a school of philosophy to propound; all had recourse to the Mahābhārata, and added their compositions to the text as its part in order to obtain popular credit. As regards the Rāmāyana, in spite of the additions and alterations which it has received the main story is the same as what the poet originally sang. It may be generally accepted as a faithful picture of the time, when it was composed. As regards the story of the epic, which is too well known to be repeated, the question, where did the poet get it, or in other words, what does the Rāmāyana represent, has not yet been satisfactorily solved; so that the public are yet at liberty to ventilate their views on the subject.

During the early days of Sanskrit scholarship among the Europeans it was generally believed that though the epic contained most absurd and supernatural stories, yet its general outline was based on history. It was believed that Rāma, Lakshmana, and Sitā had really travelled into Southern India, where Sitā was stolen by an aboriginal king of Ceylon; that she was subsequently recovered by Rāma and his brother with the help of the neighbouring barbarous tribes and after destroying

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the aboriginal king and his kinsmen. This theory has now been abandoned as being not only not proved but impossible.

The next theory which obtained was that though the general outline is fictitious, yet in the main the Rāmāyana represents the conquest and colonization of Southern India by the Aryans. This theory has not yet been quite abandoned. But the fact that Rāma and Lakshmana and Sitā were the only Aryans in their so called conquest leaves very little doubt whether after all the poet really intended to represent the advance of Aryan civilization to the farthest South of India. Moreover, as Professor Macdonell has observed, "Rāma is nowhere described as founding an Aryan realm in the Dekhan, nor is any such intention on his part indicated anywhere in the epic."* This theory, therefore, of Aryan conquest and colonization of the South will eventually have to be given up.

The next theory about the Rāmāyana is that it is an allegory. It is based on reasons like the following:—

The name "Sitā" means "furrow-field" and Sitā was found in the field which king Janaka was ploughing. The name "Rāma" can easily be changed into "Balarāma" whose another name is "Halavrit" or the "possessor of the plough." Now, it must occur to most Europeans who know the Indian people that Indian names have generally some meaning; that the name of Sitā should mean "furrow-field" is nothing strange. Then it is more likely that the name has given birth to the story of her being found in a furrow-field than that the furrow-field has been personified into Sitā. Again, it is easy enough to change "Rāma" into "Balarāma," but it is quite as easy to convert it into Parashurāma, and then we get the battle axe instead of the plough. The whole story of the defeat of Rāvana by Rāma can no doubt be shown as an overthrow of vice by virtue, but it is a common place moral and a common place allegory, for which it was hardly worthwhile to compose a long epic. The fact is that the allegory theory is a very convenient one, and it can be made to fit many things. For instance the career of the great Napoleon can easily be turned into an allegory. The allegory theory of the Rāmāyana cannot be accepted so long as it is not established by more satisfactory arguments than are now urged in its favour. It may be noted that several European scholars have begun to discredit this theory.

* "A History of Sanskrit Literature" by Professor A. A. Macdonell, page 311.

What then does the Rāmâyana represent? Even a careless reader must have observed that there is some resemblance between the story of the Rāmâyana and that of the Iliad. There are the two brothers in both, the wife of one of whom was stolen by a foreign prince over the sea. The two brothers collect an army, besiege this prince in his capital, and after a severe struggle destroy him and his kinsmen and recover the lost wife. Then there is some resemblance between the story of the bow of Janaka and that of the bow of Ulysses. These resemblances are so slight that they do not entitle one to assume that the one story has been borrowed from the other. Had it been so the resemblances would have been much greater. But is it not possible that there prevailed among the very ancient nations of the world a story of which the Rāmâyana is the Indian version, and the Iliad is the Greek version? It is possible that the other old nations might have had each its own version of this original story.

Professor Macdonell has justly pointed out that the Rāmâyana can well be divided into two parts. The first roughly speaking, ends with the exile of Rāma. This portion may have some historical basis, i.e., it has been based on some local tradition of some historical event. The latter part which describes the expedition to Ceylon is full of absurdities and is wholly untrustworthy. It seems to us that the Indian version of the original story of the ancient world has been tacked on to the story of Rāma which originally ended with his exile. We can thus sum up our theory. There was current in ancient time a certain story which was adopted by several ancient nations each according to its taste and fancy; that the latter portion of the Rāmâyana treating of the expedition to Ceylon is the Indian version of that story, and the Iliad is the Greek version; that the Indian version of the Rāmâyana and which had existed before the latter portion was composed. Thus the Rāmâyana represents the Indian version of an old story which was current among some of the ancient nations of the world.

J. C. DUTT.

HARISCHANDRA.

WHO in India does not know the name of Harischandra? What heart has not melted at the tragedy that follows too many noble actions in this imperfect world of ours? Who among us has not still stood for truth, while rebelling against the horrible miseries that were inflicted upon the man of truth by the ingenuity of a superhuman vengeance? The tale of Harischandra is an eternal possession of the Hindus. It is the most valuable asset in the national equipment. So long we possess the capability of being moved by that tale so long can we afford to treat with contempt the malicious slander of one being a nation of liars that is too often thrown at us by those who do not know us. Far from being a lying people, we are the only race on earth to whom an earthly debt does not end in the Inferno vengy court. We are alone among the races of the earth in being a people to whom a debt never admits of discharge except by full payment at some time or other. No idea is more simply or firmly grasped by the Hindus than that which forms the basis of the Law of Karma, namely, that a debt must be paid and will be paid in one or other of the numerous births which a soul has to pass through before its possible absorption in the Atman. A debt among us is the synonym for everything that implies an obligation from a promised word to an accepted loan, for the duty that we owe ourselves and other created things on earth as for the Truth that is the object of rational thought or moral pursuit. So concerned are we about contracting debts that it seems to me that one deterrent cause of our commercial progress is our unwillingness to enter into the numerous obligations that commerce implies, which we or those to whom we have given being may not possibly be able to discharge. The passiveness with which the Indian resigns himself to the adverse circumstances in which he may at any time be placed is another testimony to the extent to which the ideas of debt and its discharge have taken hold of his mind. The loyalty which every Indian instinctively feels towards his sovereign, the equanimity with which he views his neighbour's prosperity, and the contentment of mind which too often bars his own material progress can all be derived by a little

reflection from his consciousness that a debt *will* be paid. To those who are imbued with the spirit of the legal institutions of the west, its Law of Immitations and its Civil Procedure, the tortures to which Harischandra is subjected by the unrelenting Natshatriya may appear grotesque, and the patience which a refined sense of obligation compels Harischandra to shew under them may appear unmanly; but those to whom a debt is a very real thing, not even ending with death but carried over to future lives for purposes of fulfilment will be able to appreciate the sense of duty which makes Harischandra the slave of his promised word. Who, while sympathising with him in his undeserved affliction, will wish him to be otherwise? The story of Harischandra is a grand tragedy. The Gods unite in putting to the ordeal of suffering the steadfastness of this man's truth. Sufferings at which the imagination shudders are inflicted on that high-souled-man. He goes through them all, his Rajput chivalry untainted and his given word unbroken. Truth in thought, truth in word, truth in deed, that is what he stands for. Who can gainsay our pride in him, our pride in the land that gave him birth? May its young men ever take pride in the habits of thought and action which such lives symbolise! These habits of thought and action are precious heirlooms which have taken centuries to engraft on the national mind. While our western culture has benefited us in a thousand ways, it has also been slowly eating away the foundation upon which our individuality as a nation is based. Whether we are to remain a distinct race on earth with distinct ways of thought and action, or be absorbed in an indistinguishable unit in the overwhelming flood of western civilisation will depend upon how far we are able to appreciate, and stand firmly by, our national ideals.

The drama of Harischandra, as it is current among the people, carries us to great heights of dignified emotion and the most stirring portion in it begins with the visit of Harischandra to Visvanatha's temple at Benares. The sale of Chandramati to Kalakandan and her separation from her husband are the scenes that move us most and they give us an insight into the marvelous depths of love that everyone of us knows are found in every Indian household. To us such love is actual and not ideal. While other nations know of such a love only in their literature as an ideal to which their men and women aspired, to us it is an actuality which any-one who wants to realise it has only to go to the

nearest Indian house. In the love of man and woman here, there is the perfect identification of the two selves which enables our women to despise the equality of rights which their sisters in other countries set so much value upon. To enable her husband to preserve the truth he has pledged himself to keep, Chandramati advises her husband to sell her, so that with the proceeds of the sale he may defray part of his obligation. To her, her husband's disgrace is her disgrace, her husband's moral delinquency will be her own. The result to a western woman of the moral delinquency of her husband will be merely a temporary social disgrace. But to Chandramati, a deviation from uprightness on the part of her husband spelt for ever the loss of her own salvation. To sell herself for the sake of her husband comes quite naturally to her; and if she did not suggest it earlier, it was merely because of the dreaded anticipation of the separation from her husband which the sale involved. What if she is separated from her husband? Is not the sense of having enabled her husband to remain true more satisfying than a sight of his face? So long as our women believe that their salvation is bound up with the salvation of their husbands, so long as they possess the moral refinement and the loving devotion to sacrifice themselves that their husbands may be righteous, so long do they not require to read the latest novel or become a New Woman. If we appear to be selfish in wishing our women to be ignorant of modern novels and women's rights, it is a selfishness which they not only condone but positively approve. The Hindu women's faith that her salvation is to be secured only through her husband's opens up to her woman's noblest field of work, the task, namely, of regenerating depraved mankind. Marriage, on which so many mighty issues depend, can never be to her a mere social contract. It is not an arrangement for the gratification of animal appetite nor a convenient provision for the propagation of the species. It is the indissoluble union of two souls bound together for good or ill, working out their destiny in the inscrutable purposes of the Supreme Being.

The drama brings out very clearly the conflict of the mighty sorrow Harischandra feels at the separation from his wife and child with the dignity that a conscious pursuit of truth obliges him to preserve. The sense of obligation which a debt involves and which compels Harischandra to sell his wife and child is well portrayed in the manly sorrow which contents itself with

consoling Chandramati and encouraging her in her temporary separation from him. After the sale of Chandramati, Natshatriya who had been paid Visvamitra's money with its proceeds demands of Harischandra whatever he may be willing to pay him for the trouble he took in following him about to realise the money due to the vengeful Muni. Even when he had nothing to give but himself, Harischandra promises to give him whatever may be obtained by selling himself. It is this supreme generosity of gift that appeals to the Indian imagination and has secured for Karnan a hallowed place in the heart of the whole Hindu race. Harischandra does not think of arguing out the rights of Natshatriya for the demand, but feels so keenly the duty of a Kshatriya to give, that he asks his faithful minister Satyakirti to sell him. In the days of Harischandra and even later, a Hindu never took the opportunity of lecturing on the evils of indiscriminate charity or of distinguishing between able-bodied and weak-bodied beggars. Every Hindu boy, at least in Southern India, is taught in the earliest stage of his study two verses in succession in the wonderful little book of Athisudi. The first says that begging is disgraceful and the second follows with the admonition "give before you eat." To beg is disgraceful, therefore give to the beggar. The beggar comes to you forced by a necessity that causes him to abandon the respect he owes himself. What you owe humanity in itself lays you under a compulsion to respect it even in a lying beggar. The same respect for the self in others that enables you to be instinctively and easily polite is your justification for indiscriminate charity. Beggars may deceive. What does it matter? Is not your faith in humanity more important to you than the loss of a little money or the economic evils that may spring from indiscreet alms-giving? Therefore give before you eat. Is this alms-giving imprudent or unjust? Time will shew.

At any rate in the case of Natshatriya, there was a sort of right for the payment of some money as a recompense for the trouble he took in obtaining Visvamitra's money. Harischandra lets himself be sold to Veerabahu the Pariya; and the one ray of light that illuminates the darkness of misery that shrouds Harischandra is the faithful devotion of his minister, Satyakirti, who waits on the outside of the burning ground which Harischandra is appointed to guard. The name of Satyakirti will stand for devotion and loyalty as long as Harischandra's stands for truth.

Meanwhile Chandramati is subjected to all those petty vexations, more harrowing than serious troubles, which the frivolous and vulgar inflict upon those they hold in their power, who have seen better days. Kalacundan compels the child Devadasan to accompany certain other boys who go out to collect *kusa* grass. The tale of Harischandra's suffering is not yet over. When the child was collecting the grass with the other boys, he was bitten by a serpent and killed. The last regret of his short unhappy life is again the sense of a debt not having been paid, as his master was not able to own him for a sufficiently long time to recompense himself for the money he had paid for buying him and his mother. On being informed of the death of her child, Chandramati begs leave of her master to go and find out his dead body and perform the last offices due to the dear dead. Permission to go is granted only on condition of her doing a number of menial services. Even in that period of unbearable grief, when even a great deviation from duty will be excused, Chandramati, true to her obligation, performs carefully the services directed. She discovers her child in the forest and takes him to the burning ground where Chandramati not having with her the usual fees given for permission to cremate, Harischandra refuses to allow her to do so. The recognition of his own Devadasan in the dead child, though it augments his distress, only makes him the more determined in the performance of his duty. So far had Harischandra proved himself to be true to his duty. But the gods wanted to test him further. Chandramati returns to beg the money wanted to burn her dead child. On her way she falls in with the soldiers of the Raja of Benares who were seeking the murderer of their king's son. Her dishevelled hair, her tearful eyes, and her frantic misery confirm them in their suspicions which had already been aroused by their meeting her at dead of night in the lonely forest near which the king's son was found dead. She is arrested and taken to the king who condemns her to be executed. The crowning event of this moving tragedy occurs when Chandramati is taken to be executed by Harischandra, as the representative of Veerabahu, the public executioner. Unflinching in his duty, true still to the truth he has pledged himself to keep, Harischandra raises his sword to sever the head of his wife, the true, the noble Chandramati. Twice the sword is laid on the neck, but it does not cut. Harischandra then swears by the truth he had hitherto kept and raises his sword to strike a third time. The

gods appear above and arrest the sword in its deadly fall. They proclaim Harischandra to be a true man. They applaud his unerring sense of duty and feel proud of him. They bring back to life the dead sons of Harischandra and the king of Benares. The only boon that Chandramati asks of them is to be allowed to be again born the wife of Harischandra in any future birth they might have to go through.

Such in simple outline is the story of Harischandra, a perusal of which always lifts us above ourselves. The characters in the story,—the man with the mighty sense of duty, the woman with her unfailing love, the Gods who undertook to test the truth of the one and the devotion of the other—fascinate and enthrall our imagination. One has only to think of it to be moved at once by the elevating sorrow that seems to consume our whole being. The truth for which Harischandra stood was not merely the consistency between thought and word which we generally understand by that term, but it is rather a state of the soul in which no occasion has been given for any sense of duty unfulfilled to intervene between the Self in us and the Universal Self. Truth is that condition of the spirit in which the individual soul, illuminated by its own righteousness, is enabled to look upon, and realise, the Universal Soul.

Nothing in these days of modern civilisation is more painful to an honest man than to witness the importance which mere words have gained to the detriment of the legitimate influence of the qualities which they represent. The fallacy of believing things to exist corresponding to the words in use is as old as philosophy; but so long as this personification of abstractions is confined to metaphysical speculations, not much harm is done. But when this tendency is carried into ordinary life, great harm is produced, so great in fact that the progress of the race is retarded, for the result of this tendency is to set a premium on hypocrisy. When a word is taken to be a substitute for the quality or the object it signifies, nothing is easier than to conceal our sentiments or cover a bad state of affairs by a free use of the words that indicate great things or good qualities. It is enough, for instance, to call a nation civilised in order to give them credit for every good thing under the Universe, though there may be found among them defects which a barbarian will be ashamed to own. A more pernicious consequence of this tendency is to substitute appearances for the reality. That those

who do not conform to the appearance should be taken to miss the reality naturally follows. The temptation, therefore, is very strong to easily earn a name for truth or honesty by a pretence of sanctity or a prostitution of justice. It was not truth in this sense that Harischandra tried to preserve. He scorned to take advantage of those subtle and inappreciable ways in which truth may with impunity be evaded. Truth, absolute and unerring, maintained regardless of all consequences, which makes frail man one with the Supreme Being; truth which is identical with unalloyed purity of the soul and contains in itself the essence of all virtue, this is the ideal that Harischandra stands for. Strong in the sense of duty, neither rank, nor wealth nor home can in his eyes equal the gratification earned from obligations fulfilled. All these he is content to forego in the joy of owning the priceless treasure of a pure untarnished spirit.

The future life has always appealed to the Hindu imagination with a certainty and fascination that are not held to be possessed by the things of the earth. The Hindu finds it easy to forsake worldly pleasures, and in fact estimates his spiritual elevation by the degree of indifference with which he is able to regard them. To him it is neither poetry nor fiction to regard his present life as merely a stage in his journey to the Godhead. So deeply has this thought permeated the Hindu mind that a feeling of curious wonder comes upon him when he looks on the care and luxury with which some nations dispose of their dead. To him the soul, its purity and welfare are the chiefest considerations of life. It is not extraordinary, in his opinion, that Harischandra should, in the interests of Truth, consent to lose all that is considered valuable by the world. It is this trait in Harischandra—his supreme indifference to the joys and sorrows of the world—that makes the Indian linger fondly on the pathos of his life. Material progress cannot be an attraction to the Hindu, so long as he regards the leaving the world and its pleasures as the highest object of earthly existence.

The drama of Harischandra exhibits clearly the dignity that resides in man's free will. It raises a feeling of elation in our minds to discover the majesty of the human will as it emerges successfully from its awful struggle with the temptations of the world. The spiritual realm is the only region where the Hindu believes man to be the architect of his own fortune. To

often do we find our progress in the material world retarded by adverse circumstances over which we have no control. The Hindu finds himself unable to contend against the immutable laws that govern the world; and the rarity of opportunities of self-improvement and, still more, his inability to avail himself of the occasions that do offer lead him to find consolation for his materially obstructed progress in the doctrine of fatality. But come to the spiritual world! Nowhere will you find a doughtier champion of the individuality of the human soul and its ability to work out its own destiny than the mild, fate-ridden Indian. He is vastly amused at persons that inculcate self-help as the key to material prosperity insisting upon a salvation that can be obtained only through the intercession of a Saviour. To him his salvation depends exclusively upon his own works; and if he requires the assistance of another, be he man or god, it is only in regard to his material well-being. As regards his soul's welfare, his doctrine of Karma assures him that he is himself the arbiter of his spiritual fortune. Every man being thus believed to be solely responsible for his salvation, the Hindu sees no necessity for missionary enterprise and, confident that the moral instincts implanted in every human breast will point out to him the way of righteousness, leaves every man to realise himself. He despises the confession of weakness that one can free himself from his sins only by the favour of a third person. He admires in Harischandra the strength of will that not even godly power can shake and which, conscious of its ability to realise itself, does not think of appealing to any Being superior to himself for assistance in maintaining steadfast the Truth. he has undertaken to preserve. The temptations placed in his path were irresistible. More potent for evil were the miseries that were inflicted on his devoted head. It was the endeavour of Visvamitra to entice him from the path of honour by placing him in situations from which he could have freed himself only by sundering all those natural attachments that communicate an aspect of sacredness to human life. But Harischandra had marked out for himself a course of conduct which he was convinced was the object most worthy of achievement. To him all other duties ranked below the supreme duty of self-realization. With his strong will, he spurned the temptations placed before him and treated with indifference the afflictions to which he was subjected. What to him were the

attachments that bind a man to this earth and make him prefer the joys of the world to the bliss of spiritual freedom?

The story of Harischandra is not one that is known only to the learned, but it is a story whose every incident is known to, and whose spirit is appreciated by, the meanest rustic in the land. Whatever the ignorance of the poor Indian with regard to the means adapted to his material progress, his knowledge of the Epics and the Puranas of Indian Literature and his unswerving faith in the accuracy of the incidents narrated therein are a sufficient equipment for his spiritual regeneration. The way in which religion has been built into every incident in his life has produced this supreme benefit, that the ideals of excellence in human conduct are brought home to him with all the force that attaches to their connection with his own salvation. To him, Harischandra is not merely a hero and his conduct an ideal. The truth for which Harischandra stood is, he believes, the very condition of his own salvation. It has been the peculiar fortune of our country that even the songs with which the Indian beggar approaches you treat of high philosophy. The lullabies with which our children are sung to sleep are merely musical versions of the highest philosophy of the Upanishads. The glitter of western civilisation dazzles the eye and blinds us to any utility or excellence that may be found in our national ideals. It is here that the national stage, with all its faults, may do us immense good. By representing to us the tales found in our Puranas, it may serve to keep fresh before our eyes the truth of Harischandra or the wifely devotion of Chandramati and show something in our national life to command in other nations that respect on which alone can be based true and lasting friendship.

M. R. VENKATARAMIER.

THE RAGHUVAMSA OF KĀLIDĀSA.

MESSRS. J. M. DENT & CO. of London have done another service to the cause of Oriental Literature by their recent publication of the *Raghuvamśa* of Kālidāsa in English verse. The gifted author who has undertaken the translation of the poem is Mr. P. De Lacy Johnstone, M.A., M.R.A.S., a Retired Officer of the Bengal Civil Service. An introductory note on the poet and the poem is prefixed to the Translation, together with some Mythological and Explanatory Notes which will be of considerable help to the non-Hindu section of the readers of the book. A concise index concludes the neat volume and we have no doubt that a long felt want has been most opportunely supplied.

It is, perhaps, unnecessary to mention that *Raghuvamśa* is one of the six well known Mahākāvya or great poems, recognised in Sanskrit Literature, the other five being the *Kumārasambhava* of Kālidāsa, the *Bhāṭikāvya* of Bhārtrihari (?) the *Kirāṭhārjuniya* of Bhāravi, the *Sisupālavadha* of Māgha and the *Naishadhīyācharita* of Śrīharsha. Of these, the earliest in point of time are the *Kumārasambhava* and the *Raghuvamśa*, even supposing, along with the present day archaeologists that Kālidāsa lived not in the first century B.C., but in the sixth century A.D. *Kirāṭhārjuniya* and *Bhāṭikāvya* come next in order, and lastly, the poems of Māghakavi and Śrīharsha. There are, no doubt, many other works, purposely composed as Mahākāvya by their authors, such as the *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita* and *Hara-vijaya*, but partly owing to the time and place of their composition and partly also to the lack of supreme merit in them, they have not taken rank with the above six poems, which alone, therefore, are studied at present by boys, both in schools and in private, all over India. In Southern India there are two other Mahākāvya, which retain their popularity to a considerable extent, viz., the *Bālabhārata* of Agastya and the *Kṛṣṇavilāsa* of Sukumāra. While the former is well known in Tamil-speaking Districts and actually stippled Velliputhūr Aṭwār, with the model for his Tamil Bhārata, the latter is held in considerable

respect by the Malayalam-speaking Hindus of the West Coast and studied by them with the same degree of zeal as *Kumārasambhava* and *Māgha*. Both these poems, extremely simple and chaste in diction and pregnant with original and elevating ideas, deserve to be better known on the other side of the Vindhya. Above all, do they lend themselves easily to translation in foreign tongues, and certainly in all countries where they are known, Sanskrit study will be begun with the reading of either of them only. We hope the day will not be distant when some European scholar, gifted with the genius of a Griffith or Monier Williams, will take these works in hand and present to us beautiful renderings of them in English.

Mr. Johnstone observes in his Introduction to the poem that it has long been a wonder to him why no one undertook the translation of *Raghuvamśa* into English till now. The wonder will certainly not appear causeless when it is remembered that a full hundred and thirty years has passed since the publication of Kālidāsa's *Abhignāna Śākuntala* in English, when Mr. Johnstone completed his task in 1902, and well indeed might one question why so much time should elapse between the publication of an English translation of the poet's best play and best poem. The reasons, however, are not far to seek. The imagery of Sanskrit poets is in no way similar to that of the poets of the West. As Mr. Pickford aptly observes in his introduction to the *Mañavīracharita*, "We often find a compound word in Sanskrit which cannot be rendered into English except by a long and intricate sentence with a dependent relative clause for each epithet and allusion. Moreover, the frequent digressions and sudden transitions of Sanskrit compositions, clearly mark them as alien from the thought and language of modern Europe." In English, figures are an ornament and but occasionally drop in; in Sanskrit a verse without figure is a body without life. It has not the least apology for existence in the world. If the imagery is fresh and the figure relates only to the meaning of the verse, the difficulty is merely lessened; but it cannot be said to be altogether absent for the translator. Such works are the two great Itihāsa of India and also the Purāṇas, all of which are mostly written in the shortest metre in use. The difficulty is increased, when the poet's ideas become more and more obtruse, when his imagery assumes a high degree of complexity, when he distinctly aims at subtlety and refinement, and when he makes it a

point to sacrifice sense for sound. No language has more technical perfection than Sanskrit. Most words are used in more senses than one, and were only the poet bent on exhibiting his learning by mystifying his readers, no easier way could be pointed out than to resort to the numerous figures in form recognised in Sanskrit, making it wholly impossible for any man on earth to translate his productions into a different tongue. As Professor Max-Müller correctly observes, as centuries rolled on, Sanskrit poetry became more and more complex till at last in the Naishadhiyacharita Sriharsha comes forward with the defiant apology

"If my words, tasted by the learned, charms
Their hearts like nectar, need I reckon the slight
With which the rustic treats them? How, on earth,
Can all the charms of e'en the fairest dame
Draw children's souls, like those of grown-up men?"

To translate the Mrichchakāti or the Sākuntala is not to translate the Prasannarāghava or the Anargharāghava. Who, indeed, that has read those works will attempt to render the Vakrokti-panchāsika or Srinivāsavilāsachampu into a foreign tongue? The attempt is simply impossible. Of the six Mahākāvya mentioned above, that which admits of the easiest translation is Kumārasambhava, and it has had the fortune of being touched by that great modern master of English rhyme, Professor R. T. Griffith. The next and possibly the only other poem which admits of translation is Raghuvamśa itself. Ramesh Ch. Dutt has rendered the Kirātārguvīya of Bhāravi into English, but none know more than Mr. Dutt himself that it is not destined to take a place by the side of Griffith's Kumārasambhava or Wilson's Mēghadūta, or even Mr. Dutt's own Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata. As for Bhattikāvya, Sisupālavadha, and Naishadha, no European or Indian scholar is known to have wasted his energy upon translating them, which is exactly as it should be. Who ever thinks of enriching the Dravidian languages by a translation of 'The Pick-wick papers' or 'the Autocrat at the Breakfast Table'? Each language possesses of necessity a few works in it which are essentially, and, so to speak, absolutely its own, and to attempt to render their beauty and freshness in another tongue is, to say the least of it, quixotic to the core.

We have said that the translation of the Raghuvamśa stands only next to that of Kumārasambhava in difficulty. If this had been its only drawback, European savants would not have waited so long for undertaking a translation of it in English verse. The poem has no compact plot. It is a collection of unconnected incidents thrown into the form of a hasty narrative. As Mr. Nandargikar observes in the introduction to his learned Bombay edition of Raghuvamśa, "It partly resembles a historical synopsis in character; such works are calculated to be dull and tedious, full of rapid narration of facts and events." Even Professor Wilson, but for whose proverbial patience, many Sanskrit works would have remained sealed books to the English reading public, remarks that parts of the poem would raise a smile upon the face of a European critic. Professor Griffith also thinks "very much of the poem is to our ideas, intensely prosaic and intolerably childish." Opinions, no doubt, might well differ on these points and we, for one, are prepared to hold that it does not suffer by comparison with any poem of equal length published till now in the English language. But thus much may be observed that the subject-matter of the poem is eminently calculated to prejudice the mind of the reader against its merits and an Epic poem on the Doomsday Book or Anglo-Saxon Chronicle could not have thriven well even in the hands of a Virgil or Milton. This coupled with the enormous length of the poem, occupying 19 cantos with an average of 75 verses in each, must have gone a good way in preventing scholars from undertaking its translation into English verse till now. A want, nevertheless, can on no account become the less so, because no one comes forward to supply it successfully and the reading public ought to be particularly thankful to Mr. Johnstone for the delightful, accurate version of the Sanskrit masterpiece, now for the first time presented in a readable form to them.

The work has been translated into other European languages before this. Mr. Stenzler has published a careful Latin rendering while M. Hippolyte Fauche has presented us with a beautiful French version. In English there were according to Mr. G. R. Nandargikar two prose translations, professedly from European savants, before he published his own English version, some 12 years ago. A word ought to be said in this connection in reference to Mr. Nandargikar's edition of Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśa itself, which is the standard book put into the hands of

students all over India. Besides Mallivatha's luminous commentary, this learned Bombay Pundit consulted the commentaries of eight other authors, viz., Hémâdri, Chaitravardhana, Vallabha, Dharmamêru, Vijayagani, Vigayânauda Sûrichana, Sevaka, Sumativijaya and Dinakaramisra, and has brought out an edition which in the appreciative words of Professor Bhandakar "will be of great use for a critical study of the Raghuvamsa." The English Prose Translation appended at foot is faithfully elegant, and nothing more appears to be required when Mr. Nandargikar's edition is read than an English poetical translation of the Raghuvamsa to make the bibliography complete. Mr. Johnstone, strictly speaking, is only second in the field among the translators of this poem into English verse, for so long ago, as in 1861, Professor Ralph T. H. Griffith published his version of a part of it in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal. This fact appears to have come to the knowledge of the author, only lately; as he tells us in his introduction, while he adds that though fragments of the translation have appeared in print he has not seen them. Mr. Griffith, not Mr. Griffiths as Mr. Johnstone spells his name throughout, tells us in a foot-note in Vol. XXI. of that Journal and also in the introduction to his translation of Valmiki's Ramayana that the whole poem has been hastily thrown into English verse by him. But only the first and second Cantos and a portion of the third were published by him under the title of Indian Idylls, No. 1, Dilipa. We believe it is one of the earliest of Mr. Griffith's productions, earlier than his translation of Kalida's Kurmarasambhava, though it appeared only later in print. The translation cannot, of course, be compared with that of the Ramayana which can be confidently weighed against Pope's translation of the Iliad and will not be found wanting, but there are beautiful passages in it, and one who has done so much for Oriental literature,—and who indeed has been a greater master of rhymed versification since the days of Johnson and Goldsmith—has no reason to keep his version, albeit rough as he modestly calls it, away from the public. Except this, we have not seen any other poetical version of the Raghuvamsa in English, and Mr. Johnstone has to be congratulated on the excellent and really admirable way in which he has been able to carry out his task.

The author has not sought the aid of the rudder of rhyme to steer his course successfully. For, however much a poet may

be master of rhymes, say another Griffith, still the language contains but too few of them and, to one who can keep up the sublimity of blank verse without letting it descend into dull poetic prose, rhyme is not only no necessity, but even an avoidable encumbrance. We have been taught by Wilson and Griffith to look upon the heroic verse as the legitimate vehicle of all English versions of Sanskrit Poetry. Sir Edwin Arnold's Bhagvatgita was done in blank verse, but the philosophical nature of the subject was looked upon as in some way justifying the change. Mr. Dutt's Kiratârjuniya was in the elegiac metre, whose only advantage is that one English verse can be made to represent one Sanskrit verse. In his translations of the Ramayana and the Mahâbharatta, Mr. Dutt attempted the introduction of a new metre into the English renderings of Sanskrit poems, viz., the heptametre of Tennyson's Locksley Hall. This, of course, had already been made the vehicle of Sanskrit thought by Dean Milman in his translation of Nalopâkhyâna, of which an improved edition was subsequently published by the late Professor Monier Williams. Mr. Johnstone's blank verse is fresh and elegant. The lines seldom halt; there are few repetitions and the accents of Sanskrit words are in almost all the instances correctly placed. Every page shows careful execution and the fall of the Caesura is delightfully varying. We quote a passage below taken at random to illustrate the above remarks. It is the appearance of Priyamvada, the son of Indra, disguised in the form of an elephant on Aja's way to the Court of Vidarbha, in connection with Indumati's Svayamvara :

"Up rose he, faced the bank and nimbly waved
His mightly trunk before him and behind
Roared loudly and with all resistless strength
Burst through the torrent, breaking watery chains.
Broad-chested as a mountain, tangled nets
Of clinging weeds, he drew, the while in front
A threatening mass of waters rose—then climbed
The river-bank. His captive peers he marked
And from his cloven brows the tehor stream,
Checked only by the wave returned in flood."

The Division of the Cantos into passages shows considerable tact and caution. There are very few inapt words. We shall see how Aja laments the loss of his dear wife Indumati, which incident is most beautifully narrated in the 8th book, of the Raghuvamsa by India's immortal bard. The passage furnishes

in some respects the finest piece of elegiac poetry ever written in Sanskrit, not even excepting Rati's lament for the loss of Kāmādeva in the 4th book of the *Kuṃjārasambhava*.

"If fate by touch of flowers can kill, what darf
May not be deadly, when He seeks to slay?
Or haply death, to take a tender life
Chose shaft as tender. So, soft flakes of snow
Destroy the yielding lotus. Death perchance
To slay me launched his arrow; while the tree
Yet stands unharmed, the creeper, smitten, falls.
Ah why—who oft forgavest wrong I did—
Dost thou unwarning shut those lips from me
Who now have done no wrong? Thou doubt'st my love
O smiling lady! Wherefore, scorning fraud,
(My leave unasked) thou look'st thy way to Heaven.
My maimed life pursued thee, but alone
Has now returned; why cannot I alone
Bear all this grief? Still on thy face, fair spouse
Tired love has left its trace, but soul is fled.
Alas! how transient are the lives of men."

We have not space enough to excerpt the whole. In any other hands than those of Kālidāsa, the disjointed plot would have fared badly enough; but true genius knows not the limits of place and matter and anything that great poets touch cannot go without being adorned by them. In the 19 cantos of the poem, the lives of 8 sovereigns of the solar line are sketched in detail, namely, those of Dilīpa 1—3, Raghu 4—5, Aja 6—7, Dasarathā 9th, Ramachandra, 10—15, Kusa 16, Atithi 18th, Agnivarman 19th, and of a number of intermediate kings between Atithi and Agnivarman in canto XVIII. As trope upon trope passes before the mind's eye in quick regular succession, all fresh original, and drawn from the depths of the purest poetical imagination, the reader sits transfixed in ecstatic joy and blesses the soul that could soar to such divine heights. We Orientals love true fancy heartily and English critics cannot find fault with us if we are able to appreciate the true spirit of poems like Dryden's verses on the death of Lord Hastings. What modern English criticism relegates to the calm of far-fetched conceit are to us often praiseworthy poetry. But to the most fastidious European reader, the discussion between Dilīpa and the lion, the description of Indumati's Svayamvara marriage, the lament of Aja at the untimely death of his beloved spouse, the description of the forest where Dasarathā goes on a hunting excursion, Ramachan-

dra's description of the way back from Lanka to Ayōdhya, and the complaint of the city of Ayōdhya to Kusa, narrated in such neat, sublime, exquisite language, must seem passages breathing a spirit of the purest poetry on earth, transcendent in their splendour, and transcending all canons of criticism. Kālidāsa, himself, with the true eye of a poet, has made large alterations in the genealogy of the kings whose deeds he celebrates, for Valmiki, in the Bālakanda of his Rāmāyana, gives us an entirely different list. It is perhaps interesting to note that it is a particular verse in the sixth canto of the *Raghuvamśa* that has given the great Indian poet the title *Dīpasikhākālidāsa*. Such verses are of frequent occurrence in Sanskrit literature and considering that hundreds of similar perfect similes have been given expression to by Kālidāsa, it looks somewhat strange why this one verse should be praised above the rest. The verse is as follows:—

संचारिणोपाशिक्षेत्रात्रो

यं यं व्यतीयायपतिवरासा ।

नरेन्द्रमार्गाहं इव प्रपदे

बिबर्णभावं सप्त भूमिपालः ॥

which has been thus translated by Mr. Johnstone.

"Now, as the maid went by, each suitor king,
Lit for a moment by her dazzling eyes
Like wayside tower by passing lamp, sank back
In deepest gloom."

To those who can picture the two rows of seats placed in the bridal hall and the beautiful damsel walking along from one end to the other leaving one famous ruler after another behind, the aptness of the comparison to the rows of towers in the street and the moving lamp must distinctly suggest itself. But this is not the one solitary simile in Kālidāsa that shines in the dry desert of ten thousand lines and surely there are many others in the *Raghuvamśa* itself which can be pronounced to be equally good. On the whole it does no little credit to the translator to have been able to give the public an elegant and accurate rendering of the whole poem in stately blank verse.

We shall quote now a passage from the 2nd Book of the *Raghuvamśa* from both Griffith and Johnstone to see the difference between the rendering in blank verse and rhyme. Dilīpa

tells the lion that Nāndini ought not to be killed and that its place would be taken by himself if necessary. The lion replies :—

“ Ay, mad I deem thee, monarch, to resign
Thy youth, thy life and that fair form of thine
And universal empire : these to give,
All these for ever that a cow may live
Dost thou love creatures ? While thy death, O King,
To this one cow a longer life will bring,
Blest by thy reign a thousand homes would be
For all thy people look to only thee !
Live and be happy ! Power and might bestow
Joy like a God's and make a Heav'n below !
But if thou tremblest at thy master's ire
And fearest anger that consumes like fire,
Instead of her ten thousand others give
With teeming adders that thy soul may live.”
The lion ceased. The mountain's hollow side
Echoed his counsel ere the prince replied.
“ What ! Shall a king forsake—unkingly deed—
The helpless suppliant in her hour of need ?
Shall I disgrace a monarch's proudest name,
And barter glory for a life of shame ?
How can the gift of other cows assuage
The just resentment of the holy Sage ?
For she is daughter of a race divine,
Subdued by Siva's power and not by thine
Then for her life, let mine a ransom be,
Feed on my flesh, but let the cow go free.
Still, King of Beasts, thy hunger will be staid,
Still will the Saint enjoy her holy aid.
And thou, another's thrall, dost surely know—
Even as thy care of this young pine may show—
That servants heedless of their duty must
Bow down their heads in shame for broken trust.
Then oh, have mercy, and mine honour spare !
A hero's body claims no hero's care.
Have we not parleyed in the wood to day ?
And friendship springs from parley sages say ;
Again I pray thee, thrall of Siva take
This my one offer for our friendship's sake.”

K. T. H. GRIFFITH.

Now follow Mr. Johnstone's version :—

O King, fair Lord of wealth ! bright life and youth,
Thou wouldst in haste renounce and sovereign sway.
'Tis madness, for the cause deserves it not.
Thy people all depend on thee ; thy death

Would only save one life, which living thou
Protectest all the world with constant care.
Fear not the fiery Saint ! though angry, he
Losing one love may quickly be appeased
By gift of millions. Save thy precious life,
Enjoy the goods of fate—for Indra's state
Save that thou dwell'st on Earth scarce passes thine.”

So spake the forest-king ; and mountain-caves,
Loud echoing, urged that plea in flattering tones,
And wooed the King, who pitiful rejoined,
He while in mute appeal the cow looked on,
Caught in the lion's paw.—“ The warrior's name
The only worthy bears who saves from harm.
Its proverb lore : who'er betrays that trust
Would forfeit Royal State and earn foul scorn.
The Saint might well despise all other cows
If this were lost, Sarabhi's child and peer,
Which only by the might of Siva thou
Didst dare attack. My body freely now
I give as ransom : scarcely wouldst thou find
In her one meal ; the Master's sacred rites
Will not be hindered ! Well thou know'st, who serve
Thyself a Master, and with anxious zeal,
Protectest here this tree, that if one lose
His charge, himself unwounded, 'twere not well
To face his Lord. Spare then my Fame, nor think
My body only precious ; such as I
Scarce value fleeting life, but fame we prize
Beyond all other. Friendship, so men say,
By intercourse is ripened : meeting thus
On forest-bounds, I claim thee friend—and claim
To have my boon, O Siva's follower ! ”

P. DELACY JOHNSTONE.

No doubt there are some very brilliant couplets in the former. But it is impossible to keep up the lustre throughout and further it is only a very free rendering of the original. There are often inseparable evils in the rhymed translation of a foreign poem into English, though Mr. Griffith himself has shown us the possibility of an exception even here in his glowing translation of Vālmiki's Rāmāyana. On the whole it is the blank verse that is better suited to the translation of the whole poem.

In a work of such magnitude and difficulty, perfection is perhaps something that should never be expected. The translation of Dvija into Brāhman, or Kākusthas into Kākustha's sons seems hardly correct. Words like Mātali, Panchavati, Pūarvasu, Sarayu, Trijata and Mithila seem to be pronounced Mātali

Panchâvati, Punarvâsu, Sarâyû, Trijâta, and Mithila. Sîtâ is in more places than one accented on the second syllable. To refer to Vasishtha as Brahmâ's child is literal translation for Brahmayônina, but not quite elegant. The rules on transliteration given in the introduction, themselves very imperfect as several Sanskrit consonants are permitted to be represented by one English letter, do not appear to be consistently followed. At the beginning of the 13th canto Bâli is said to have driven Sagara's horse to Pâtâlâ. Vâlmiki and the other Sanskrit authors refer to Kapila as the author of the deed and Kâlidasa himself only uses the word Kapila. In the 12th canto occurs a passage.

"By magic art, a demon at his word
Took form of deer and Raghu's sons deceived
By futile chase, and—though a while delayed
By staunch Jatâyû-Sîtâ bore away."

From Mr. Johnstone's version one would think Maricha was the Râkshasa who bore away Sîtâ to Lanka. The original is

रक्षसासुरगुरुपेण
वञ्चयित्वा सारावधौ ।
जहार सतिपद्योन्मद-
प्रयासद्युगान्तितः ॥

which conveys no such meaning. These and similar errors are, however, only minor defects and such as can be easily removed in a second edition of the poem. We once more cordially congratulate the gifted author on the brilliant success with which his efforts have been crowned in this direction.

S. PARAMESWARA IYER.

THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD.

It goes without saying that the subject is a very important one affecting our deepest concern and interest as spiritual beings.

At the same time it is not a new theme. Poets, philosophers, theologians and great thinkers have sung, spoken and written voluminously on it. It has been discussed threadbare upon the platform and in the press. It is the principal teaching of the several religious scriptures of the world. Such being the case, what new light, it may be asked, can I throw on the subject? How can I expect to enlighten the public on a topic which has well nigh been exhausted? I feel the force of such objection as I do not pretend to know more than what has been thought on the subject. Even the recorded lore on it since the creation, no man's life-time would suffice to study fully. My object then in dwelling on it is simply this: that familiar and well known as the subject is, it can, by reason of its vital importance, never become dry and uninteresting. It bears to be repeated over and over again to refresh our memory and impress it deeply upon our mind. We are too much engrossed in our temporal avocations to bestow sufficient time and thought on it. The time of students is taken up in acquiring secular knowledge such as to enable them to obtain a fair start in life. Men busy in worldly affairs have seldom time and inclination to devote themselves to it. It is only persons of advanced years and religious turn of mind that principally take delight and interest in such a sacred subject. But it cannot be denied that whatever may be our age and condition of life, we should all try to attain to a true knowledge of God who is our common Father. As such knowledge precedes love and veneration due to Him, we would fail in our paramount duties if we wilfully remain ignorant of the nature of Godhead.

The conception of the Divine Nature is as old as the date of creation. From time immemorial man's mind has been exercised to attain to a true knowledge of the Divinity. The Vedas inculcate monotheism. The unity of Godhead is also the doctrine of the Koran. As in the Christian doctrine of Trinity, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy

Ghost, there is trinity of Godhead in the three-fold character of revelation, fulfilment, and inspiration of law or truth, so the Hindu triad of Brahmā, Vishnu and Siva represents the three-fold power of creation, preservation and destruction inherent in the One Absolute Being. The numerous deities of the Hindu Pantheon represent either abstract qualities or concrete objects, the former being a manifestation of God in mind, the latter in nature. The image in which any of these is worshipped is simply a medium intended for obtaining knowledge of God through mental attributes or for rising from Nature to Nature's God.

The beautiful and harmonious design manifest in the universe unmistakably points to an Intelligent Designer. The Atomic or evolutionary theory fails to account for the origin of creation. Matter is dull and inert. By no process of combination or separation of its properties such as length, breadth, thickness, elasticity, cohesion, etc., can it be endued with thought or design. The stupendous works of creation—the mountains, the seas, the sun, the moon, the starry firmament, etc., have each a manifest design to fulfil. The sun is intended to give light. Can it be contended that the atoms composing the substance of the sun held a council among themselves before its formation with a view to produce it for the purpose it is meant to subserve? As the machinery of a watch is the product of a skilful workman with a clear object in view, so the universe is the creation of one Intelligent Artisan with a manifest design in view. The Atomic Theory then—that the universe is the result of a fortuitous combination of atoms, that there has been cosmos out of chaos—fails to solve the problem—the origin of creation. The Design Theory however fails to establish the capacity of finite intellect to comprehend an Infinite Intelligence. As a preliminary step towards establishing such capacity we must refute the Materialistic Theory which reduces mind to a function of matter. "The inadequacy of all Materialistic Theories of the world may be said to be two-fold : (1) Professing to exclude mind or ultimately to reduce it to a function of matter, they really presuppose or tacitly assume it at the outset ; (2) The principle which they employ as the master-key to all the phenomena of the world—that of force or mechanical causality—is applicable only to inorganic nature, is inapplicable to organic or vital phenomena, and utterly breaks down as an explanation of consciousness or intelligence."*

* John Caird, D.D. on Philosophy of Religion.

A few remarks would make the truth of these propositions clear.

1. If experience is the source of our knowledge, it implies something that is not given in sensation. We can only attain isolated and transient sensations by our organs of sense. But isolated sensations are not knowledge. The process of comparison and classification are indispensably necessary to attain to real knowledge. Such processes being mental, thought is at the very root of our knowledge of nature.

2. If matter contains the potentiality of life, it remains as impossible as ever to apply the principle of mechanical causation to the phenomena of life. For when we reach life, under whatever prior physical conditions it may have been evolved, a new and higher conception is required to comprehend such phenomena. Here the thought or intelligence breaks forth into a new and higher expression of itself. In all forms of life, there is present an element compelling the mind to pass from the conception of force or efficient cause to the altogether more complex conception of self-causation or self-development. Thus the materialist cannot help accepting the conclusion that thought or mind is not an evolution of matter, but the principle or primary condition of all things.

But priority of thought is not sufficient unless we can further show that the mind is impelled onwards by its own inward constitution towards an infinite kind. There is a vast difference between our ideal of perfection and our actual attainment. However great our progress towards it may be, we are conscious that it yet falls far short of our ideal. We are conscious of our moral infirmities, yet we can feel that there is no point of moral progress beyond which we may not aspire. We know that our knowledge is limited. Nevertheless there is no limit to it in our conception. This boundless capacity of progress, while we have a secret ideal of perfection immeasurably higher than our highest actual attainments, is what is called a potential infinitude in our nature as spiritual beings. That is to say the spiritual nature and life of man are capable of realising the consciousness of God and our essential relation to Him.

God is Perfect and Absolute ; we are finite and imperfect beings. Is it possible for the finite to attain to a knowledge of the Infinite ? Can the imperfect realise consciousness of Perfection ? A little consideration will show that God is not unknown.

able as Sankhya Philosophy and Positivism would have us believe.

Our knowledge of what is finite and imperfect is admitted. Such knowledge implies the conception or the ideal of what is infinite and perfect. The knowledge of a limit implies an actual transcendence of it. We can only be conscious of imperfection because we have within us, latent or explicit, a standard of absolute perfection by which we measure ourselves. God is Absolute and Perfect and our knowledge of Him as such is involved in the knowledge of ourselves as relative and imperfect. It is our knowledge of God, the relation of our nature as spiritual beings to Him, which alone gives reality to our partial knowledge and makes us aware that it is partial.

It may be contended that the conception of our own imperfect knowledge is forced upon us by the presence of any intelligence relatively greater, however imperfect in itself; that nothing so vast as the knowledge of an Infinite Being is needed in order to make us conscious of our own finitude. But it is forgotten that the standard of measurement of our finitude is applicable to all stages of human attainment. It is a standard which, whatever may be the degree of our spiritual progress, would still reveal to us our own imperfection. We do not ultimately measure our knowledge, or become unconscious of its limited and imperfect character by comparison with any man's knowledge, because that also may be imperfect and erroneous. But by referring to an absolute knowledge we invariably act on the conviction that it is an infallible standard and an ultimate criterion of certitude.

Even scepticism cannot avoid the conclusion which it attempts to dispute. In the very act of doubting, it arrogates to itself a knowledge which it asserts it does not possess. To be able to pronounce human knowledge as defective and imperfect, the sceptic must necessarily have an ideal of absolute and perfect knowledge in comparison with which his verdict is pronounced. The very denial of an absolute intelligence in us could have no significance but as a tacit appeal to its presence. An implicit knowledge of God in this sense is proved by the very attempt to deny it.

The fact that God is not cognisable to the senses does not affect our knowledge of Him. The mind equally with God is invisible, yet we know what our mind is. That is to say, we know

God by His attributes, such as Omnipotence, Omniscience, Justice, Mercy, etc., just as we know the mind by its functions, such as perception, imagination, memory, attention, etc.

According to Addison, by adding infinitude to any kind of perfection we enjoy, and by joining all these different kinds of perfection in One Being, we form our idea of the Great Sovereign of Nature. Our ideas of justice and mercy, for instance, are limited and imperfect; by adding infinitude to them we obtain an idea of Infinite Justice and Mercy, and so on with regard to other moral qualities. This shows that there is a vast gulf between the functions of the soul and the attributes of the Deity. "The soul in relation to God is like the asymptotes of a hyperbola which draw nearer and nearer but never touch."

In the Bible it is said, man was made after the image of God which means to say that the Divine essence is reflected on the human soul. The soul makes a near approach to its prototype or falls away from it according as it is perfect or spiritually developed or imperfect or depraved. As a dirty mirror does not reflect objects clearly so a vitiated or corrupt soul does not transparently reflect the Divine image. Purity of soul is an essential condition of seeking after God. The requisite qualification is moral rather than intellectual. Neither the cobwebs of metaphysics of the Schoolmen nor the proud philosophy of the Positivist or the Evolutionist has succeeded in throwing any light on this important subject.

"The first condition of success," as observed by Professor Tyndall, "is an honest receptivity and a willingness to abandon all preconceived notions however cherished, if they be found to contradict the truth."

According to the Bhagavat Gita and the philosophy of Descartes, the knowledge of our soul is the foundation of all knowledge relating to God and the universe. The Cartesian theory is based upon the dictum cogito ergo sum—I think, therefore, I exist. "Taking our stand upon this ground we rise to the perception of the existence of the Deity. For our belief in His existence is an irrefragable proof that He exists. Otherwise whence does this belief arise? Since nothing can come out of nothing, and since no effect can be without a cause, it follows that the idea we have of God must have an origin, and this origin, whatever name we give it, is no other than God. Thus the ultimate proof of His existence is our idea of it."

Our knowledge of God or truth is introspective or intuitional and not experiential or developmental. If seeking after God were to depend upon training or education, then as the major part of mankind are ignorant or uneducated, they would be hopelessly debarred from the privilege. Such a hypothesis would be inconsistent with the Divine attributes of justice and mercy. God is truth. Want of knowledge of such truth in consequence of want of education would lead men astray from the right path. Such moral anomaly cannot be reconciled with the omniscience, infinite justice and mercy of God. Moral responsibility under the providence of a just and beneficent Ruler implies an intuitive perception of truth. The theory of intuition, then, is a key to the solution of this important problem how to know or seek after God. There is a sufficient provision in our moral constitution fitting us for the enquiry. Our religious relation to God—the transcendence of all that is finite and relative and the elevation of the finite spirit into communion with an Infinite and Absolute Spirit—is a thing which is involved in the very nature of man. In the nature of man as an intelligent, self-conscious being there is provision made enabling him to rise above what is material and finite, and to find the realisation of his natural yearning only in an Infinite Spiritual Perfection. An earnest spirit of enquiry after truth is a sine qua non of Divine knowledge. Our soul naturally yearns after God and truth. As a river runs into the sea, so our soul pants after Infinite Perfection unless there be an impediment obstructing its free and spontaneous flow. Above all, what food is to the body, religion is to the soul. As starvation causes physical death, so irreligion causes spiritual death or negation of humanity.

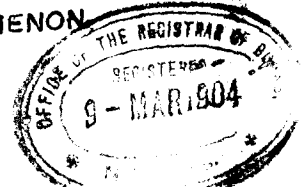
When we have known that God is Absolute and Perfect, we have still to enquire whether His providence is general or particular; in other words whether His established lanes of nature by which the universe is set going are mere substitutes for His own action or whether these lanes or forces are no other than His will force. For in the case of the former alternative, God is reduced to a mere mechanical harmony or order and not a living Personality to which our nature instinctively offers love and veneration. The philosophic name for this latter conception is the Immanence of God, God not outside but in the universe. The relation of the physical universe to God is analogous to that of our body to our soul. It is the mind or the soul which excites

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or stimulate the bodily actions. When the eye sees, the ear hears, the tongue speaks, it is through the mental energy transfused into these organs. The intimate connection between the body and the mind does not imply that my body is myself, the ego. Similarly the universe is the body of God, but as it is gross to confound the body with the man, so it is gross to confound the universe with God which is Pantheism.

Pantheism and the Immanence of God do not mean the same thing, and belief in the Immanence does not involve the Pantheism. Pantheism is the doctrine that All is God and God is All, that every existence is Deity, and that Deity is every existence, that God and the Universe are conterminous and identical. "The Immanence of God," says Dr. Martineau, "is by no means opposed to the Transcendency of God, that the fact of Divine action being everywhere and always through the physical universe, affords no inference that there are not spheres of Divine existence transcending and beyond that universe."

Pantheism denies that the One Infinite Being is a person—is a free, holy, and loving intelligence. It represents our consciousness of freedom and sense of responsibility as illusious. God, according to Pantheism, alone is. All individual existences are merely his manifestations;—all our deeds whether good or bad are His actions; and yet, while all is God and God is all, there is no God who can hear us or understand us—no God to love us or care for us—no God able or willing to help us. Pantheism represents absorption in Deity, the losing of self in God as the highest good of humanity; but this is a mere caricature of that idea of communion with God in which religion must find its realisation as Pantheism leaves neither a self to surrender nor a personal God to whom to surrender it. The absorption of the finite in the infinite which Pantheism preaches is as different from that surrender of the soul to God dwelling in us and we in God, as night is from day, as death is from life.

KAILAS CHUNDRA KANJILAL, B.L.

DUTY IN THE BHAGAVAT GITA.

DUTY—THE LAST SENTENCE OF SRI KRISHNA.

- O Lord of song celestial Giver Grand
Of Love and mercy Ocean Unmeasured
Unfathomed, immeasurable for e'er
For ever unfathomable! Great Soul!
- 5 Thee even this no worthy aspirant
Attempts to sing; the children of all kinds
Naughty and good play on the beach, and wood
Of forms and weights diversified—as boats
Ships large—the mighty steamers float above
- 10 On surface ply and pass from land to land
(But few the sages dive to find the pearls
of noble truths concealed beneath from men)
This humble soul in all his lowliness
Will touch thy teachings in thy song Divine,
- 15 What Thou hast taught regarding yogas three
And systems six until thou spok'st the crown
The jewel worth the worlds and more than worlds
The last sentence inspiring all, the source
And end of right thought, word and deed; the truth
- 20 Imparted "who could learn 'twere not Nara
As Arjuna evolved in long lives past.
For love and hatred o'er his heart held sway
No self-conquest the warrior glorified.
So when in battle-field he met his kin
- 25 Came over him despondency and gloom
O Thou, Sri Krishna, cried he "How shall I
My kinsmen slay to get my kingdom's share?
This earth, its bliss is after all too vain;
Shall I a river have of bloodshed stain
- 30 This battle-field Kurukshetra with kings
Arrayed on either side, the noble sons
Of Bhar'ta's ancient land and all the race
Of valor die for fam'ly feud? Are few
The world to ruin for their selfish ends?"

DUTY IN THE BHAGAVAT GITA.

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- 35 "To Duty Prince! let come whatever may
The laws of Duty no one shall gainsay
Thus have I laid on each his proper work
In his own sphere must each his duty do
A Prince king-born, how can you shirk the place
- 40 Appointed to all the fighting race?
Cross smaller channels—Doubt, decay of mind
The larger dangerous river—Fear pass.
Then will you find in front the safest Heav'n."
Thus spoke the Lord and yet he shook for fear,
- 45 He did not seize the abstract truth and so
The Lord gave concrete instance Janaka
"The sage-king taught the Vedic truths, yet ruled.
Karma's no less than Gnan—Right Deed is great."
Comforted Arjuna then asked of Gnan
- 50 And Bhakthi too. The Lord explained in words
Too high for human speech—It was in tongue
Of Gods in this and other worlds. Ah Gems!—
The disciple well-trained in ages past
Of Sankhy—Sage Kapila's school, five more
- 55 From Krishna learnt. Not all the schools could please
Or satisfy the longing after Brahm.
The teacher spoke. The Prince-disciple thought
No more of war in awful Presence lost,
Enraptured grand discourse on yogas three;
- 60 Sri Krishna knew—for what's not known to him?
'Amidst all themes, your Duty, Son! is War'
The Lord in sublime accent continued
"I am the Brahm, the Trinity in One
I am unique, pervade and transcend all.
- 65 I'm holy Trissyllable—Pranava
The Father, Maker, Death of Universe.
For universal good I all ordain
As all are instruments I make and use
I am the soul of all the universe.
- 70 All Nature is body 'volved at my command
I know no bonds of Time. Eternal One
I am the Absolute—not conditioned
By space. My laws not one can disobey
I direct all and not an atom moves
- 75 Without my Will. I am the Soul supreme

Presiding over all—the friend alike
 In Hell and Heav'n. To me the Universe
 Returns in Pralaya, to be outbreathed
 Again. I act no motive impelling.
 80 I am the end of all Tapas, sublime
 I am the Dark unknown, the only Light
 Revealing, yet revealed as if in dream
 By Veds the best of all true lore for worlds.
 The waves in Ocean ebb and flow, the souls
 85 In me arise and end." Sri Krishna stopped
 And Arjuna the bee forgot himself
 In taste of bliss; he could not speak before
 His solemn Presence whom the worlds adore,
 Remained unmoved *and felt and felt and felt*
 90 Was lost in labyrinth of feeling full.
 Trembling 'fore his Acharya and worlds
 In falt'ring voice he asked, "How can this child
 This feeble one know Nature's soul in thee
 See all contained, embraced by Form Divine?"
 95 The Lord gave first supreme spiritual sight
 Can mortal eyes the glorious vision see?
 "What awful form terrific, Kesava!
 O all-embracing form! eternal one!
 What tongue can speak, what eyes behold this light?
 100 Not all the splendid fires of sun and moon
 And stars, electric flash in all the sky
 Are ev'n an infinitesimal part—
 Superior light to suns in countless crores!
 The sun and moon and stars and all the worlds
 105 Before me pass and all the living souls
 The gods and men, bold Warriors now in field
 Mouth enter, are in bowels all absorbed
 As into ocean all the rivers flow
 Thy omnipresent shape, what mind can grasp?
 110 I ne'er ere this such greatness realised
 If e'er as relative or friend, I sinned
 Or scoffed, was unbecoming anyway,
 O Lord, forbear in grace, though faults are great
 Behold! form dreadful! wonted shape resume."
 115 "From time to time I incarnate, protect
 The good, destroy the bad; the warriors dead

Beheld in form, as too the battle fight
 Gain victory, renown; *in-duty kill*
 Place duty first, then slaying is no sin."
 120 Salvation was the only thought to him
 The Lord's command was war; he did not dare
 Against the noblest one exalted high
 The Prince's mind prepared, Our Saviour spoke
 "True Love's the best and easiest, Karma
 125 And Gnân in right proportion commingling
 Karma is great, but Gnân is greater still
 And both their consummation find in Love
 That's all-absorbed in sublime Truth, the One
 Without a second; Karma does what Love
 130 Desires, and Gnân the reason why doth find.
 Devotion knows no pride—it feels itself.
 A tool in His hands who doth guide, direct.
 Soul never dies, no qualities affect;
 Sensation is material, the mind
 135 More refined sense, thought, feeling mental work;
 Like air that fills yet changes not, the soul
 In all is full, of sense the body's base;
 The soul discerns and discriminates the True;
 I am the Soul Supreme pervading all
 140 Enlight'ning all as sun above the world;
 Creation's seed, the soil is Brahm, I sow
 As Para-Brahm; the soul attaining me
 Goes not to birth and death though all decay;
 A change is Death but re-birth other way.
 145 The elements dissolve, take other forms;
 From birth and re-birth liberate yourself
 Controlling qualities in number three,
 The first to innocence and gentleness
 And peace for self and all, the owner leads;
 150 The second takes the man to active spheres,
 The last to ignorance and strife and sleep;
 The one becomes a sage, the next a king,
 The last becomes a beast; each has his place
 In Heav'n or Earth or Hell as he deserves;
 155 The fruits of actions pass from birth to birth
 And either mar or help; Each man, his fate,
 Decides by his own acts; th' environments

- Must each adjust for greatest good, the food
Of health and purity, no stimulant
- 160 Or Narcotic, the men he moves among
For conduct pure and virtue selected;
Must man have Faith and Love in me and not
Be led away by Cupid-Mammon rule.
The motives too must well be watched
- 165 First leads to pleasure, next to mixed pain
And pleasure, last to pain; control of self
Is truest victory of soul o'er all;
Let man bear enmity to none, of all
The friend in brotherhood and fellowship
- 170 In me, the only object, goal of Love
And no attachment feel to men or place
Or surroundings of any kind; in pain
Or joy alike, of mind the peace preserve,
Directing all to one and holy end.
- 175 I am the final resting place of all
I am the one in whom Trimurthis merge,
I am the tree of which the Vêds are leaves,
I carry souls with me, as air the scents
And odours fragrant, waters earth afford;
- 180 The bliss of souls that go to me, the souls
A love may know and feel and not give out
For want of language adequate, the Vêds
Search after me in dark, reveal apart
The smallest part of what I am and do."
- 185 "To rid this never-ending succession
Of birth and death, to attain Moksh, to join
The one in thee in ever-lasting bliss,
In brief command; conflicting thoughts arise,
Is Karma best without regard to fruit?
- 190 Is Gnam the best? Denouncement ordained how
Will struggling soul accomplish well for good?"
Why should he war? Was first despondency
On eve of fight; why kill on Kesava
Expounding Action, Love and Wisdom true?
- 195 Why should he after seeing glorious Form?
On all the three occasions, great Krishna
The Prince-philosopher who ruled and rules
Th' empire of hearts on his disciple pressed,

- As first and foremost, Duty Lord imposed;
200 And now discourse Divine H₂ brought to close.
"Perform ceremonies and duties all
But not for fruit; as tool, not agent, feel;
And dedicate your service unto me;
I am in all, and all in me; this know;
205 Resign the world's attractions perfectly;
Let all your life be not, except for me
The Lord for Time. Existence all; your thoughts
Your Love, your Worship, thanks, prostration full
Go after me as bird its cage to rest.
- 210 I then declare Salvation's well attained.
Forsake the Dharmas all, surrender self
To me the only One and Absolute
Sins all I will destroy and confer Heav'n"
In vulgar tongue, in prose or reduced to verse
In little fullness' overflow, I write;
216 My heart went towards Him, in silence mused.
C. R. SREENIVASA RANGACHARY.

GANGADAR OR THE STORY OF A CONVERT.


GANGADARAN and Madhavan were reputed the brightest students of the Mission College at Taimanpur, which was the only institution that taught up to B.A. in the Southern Districts and whose spacious rooms were crowded with students attracted thither by the excellent quality of the instruction it imparted as well as by the comparatively low fees it charged for it. Gangadar was the holder of a scholarship of Rs. 10 a month which, added to the five sent by his father, a third-rate vakil of Pallavanpur, enabled him to devote his undivided attention to his studies with a degree of comfort and ease unknown to his fellow pupils. Gangadar was five years senior to his friend who hailed from the district of Coimbatore and who, though 18 at the time of our story, looked younger owing to his fragile form, short stature and fresh complexion. Madhavan's resources were limited to an allowance of Rs. 10 a month, remitted at irregular intervals by his father, a small mirasidar of Palaghat. During the early years of his course, Madhavan had eked it out by undertaking the private tuition of one or two boys in the town, but on his promotion to the Senior B.A. Class, he had given it up fearing that it might be prejudicial to his study. Of late, he had been driven to the necessity of borrowing either of Gangadar whose purse was always at his disposal or of Mr. Subbia Chetti, the wealthy merchant, and father of one of the pupils lately under his tuition, who, struck with the modesty and intelligence of Madhavan, had kindly allowed him to draw on him for whatever sums he wanted. Madhavan, in spite of his present indigence, had great expectations, which, if for the nonce they seemed to vanish away, might at any moment put him in a state of enviable affluence. His uncle Balaram, Revenue Inspector in Malabar, had substantially added to his large patrimony by the income, apart from his pay, he was getting during his 35 years' service and which, he having no family having lost his wife some ten years back and his only daughter Malati being brought up by his sister at Palaghat, went without diminution to swell his savings. The little Malati was the unconscious cause of the

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estrangement between her father and her aunt's husband, the latter having given great offence by seeming to have an opinion of his own in opposition to that of his wealthy brother-in-law. This worshipper of Mammon had piously believed that his proposal to make Madhavan his son-in-law and adopt him as his heir would be too great an act of condescension and generosity to his poor brother-in-law for the latter to do otherwise than clutch at it with thankfulness. The man's reply that he had destined him for a University course and wanted him to climb to the highest rung of the ladder at any cost, so irritated the haughty Balarar that he at once withdrew his daughter from his care and threatened to give her away to an illiterate scion of a noble house in the neighbourhood. It was this quarrel that had destroyed all hope of Madhavan's receiving pecuniary assistance from that quarter.

In a small room, improvised by the happy inspiration of the owner by enclosing a corner of his *pial*, the two friends were found most of out of the school hours reading, discussing, and talking apart by themselves and not infrequently disturbed by the friendly intrusion of some of their class-mates who dropped in the evenings either to seek for their help in the elucidation of a difficult passage or oftener to exchange opinions on the more important matters of the teaching powers of some lecturer, the conduct of a particular student, the quality of the meals served in their hotel, or some important news fished in the papers. It was a frequent complaint of these visitors that they could scarcely draw out of their den these owls—as they called them in derision at their exclusiveness and the dark narrow cell where they lived. The two had now spent over three years with hardly any separation except during the vacations, and the mutual regard which sprang out of this constant companionship had ripened into strong friendship untainted by selfishness or jealousy on either side. Gangadar's uniformly brilliant success year by year in carrying off the first prize inspired his friend with feelings akin to reverence and admiration at his transcendent genius which was nothing better than a strong understanding combined with methodical application. The homage which the younger paid to the elder did not, however, bind shrewd boys to the fact that the Professors in the class-room and the Chairmen in the Debate Hall had confessed themselves puzzled as to their choice between the two, commending the one for the breadth of his information

and his skill in marshalling facts, and the other for greater originality and a richer play of the imagination.

The open-hearted Madhavan had one of these days related without reserve the love between him and his cousin Malati and the story of its origin and growth. It had sprung up unknown to both in those days when Malati was living under his father's roof, and it fell to him of all her cousins to be her play mate and companion. It was his fortune to rivet his claims on her attachment by another—that of being her first instructor. His hand had guided her delicate little fingers over the pages of the Alphabet book and traced the lines and curves of freehand drawing, a subject in which she took extreme delight. The enraptured lover concluded with a sketch of her personal charms and her more solid attainments of the feminine graces and virtues and her love of knowledge and thirst for culture in which she excelled most of her sex in the land.

With the mingled pride of the teacher and the fondness of the lover, he exhibited some letters that she had written and some specimens of her needlework and drawing forwarded for his approval. Without waiting for his friend's opinion, he uttered his fervent prayer that the cloud which the tactless conduct of his father had raised might pass away and leave him to bask in the full blaze of her love.

This was the last year of their University course in the College, and the two friends worked away with heart and will in their study, shutting themselves more closely in their cell and sitting up in the nights far later than before. Malati's letters alone regularly broke the isolation and pierced the gloom and monotony to which they had condemned themselves. The letters all formed at once the record and the evidence of the continuous progress made by the fair writer in the various subjects, a taste for which had been implanted in her breast by her lover. The earlier letters described with childish glee the impression produced on her by the lovely scenery of the Western Ghats, the sea, the land and its interesting people, her splendid mansion and its garden and her father's resolution to throw up his appointment and join her in Calicut. In the next batch, she sketched out a plan of studies for herself together with another of recreative pursuits and occupations, comprising gardening, painting, embroidery and music, and gave the names of the instructors she had selected with the consent of her father who had now

come back and finally settled in his house. She hinted at the growing estrangement between him and Madhavan's father as evidenced by his placing an embargo on all communications with that quarter. It was not difficult for the reader to discern a feeling of annoyance and disapproval of her father's conduct running side by side with the feminine vanity and desire to merit his praise. The superscription, 'my dear cousin,' which she invariably adopted in writing to him, now breathed a warmth consonant with a more tender appellation. The letters which she was writing now were of late sounding a note of anxious trouble and weariness under an overburdening weight of cares. All talk of books, companions and gardens had suddenly vanished. Her father's temper was getting soured by infirmities of age and disease and by opposition to his wishes to which his daughter also contributed. Having waited long for his brother-in-law's repentance and not finding it forthcoming, growing weaker by frequent attacks of rheumatism and more fearful of Mrs. Grundy with regard to keeping his daughter unmarried so long, he now made up his mind to have her married in the month of Vaikasi (June) and actually fixed upon kalyanam, the eldest son of Narayana Sastri, for her husband. Summoning Malati one day he bade her see that everything was ready for her marriage with Narayana Sastri's son on the appointed day. Seeing the poor girl stunned by the news, he said, "Don't behave like a silly girl, Malati! I was told to look for better sense in you, with your book-learning and all that, on which I have allowed you to waste a lot of my money. I see it is all due to my folly in having placed you with the Palaghat folk. Don't make a fool of yourself by further thoughts of that milksop Madhavan who with all his English learning has neither sense nor spirit enough to know which side of his bread is buttered. Go, I shall not have it said that I am letting my girl grow an old maid for the sake of that Palaghat beggar's brat." Poor Malati retired from her father's presence to weep out her woes in a corner of the garden. The sense of her absolute loneliness and helplessness fell upon her soul with an oppressing weight. Never before had she wept so sincerely for the loss of her mother—the mother she never knew—at that moment. But Malati concealed an energy and quickness of decision under that fragile shape now budding into womanhood. She wiped her eyes and sat down to think.

It was useless to hope for a change in her father's determi-

nation. None of the inmates of the house—not even the old steward; the trusty servant of her father—would dare to remonstrate with him. Of her relations, her aunt was the only one she knew, but the mother of Madhavan would prove a bad intercessor in this case. Her only hope was that Madhavan might come to know of this sudden development of affairs and provide a way out of the difficulty by offering to give up his hateful study and marrying her himself. It was a surrender to the whims of his old uncle at the cost of all his higher aspirations, but Malati flattered herself that any sacrifice he might make would not be held too dear for her sake. As to his father's feelings on that point, her feminine sagacity suggested that Madhavan's renunciation of his father's scheme would be but a temporary interruption as he might take it up after her father's death, which owing to his increasing infirmity was not a thing of the far off future. The natural bashfulness of her sex together with her pride forbade her hinting at the course which his own love should suggest. Would any sympathiser write a line to Madhavan telling him of her trouble? She forebore writing him her usual letters, half hoping that her silence might give him the necessary warning. Meanwhile, she watched with fearful interest the hastening of the preparations for the event which was to tie her in indissoluble bonds to a stranger she neither knew nor loved. Her father was stricken down again with his old disease which tasked her attention and energy for a fortnight, but on his recovery, insisted that his word must be kept at all events and added that he would see from his death-bed his daughter wedded to the one he had chosen. The trials she had passed through and the heavy burden imposed on her shoulders for the last four months while weighing her buoyant spirit down to the point of breaking had at the same time transformed her from a gay and lively girl into a grave, thoughtful and pensive woman. Meanwhile Gangadar and his friend were working hard, and neither noticed in the absorbing attention to their studies and in a sudden new-born interest in a different matter, the entire cessation of intelligence from Malabar. If Madhavan sometimes thought of it, he attributed it to the probable illness of his old uncle, her increasing domestic work and even to her fear of disobeying her father in the matter of his explicit injunction against any communication with his family. Both had found a new source of interest for their spare hours in the society of a newly-arrived Professor—a young Frenchman—who had been

selected to fill the Philosophy Chair of the College. Of the dozen students who attended his lectures, none probably listened with greater interest to his teaching or rose more impressed with his profound erudition, his correct information and his stirring eloquence, than the two who sat sleepless nights reviewing his statements. His clear exposition, his bright genial conversation, his unassuming gentle demeanour and his faultless pure life all went to exalt the boys' admiration of his talents and character to the pitch of adoration. Insensibly they fell under the fascination of this wonderful teacher, and they frequently caught themselves hanging on his lips to hear his exquisite delineation of the perfect life, its aims and aspirations, its trials and sufferings and its earthly realization in the person of Jesus Christ. The success of the young and bold preacher was only too apparent in the glowing faces and the quickened pulses of his auditors. Strangely enough, in their nightly review, each admired in the Jesus portrayed for them by M. F. —entirely different qualities. While Gangadar's mind was drawn to the high intellectual pride and moral courage of the Master that rebuked the Pharisee and the Publican and defied their threats, Madhavan's heart was won by the gentler traits of Jesus—his passionate love of humanity, his boundless sympathy with the poor and the outcast and his unruffled meekness. Meanwhile not a whisper had reached their relations about the momentous change that was taking place in their religious convictions. They were too far off to know anything of what was transpiring and as yet there were few outward signs to indicate the final break with the faith of their fathers. It was only when they were about to start for Madras for the examination that it was noised about that the two had applied for admittance into the Christian Church and their baptism was fixed some date in December. The rumour spread like wild fire and a paragraph in the papers confirmed it and intensified the agitation gathering round the two boys. The two however maintained a calm and defiant attitude of silence on the subject and steeled their hearts to abuse and clamour. On the eve of the fateful day which was to witness their conversion, each received a telegram and after reading its contents silently passed it on to the other. Gangadar's face was calm, but Madhavan's betrayed strong emotion. The former had just learned that he was the father of a boy, the latter that his dearest girl lay dangerously ill at Calicut. The former was

inclined to treat the messages as the shabby trick of somebody interested in the delaying of the next day's event. But his knowledge of his wife's condition for some months back made him treat his with less suspicion and listen with patience to Madhavan's view of his. Madhavan put the sudden stoppage of Malati's letters and the telegram announcing her illness together and came to the conclusion that the telegram was genuine and that he must fly to her to have a last look at her and beg her forgiveness. Gangadar accompanied him to the station, and when Madhavan embraced him with tears and bade farewell, solemnly shook his head and said in a broken voice, "farewell, Madhavan; my first, my last friend! Blame me not, I am no prophet, but something tells me that here we part for ever, that from this moment our ways lie apart." Madhavan struggled to make a denial, but the whistle blew and the train steamed away. On the third day following, Madhavan was kneeling by Malati's bedside, holding her thin worn hands in his and gazing into her eyes. Once he thought his voice called up a flush on her pale brow and a brighter light into her wild eyes. There were no other signs of recognition. The old man was sobbing out in piteous tones from one side of the couch and calling on her name, Malati, Malati! In the midst of his cries, he hurled curses on the enemies who by their sorcery were trying to ruin him and destroy his only child. That evening, he received a letter from M. F.—enclosing a note of introduction to his friend Rev. L.—of Mahe and telling him he had heard of the reason of his sudden departure from his friend Gangadar and was confident of the ability of Rev. L.—to work a cure in this case. Early morning Madhavan took a passing vessel to Mahe and at once delivered the note into the priest's hands. The kind old priest, acquainted with the emergency, at once rode off to Calicut which he reached that evening. A careful examination of the patient's condition and the enquiries touching the previous circumstances satisfied him it was a case of nervous prostration caused by overwork and trouble. The abnormal strain on her nerves was too much for her frail form to bear, and it ended in a high fever. A casual mention of Madhavan's name in her delirium caused a suspicion in the mind of the old steward who at once sent the telegram already alluded to. The cure started by the skilful treatment of Rev. L.—was accelerated by the patient's discovery that Madhavan was with her. The old uncle who had

first grumbled at his nephew's intrusion was gradually let into the secret and with bad grace yielded to the inevitable.

Gangadar's letter written after his examination briefly conveyed his satisfaction at his answers, his hope of taking a place in the first class and his enquiries about Malati's progress. Madhavan felt that it was the first sacrifice he was making for Malati's love and his first disobedience of his father's commands. The Rev. L.—who had in the course of his few days' acquaintance entirely won the confidence of Madhavan by his refusal to accept any remuneration for his services and by his sincerity—was soon informed of the young man's secret and requested for advice in his perplexity. "You have saved Malati from danger. I have seen her safe and well. Nothing more remains for me to do but to go back and do what my honour bids and my conscience approves." Rev. L.—enquired if he had obtained the consent of his parents. Madhavan put into his hands two letters he had received, one from his old father who denounced the most frightful curses on his head and the other from his mother telling him that his mother was heart-broken. The old man read them and then warned him against any undue rashness or precipitancy. Madhavan hesitated. The venerable priest, pointing to his grey hairs, said, "Look at these grey hairs and give me credit for greater experience, if not, riper wisdom, than others of my holy calling. For 30 years I have toiled in the land and amidst men of diverse faiths and tongues, believe when I say that the missionary does more harm than good when he tears a young man from the bosom of his family. I do not speak of other cases. What misery have not this aged eyes seen, caused by the imprudent zeal of some of my raw brethren? I for one shall never dare to appear before the Lord as His humble appointed servant with the burden of this responsibility on my head. Blessed are the peace-makers! The Lord himself preached peace and goodwill to all men! Go away, my son, in peace! Let the good seed sown by my brethren fructify in thy heart, till in the fulness of time, it shall grow into a fair and strong tree laden with the blossoms of Grace. Wait, my son, for the call of the Shepherd that shall summon thee to his fold. Let not thy father's son bring his grey hairs with sorrow down to the grave or thy mother smite the breast that suckled thee with anguish. In sooth, the girl whom the Lord hath of his Grace with my unworthy hands raised from the

ave, will sink back into it by the rash words of time. God's house is not built on broken hearts, blasted hopes or vain regrets." A strange peace fell on the soul of Madhavan who knelt down and kissed the hands of the good man whose lips had shed the balm on his troubled mind. He took leave and with a light step and grateful heart went back to his uncle's house. The admonition of the good old priest and his conviction that time would never work a change in his opinions induced him to think of meeting his friend whose silence seemed to rebuke him for his weakness.

A malicious visitor who had happened to hear of his doings at Taimanpur, had fished up from an old file the number containing the announcement of his conversion and read it with triumph to the old Balaram in the presence of his daughter. This was the first information they ever had, and it produced a shock to both. The old man indignantly swore that he would rather see her again at death's door than married to a Christian and ordered his men to turn the apostate away from his house. A blush mounted to the cheek of Malati while tears stood in her eyes. Quietly she withdrew from the room and descended to the garden to wait for Madhavan's approach. It was late in the evening when he came, and he was at once drawn by Malati to a secluded nook of the garden. The courageous girl nerved herself to speak, "My dear cousin, Are you not hiding something from me? Are you afraid of Malati's ridicule or censure? And she put her arms about his neck and kissed him. Stung by her questions, Madhavan repelled the charge of cowardice and insincerity, and declared he had not become a Christian yet and that he had meant to disclose the true state of his opinions before seeking her hand in marriage. To his astonishment, she did not draw back in horror or aversion, but looked up to his face boldly and lovingly and murmured out sweetly; "You taught me to read, you taught me to love you, and I have taught myself in your absence to think you are right and to believe you." Will you also do the like and take me, as I am, a beggar-girl who brings nothing but what she owes to yourself." She then related what had occurred during the interview between her father and the stranger. Madhavan was quite contented and after kissing her bidding her farewell, he took the train and sought out Gangadar. The latter would not admit, though he was doing a truth, that he was waiting for his friend's arrival to cross the

Rubicon. When Madhavan proceeded therefore to enter on the recital of the several things that had taken place as his reasons for urging him to postpone the decisive step, Gangadar smiled sardonically and said: "Mind you, my friend! Take my word for it, you shall never hear the call promised by the old priest who so timely saved your Malati's body from death and your soul from perdition! Malti's voice, if not your parents, will eventually drown the Shepherds' call: said I not, the last time, that our ways parted?" Madhavan reddened and put in a remonstrance but Gangadar would not stop to hear. The same evening, a young girl with a baby in her arm crossed the threshold. It was his wife and child. The young wife threw herself at his feet weeping and prayed him to turn back. Gangadar calmly pointed out that her duty was to be with him for better for worse and that he still regarded her as his truly wedded wife and would wed none other and that if she did not believe with him in his new faith, she might follow hers unmolested. The girl drew back in fright, and for the first time Gangadar felt that he had lost his best friend and his beloved wife at once.

A paragraph in the evening papers of the 3rd day after these scenes contained the following announcement: "Gangadar, a Brahmin lad of 25, formerly student of Taimanpur College, who has passed the late B.A. Examination as the first in the list, was baptized yesterday at the Roman Catholic Church—by Rev. Mr. The *Malabar Weekly Post* of the same date had a short notice of the death of the rich pensioned Revenue Inspector Balaram Aiyar by a sudden attack of rheumatic fever and of the marriage of his only daughter with Madhava Aiyar of Palaghat, having been fixed a fortnight later.

S. T. RAMACHANDRA SASTRI, B.A.

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INDIA AND THE CHAMBERLAIN TARIFF.

IN all the speeches and articles that we have read on the tariff controversy we have seldom seen any serious attempt made to estimate the probable and possible effect of the proposed tariff policy on India's interests, if we leave out of consideration the debate in the House of Lords led by Lord Northbrook and others. Both Mr. Chamberlain and the leaders of the Liberal party have been content to make only vague and passing references to India in this connection; and it does not appear that they have at all taken this country into serious account in calculating the consequences of the new scheme. India is a dependency and it will remain a dependency having neither the ability to give a preference to any country nor the power to retaliate against any. She will have to abide by any condition or restriction imposed upon her by England in the interests of other parts of the Empire. She may complain; but who is to heed her complaint? With such a consciousness of the utter helplessness of India, it is no wonder that British statesmen and politicians do not regard India's interests as of any importance in the arrangement of their plan. But for us it is easy to perceive that India will be doomed in the new arrangement unless she is allowed to have a voice in settling her fate like the rest of the Empire. Britain will not allow any arrangement which will adversely affect her own position or interests. The colonies are strong enough to take care of themselves and to resist any attempt to jeopardise their future. But India will have to accept any arrangement which others may choose to force upon her.

The economic evils she has suffered are already great; and they have been solely due to British selfishness. She has long ceased to be an industrial country; and her position as a producing country is now seriously threatened. Her exports of raw produce are infinitely larger than her imports which consist mainly of the products of European manufacture. England would certainly take care to keep India as a market for her manufactured goods, while it will not be in her power to guarantee to India the existing markets for her raw produce. If the British empire gives preference to the mother country and the colonies, other parts of the world will retaliate against it, and heavy retaliatory tariffs will keep out Indian produce from the markets of other countries.

England has no interest in developing the industries of India, and so long as she can she will keep India as a non-industrial country. She knows that this country affords a wide market for her manufactures and she will manage to keep this market open. But she will be less interested in maintaining India's markets for her raw produce; and when her new preferential tariff policy is launched, she will be helpless to do so. This is a phase of the problem which the people of this country cannot overlook.

In all the calculations which Englishmen are making in regard to India it is evident that they regard this country as intended solely to furnish a market for the manufactures of England; and they are concerned with her commercial prosperity only so far as that may be helpful to England. India is a great producing country, and she sends a considerable portion of her produce to England for the British manufacturers to work upon. So far as this is concerned it is the interest of England that India should continue a producing country; but she cannot take all the raw produce of India much of which is exported to other countries. It is not likely that in arranging her tariff policy England will have due regard for the latter fact or that she will be careful to protect India's interests in this respect.

India has, indeed, suffered immensely from Free Trade, at least such as has been applied to her; and she would welcome protection for her own sake. But will she be allowed to arrange her affairs and protect her interests in the way that she finds best, or will she be sacrificed again in the name of protection as she has already been sacrificed in the name of Free Trade? This is the

most important question for us. India wants protection badly. She wants protection for her decaying and nascent industries. She wants protection for such new industries as she may still try to set up. She will, therefore, gladly join the new tariff arrangement, provided she is permitted the same freedom and independence as the colonies, and not if she is treated as the milch cow of England and the Colonies to be utilised in any way they like for their selfish purposes. India must have a voice, and an effective voice, in the regulation of her own fiscal and commercial policy; and if this is granted, protection can be of immense benefit to her. Will England allow this to us, or will she only ruin our agriculture in the name of protection as she has ruined our manufacturing industries in the name of Free Trade? Upon this basis the Government and the people of India have to consider the new tariff policy.

Even in considering the producing interests of India there is the danger of a small class of European capitalists who are engaged in the production of jute, indigo, tea, coffee and chinchona being identified with the vast agricultural population of this country. This class is influential in India, and has influential ties in England. It is likely, therefore, that their interests may be safeguarded, while those of the millions of Indian cultivators will be sacrificed. Englishmen, when they speak of the producing industry of India, have in mind only the industry in which European planters are engaged. The industry in which millions of the Indian people are engaged is of no concern to them. The Indian Government have adopted various steps to help this limited class. They have passed penal laws of a severe kind to secure them cheap labour without any of the inconveniences incidental to contracts between capitalists and labourers. They would do no such thing for the sake of the Indian capitalist or agriculturist, and it is not likely that, under the new tariff arrangement, he will be more thought of than he has been in other matters. Yet India depends upon her produce and not upon her manufactures which have been destroyed beyond redemption by the Free Trade policy unrelentingly forced upon this country.

If, indeed, India were allowed to arrange her own tariff policy, there could be still hope for her industries. Her mills and factories can be made to work at a profit, and she may be able to withstand the crushing competition of the West. Without some measure of protection there is no hope for her indus-

tries. The question, then, is whether England will allow her to do what she thinks best for her interests. The strongest supporters of the Chamberlain Tariff and the kindest friends of India have, so far as we can see, no idea of protecting the industries of India in the manner that we want and desire. They are content to retain India as a supplier of raw produce to England in preference to other countries of Europe and America. Sir Roper Lethbridge, a genuine Anglo-Indian and a friend of India, has favoured us with a pamphlet which he has written under the title of "India and our Fiscal Policy." In this pamphlet he endeavours to demonstrate the advantages that will accrue to India from Mr. Chamberlain's tariff scheme. Sir Roper is a protectionist to the core; and he has faith in a protectionist policy for India. But while dilating on the injustice that the free trade policy of England has done to this country, he has evidently no desire to extend protection to the manufacturing industries of India. What on the other hand he expects from including India in Mr. Chamberlain's scheme is an extension of the Indian market for British manufactures and an enlargement of the area of production in this country. He regards India merely as "a provider of our needs in food and raw materials and as the consumer of our manufactured goods," and his object is to increase the usefulness of India in both these respects, and not to enable her to stand on her own legs. He says, for example, that it would be of immense value to England to have within the empire "a sober, thrifty, industrious, and rapidly progressive population of 300,000,000 customers for our manufactured goods;" and he goes on to add: "The professional, commercial and official classes of the Indian population are quite equal in refinement and cultivation to the same classes in any European country. I mention these facts, though they will be well known already to many who read them, simply to illustrate my point, that from a mere commercial point of view the consuming power of such a population must be almost illimitable and, to say the least, able in the near future to absorb all that we can send them of the produce of our factories and mills. A highly organised community, progressing yearly by leaps and bounds in wealth and in the standard of comfort, at all events in the higher middle classes, with a government and local administration unsurpassed in the world, with law and order absolutely assured, with high commercial morality, and contracts as trustworthy as in England—such is the market,

unique in its actualities, and simply boundless in its potentialities, that we are throwing away to the foreigner, simply to gratify the prejudices of some doctrinaires of an obsolete school of political economy!"

Indeed, England is right and will be justified in taking every possible step to keep India as a market for her manufactured articles to the exclusion of foreigners; and there is, therefore, a good deal of force in what Sir Roper Lethbridge says. But in a tariff arrangement which its author professes to be in the interests of all parts of the Empire, India has a claim to be given at least these advantages which the colonies will be assured. That England should have the best of India while the latter should be content to remain as she is, dependent upon a distant country for all that she needs of manufactured articles, and that she should have never the opportunity and the power of manufacturing those articles for herself is a proposition which is remarkable for its one-sidedness, and betrays a sad want of sympathy with the industrial aspirations of India. It is a matter of perfect indifference to us from what country we get our manufactured articles. So long as we are dependent upon other countries for them, we have a right to get them on the cheapest possible terms. Is there any guarantee, if foreign countries are excluded from our market by preferential tariffs, that we shall not be compelled to purchase things from England at a much higher price than now? When England becomes the master of the situation by keeping out all competitors, will she not have the power and the temptation to push up the prices of her commodities, instead of, out of generosity for India, fixing her prices with a view to the benefit or advantage of the Indian consumer? The English manufacturers will refuse to be controlled by the State in regard to the prices which they may think proper to impose on their goods; and freed from all fear of foreign competition they will be in a position to make us their slaves. They will not certainly allow us to revive our ancient industries or to start and develop new ones. What is, then, the advantage to India from her being included in Mr. Chamberlain's scheme? All that Sir Roper Lethbridge says may be inviting to the British manufacturer; it will surely catch their fancy, and strengthen their selfishness. But will the prospects he points out do any good to India and her people? We are bound to consider our interests first before we consider the interests of

England. Sir Roper, however, considers exclusively the interests of his own country, and treats India as if she is bound ever to remain in her present state of commercial dependence and helplessness, if anything, making that dependence greater upon the country which, as he himself admits, has ruined her in the past by the most scandalous arrangements which she has forced upon her.

The boasted free trade and all its advantages have invariably been for England, and not for India. While England has flourished under it India has been ruined. We are glad that Sir Roper Lethbridge himself confesses this to a certain extent. He says: "It may, indeed, be urged by the Free Importers that we have already imposed on India, by force of arms and the gravest injustice, a sort of one-sided agreement, under which we tax their tea over 75 per cent. *ad valorem*, their sugar, and their tobacco, while we graciously allow them to tax our cotton goods 3½ per cent. *ad valorem*, on condition that they put an equal excise tax on their own cotton goods. But this sort of thing cannot possibly go on. The whole world would cry shame on us, it is a state of affairs very different from the just and honourable settlement of a commercial federation with preferential tariffs." But this sort of thing has gone on; and it will go on so long as India has not the right to make her own tariff arrangements. Sir Roper, however, makes no suggestion to give even a modified independence to India in this regard. His mind, we regret to say, is wholly occupied with the interests of the United Kingdom as against those of France, Germany and other foreign countries. If India is to remain independent, she must at least have the right and the facility to supply her needs on the cheapest terms. This she will be prevented from doing under the proposed arrangements. What, then, is the hope for India? And why should she welcome Mr. Chamberlain's scheme except on the condition that she will be permitted to devise her own tariff arrangements?

The Excise duty of 3½ per cent., to which Sir Roper has referred in justly indignant terms, is unjustifiable from every point of view. Its only effect is to impose a double tax on the Indian people. It does not help her own industries while it compels the people to pay a higher price for the cotton goods they want. Except for the purposes of revenue, India would be in the same condition without the import duty as she is with it, so far as her industries are concerned, while more money will have to

be paid by the people into the coffers of Government without any direct benefit to them. If Mr Chamberlain can afford us a remedy for this scandalous state of things, then we may be able to consider his scheme from the point of view of India's interest. But if its only effect is to be to make India more dependent, and to impoverish her more and more, we may be excused for regarding it with alarm and aversion. Sir Roper Lethbridge's exposition does not encourage us to hope for any advantage, although it may rouse the selfishness of English manufacturers.

When he comes to consider India as a producing country, as the "universal provider" as he calls her, he urges a point which may appear advantageous to this country, but which, in reality, we hesitate to consider so. Of course, he proceeds on the assumption that the proposed system of preferential tariffs shall have regard to the commerce and the industry of the Empire as a whole and every constituent part of it, that is to say, there will be some fair arrangement of "give and take" all round, so as to safeguard and foster the interests of the United Kingdom, the Colonies and India without prejudice to any. This means that India will be given the right to settle her own tariff policy so as to safeguard her interests. But we are bound to say that such a step will be an innovation—agreeable enough to us—in the relations between England and India. Judging the future by the past and the present, we have no reason to hope that England or even the Colonies will be willing to give India a potential voice in her tariff arrangements. If they do, it will be generous on their part and just to India. But we have to view the situation in the light of our past experience and of the possibilities that lie before us. We have shown that it is not to the interests of England to safeguard or foster the industries of India. What she wants is a wide and widening market for her manufactures which, as Sir Roper Lethbridge points out, she has in India. In this respect Sir Roper does not recommend, and does not contemplate, any change of policy. In what way is, then, India going to be benefited if her industries are to receive no sort of protection from the inroads of English and of foreign manufactures? In the scheme contemplated by him, there is no room, so far as we can see, for India to safeguard and foster her industries. And his idea of the expansion of the area of produce we shall show to be chimerical.

The points which he emphasises are these: (1) that there are still much more than one hundred millions of acres of 'culturable

waste' in India, and a large proportion of this immense area is actually awaiting the plough, if only a good market can be found for the products; (2) that labour is efficient and by far the cheapest in the world, the working classes being well-known for their temperate and thrifty habits; (3) that the soil is rich and fertile and there is such a variety of climate that there is hardly a necessary of life which cannot be grown abundantly in one or other provinces of India; and (4) that all these can be turned to the advantage of the United Kingdom and India alike by a system of preferential tariff such as Mr. Chamberlain proposes. Thus it is made clear that the only part that India is intended to play in the great tariff scheme is that of a provider of cheap food for the Empire, and specially for England. It is a question how far this will be advantageous to India, and how far her prosperity will be affected by such a position. Sir Roper Lethbridge proposes that Indian raw produce should be given preference in the United Kingdom as against the produce of foreign countries. He says, and we admit it, that it will be to the advantage of the United Kingdom to cease her dependence upon foreign countries for her food, and to indent for the same upon India which can be controlled and managed in any way she pleases. At present, as he observes, the national food of the British people can be raised or lowered by the manipulation of the flour market, which is mainly in the hands of the foreigner. But Indian produce is "grown by British subjects for British subjects, carried by British ships, navigated by British sailors, and bought and sold by British subjects in an honourable way," from the detestable operations of foreigners. Hence, surely, the food supply of the United Kingdom can be freed from the danger of being "cornered" by foreigners in time of peace and being cut off in time of war. But his assumption that this will add to the prosperity of India has to be examined. Will it be to the good of India to be always the provider of cheap food to the Empire, without restricting the export of her food and raw materials to other countries? Will it not be, on the other hand, to her advantage to be able to retain all the food that she requires for local consumption, and to manufacture raw materials into such products as she requires for her own needs, instead of ever depending on foreign countries. India's prosperity can be assured, in our opinion, only if she is allowed freedom in these two respects. Such a contingency Sir Roper Lethbridge does not contemplate though he says towards

the close of his pamphlet that India must be given the same freedom as the Colonies. The line of argument he pursues does not, however, admit of this contingency. It only takes into account the possibility of India being given a preference in the United Kingdom as regards her raw produce as against foreign countries.

Again there is the question whether India can be very much benefited by such preference. Do foreign countries compete with India in regard to all her raw produce or even in regard to the most important ones? We mean by foreign countries those countries which are not within the British Empire. The Colonies would not be foreign countries in this sense, and they would not agree to a preferential tariff in favour of India and against themselves. So, as against the Colonies, India would not get protection or preference. As against foreign countries the advantages of preference are, at best, problematical. A close examination of the commodities which India exports will show that India has very little that requires preference in the United Kingdom, and very little that can be protected by preference. What India most needs is protection for her domestic industries; and against this Lancashire will rise in arms. Will Mr. Chamberlain be able to withstand their opposition, and will he persuade them to give up their selfish policy? If he can give India a real voice in the arrangement of her own tariff and if he can enable her to resist the selfishness of British manufacturers, there is some hope for her from Mr. Chamberlain's scheme. But if, as Sir Roper Lethbridge proposes, she is to depend for ever on the United Kingdom for all the manufactured articles she requires, India can only remain in deeper despair than ever.

We gladly acknowledge that Sir Roper is really anxious to do a good turn to India, and that he is sincerely indignant at the disgracefully selfish way in which England has treated her in the past. But we are less hopeful of any good resulting to this country from the plan he sketches; and the chances are that India may still further be ruined by the Chamberlain tariff, in as much as it will set foreign countries against India as against the rest of the Empire when the United Kingdom imposes preferential or retaliatory tariffs against them in the interests of herself and the Colonies.

THE MADRAS CITY MUNICIPAL BILL.

THOSE who are genuinely interested, not in themselves, but in the political advancement of this country, must feel the greatest pain and disappointment at the new legislative measure proposed by the Government of Madras. The new City Municipality Bill goes against the very grain of local self-Government. It tramples under foot the revered principle that those who pay the local rates should have control over their local affairs. No taxation without representation is a grand principle which is not applied to the Government of this country. But it has been applied by the Government in this country to those purely local matters which fall within the province of Municipalities. These local bodies were first created on this principle; and within recent years it has received increased recognition. In the first stages, official control was needed and was exercised; but in successive stages this control has been gradually relaxed, and greater powers have been conferred on the representatives of the tax-payers. There are, indeed, Municipalities in this country which have not uniformly progressed on the elective basis; and in their case Government has occasionally interfered and applied temporary punitive remedies. Whether it has been well or ill advised in this it is not necessary to consider in this connection; but the history of the Municipality of Madras has been one of continued development and progress from pure Government control to a state of genuine local self-Government by the people. The course has now been changed; and we are now asked to go backwards, not exactly to the old order of Government control, but to an entirely new order of control by a handful of people who pay the lowest portion of the Municipal tax. The Europeans who pay something like 5 per cent. of the total Municipal revenue are hereafter to manage and control the local concerns of those who contribute the remaining 95 per cent. of the revenue.

Under its existing constitution the Municipality has 32 members with a President appointed by the Government at its head. Of these 32, as many as 24 are elected by the rate-payers, and 8 nominated by the Government. It is now proposed to reduce the representation of the rate-payers from 24 to 16,

and give away the remaining 8 to European bodies such as the Chamber of Commerce, the Trades Association, the Harbour Trust Board and the Madras and South Indian Railways, the other 8 continuing to be nominated as hitherto by the Government. The Standing Committee which is the executive body of the Municipality is to be reconstituted in a much more revolutionary manner. The existing number is to be raised to 12, and the distribution of these 12 is strikingly original. If it is to be fair and proportional to the total strength of the Commission, the sixteen representatives of the rate-payers should be allowed to elect half the members of the Standing Committee. But this is not what is proposed. The 16 nominated and European Commissioners are to have 8 representatives on the Standing Committee while the 16 elected Commissioners have to be content with only 4. It is impossible to perceive the principle upon which this arrangement is based. If the principle of Indian representation is at all recognised, if it is acknowledged that those who pay the taxes should have any voice in the management of their Municipal affairs, the Standing Committee which is to be representative of the Corporation should be constituted on a rational basis so as to represent the various parts of the main body in proportion to their strength. There is no more meaning in allotting 8 out of 12 seats to the 16 nominated and European Commissioners than in making the President of the Corporation independent of the Commissioners. The Legislature may as well declare that the acts of the President shall not be questioned by the Commissioners as make the representatives of the European Commissioners supreme in the Standing Committee. The proposal is preposterous in the highest degree, and is little short of a denial to the people of this country of all real share in the management of their local affairs and in the expenditure of their local rates.

The purpose of the legislation is to transfer the administration of the Municipality from the hands of the tax-payers into those of a handful of Europeans who have no permanent stake in the country and who can have no means of acquainting themselves with the wants of the vast Indian population. The people would sooner allow the Government to assume the entire management of the Municipality than leave it to European Commissioners who would naturally feel less responsibility to them. So far as they are concerned, local self-Government must either

be a reality to them, or their local affairs must be managed for them by the Government. The Government are their masters; but they do not want to be ruled by European merchants with the money they pay. If efficiency alone is the consideration of Government, it can be best secured by making the Municipality a department of Government. There can be no doubt that officers of Government can conduct the Municipal Administration with far greater efficiency than European merchants. But if, besides efficiency, it is also intended that they must have the right to manage their local affairs and that by that means they must undergo a preliminary training for a higher political life, as used to be the principle and professions of the greatest British statesmen, then nothing could more effectively defeat that intention than the Bill which has now been devised. We see no other meaning in the proposed legislation than that the natives of India must give up all hope of a real voice in the management of their Municipal affairs, and that they must not expect through that means to train themselves for a higher political state such as has been their dream and the promise of the British Government all these years. The two most important blessings which Indians value under British rule are English education and local self-Government. They have centred all their hopes for the future in these two agencies. Yet it is precisely as regards these two matters that the present day rulers of India show the most reactionary spirit.

Even as regards efficiency, it is not intended or even suggested that the Madras Municipality has failed, or fallen short of a reasonable standard. The Government's opinion of its administration from year to year has been one of approval and satisfaction. There has so been no occasion to pass a condemnation in any respect. The Municipal Commissioners have never been charged with or even suspected of any irregularity, misconduct, waste of funds or inadequate attention to their duties. Nor have they been charged with any serious omission or any unwillingness to do all that is possible, with the funds at their disposal, for the improvement of the City. Their only fault, if it is a fault, has been that they have not the ample resources which alone will enable them to attain the ideal excellence which irresponsible people imagine to be possible. The new Municipal Bill, however, will not add to the resources of the Corporation. It will not bring more money into its

coffers to carry out the many projects which the elected Indian Commissioners themselves have long desired and urged, but have failed because there is no money. It is, therefore, impossible to see what blessing the proposed constitution is going to bring to the City. The only object that can be attained will be that the Indian Commissioners who are in the majority will be reduced to impotence by diminishing their number, and the control of the taxes which the Indians pay will be transferred from their hands into those of Europeans who have no permanent interest in the City and little concern with the well-being of the vast Indian population. There will surely be created a body who will not be responsible to the tax-payers, but will employ their power to the best advantage of the class which they may represent. They may squander funds, they may apply it to unjustifiable uses. But the tax-payers shall not question them, but shall quietly abide by what they do. We cannot conceive of a more dangerous and scandalous contingency than that which will be created by the altered constitution and system of management, as proposed in the Bill; and the Government will be entirely responsible for it.

If the object of the Bill is the improvement of the Municipality and not the effacement of local self-Government, we should have found in it some earnest endeavour to enlarge the electorate, to bring within it a more intelligent and educated classes of voters, to extend the franchise to as many people as can, by their intelligence, education and character, be expected to discharge their responsibility with a keen eye to the interests of the Municipal Administration. What is evident on the other hand is an attempt to narrow the field of representation, to exclude as many intelligent people from it as possible, and to Europeanise and officialise the corporation and the managing body. There are hundreds of educated and intelligent men in this City who are at present, out of the electorate. The Bill does not provide for the admission of these to the franchise. It does not by any means recognise the need for enlarging the area of representation. The existing Act is to be amended in the interests of local self-Government, some genuine attempt should be made to revise the electorate so as to improve it by the admission into it intelligent and educated men who can be depended upon to exercise their privilege with a right conception of what is expected of them. That intelligence and education have their importance and value, apart from the ownership of property, is

recognised in the admission of all University Graduates to the franchise. Why not then extend this principle in favour of men who, though not Graduates, are not inferior to them in point of intelligence, education and public spirit? There are hundreds of men in this city who are in receipt of salaries liable to be assessed for the professional tax. Those getting a salary of Rs. 100 to Rs. 200 a month pay a professional tax of Rs. 5 per annum, while those in receipt of salaries ranging between Rs. 200 and Rs. 500 pay double the amount. Yet these class of people have not a vote unless they are either Graduates or owners or occupiers of house property whose monthly rental is Rs. 25 or who pay an annual house tax of the same amount. Now it is obvious that those who are in receipt of a salary Rs. 200 or more are intelligent and educated men. They are certainly better qualified to exercise the franchise than are mere house-owners or money-lenders who in many cases are not educated men. In the case of a house-owner or money-lender there is no guarantee of any educational qualification. But those who are employed in Public offices or in Private business on a respectable salary are invariably men possessing certain intellectual and educational qualifications. If the improvement of local self-Government is one of the objects of Government, it ought to devise an electorate large enough and comprehensive enough to include in it all the more intelligent classes of citizens. But the Bill curiously enough excludes even those who are already in it in open disregard of the principle that those who pay the tax must have a voice in the Municipal Administration. It is difficult to see on what principle the Government proposes to remove animal and vehicle taxes from the category of taxes which qualify a person to have a vote, and why one form of Municipal tax should be treated differently from another. The man who drives in a carriage has as much right as the house-owner or one who pays a tax on his profession or salary to see that the roads and streets are kept in a good condition and that the sanitation of the City is well attended to. The differentiation that is now proposed has no other justification than that it is maintained in Bombay; but nobody knows anything of the peculiar circumstances which led to its acceptance in the Western Presidency. When there is an intelligent principle to go upon, there is no justification for going in for an irregular example that is found elsewhere.

It has been urged in certain quarters that only a small

proportion of voters go to the poll. This is most misleading. Voters rush in large numbers only when an election is contested. Unopposed elections nowhere attract an enormous crowd. Taking the contested elections alone in Madras, there is no lack of interest shown by electors. At every contested election a very large percentage of voters proceed to the poll. That a larger number of elections are not contested is due to the fact that the list of men eligible to be elected as Municipal Commissioners is unduly limited by a too high standard of property qualification. The 100 rupees limit shuts out many of the most intelligent and public-spirited men in the City who, but for this disqualification, would contest Municipal elections and would make excellent Municipal Commissioners. In the absence of such men, a class of ill-educated property-owners have the advantage of sitting as Municipal Commissioners to the exclusion of far better men. It is possible by an intelligent re-arrangement of the existing list to bring within it a much superior class of men and thus raise the standard of intelligence and ability among Municipal Commissioners some of whom are at present in the Board because better men were not permitted to contest the seat with them. If the new Municipal Bill had been devised so as to effect improvements in these desirable directions, it would have been possible to say a word in favour of it. But as it is, it seems designed to destroy local self-Government in Madras and to invest a class of aliens with supreme power in the control and management of the affairs of the City.

It is necessary to see what interest the European residents of Madras have hitherto evinced in the Municipal administration of the city. What is the total number of voters among them, and how many of them have attended the poll ever since the franchise was introduced in the present form? It is a well known fact that Europeans do not take the trouble of recording their votes even in keenly contested elections; and candidates for election have been told by European voters that they do not care to vote. This shows that they feel no interest in the Municipal elections, and in the Municipal administration except to the extent of their own neighbourhood being kept in a satisfactory condition. If they do not care to record their votes, they do not also care to seek election as Municipal Commissioners. Even in those wards where the European votes can decide an election, no European seeks to become a Municipal

Commissioner. Is this because the Indian Commissioners are in the majority in the Municipality; or is it due to their lack of interest in matters which do not benefit them directly? Europeans are excellent people. We do not deny that they have business capacity. But we are bound to recognise that their Mission in India is to make a profit out of their business, and not to render gratuitous service at the expense of their time and energy; to the sacrifice of their profit in business. Is there any guarantee that they will take greater interest in Municipal affairs when the proposed Act comes into operation than they have been doing hitherto? If they do not, what will be the result? The control and supervision now exercised by the Indian Municipal Commissioners will have disappeared; and self-respecting Indians will, as in Calcutta, abstain from participation in the affairs of the Corporation. The European Commissioners will have neither the time nor the inclination to pay any close attention to Municipal affairs; and the executive and their army of subordinates will manage Municipal affairs just as they like. There will be no check or control over expenditure; and there will be none to take care of the interests of the vast Indian populations that live in narrow streets and by-lanes. The Indian inhabitants will be left alone, while the taxes they pay will be spent in the most irresponsible manner. This is the prospect for Madras. We can only hope that we shall prove bad prophets?

ISLAM UNDER THE SECOND KALIPH.

II.

(I owe an apology to the readers of the "Madrass Review" for the exceptionally late appearance of my second article. More than one cause over which I had no control contributed to the delay for which I crave their forgiveness.)

COURTS were established in various Provinces and cities for the dispensation of Civil Justice. Though few in number as compared with the extent of the Empire, they were sufficient for actual requirements, as all non-Mussalmans had permission to settle their disputes amongst themselves. Thus seldom if ever did their cases come up before such tribunals for adjudication.

Special measures were adopted for the acquirement of independent evidence. Apart from ordinary witnesses cited by the litigants each Court had at its disposal a staff of specialists and experts whose views and opinions were freely obtained in cases where such were in requisition. Once a person composed a libellous verse against a comrade with whom he was not on terms, but he was so cautious in his language that to a lay or ordinary mind the libel was not apparent. The Kaliph therefore ordered that Hasun bin Sabith, the poet laureate of the age, should be consulted and the case dealt with according to his interpretation. In disposing of claims involving questions of descent or relationship the opinion of skilled physiognomists was always obtained as a help in arriving at the truth.

The rules of procedure whether in the matter of civil suits or criminal cases point to but one fact—*viz.*, that the great Kaliph wished to place cheap justice within the easy reach of every one. All in quest of legal redress had to contend with none of those difficulties and disabilities which are now so common in all civilized countries. The filing of a suit entailed neither expenditure nor the preparation of elaborate complaints and technical affidavits. The law was for all; it knew no distinction of persons; in its eye the common folk and the nobility stood on precisely the same level. Every Judge was a servant of the public using that word in its widest sense. If any preference was exhibited it was rather

to the poor than the rich. The bullying which at times modern examination degenerates to, was then quite unknown.

The Kaliph had also established a special institution which may appropriately be designated the Court of Public Referees, composed of learned Divines, Lawyers and Jurists whose only duty was to give gratuitous opinion on questions of Muhammadan religion and law in all branches, by whomsoever consulted—a system peculiar to Islam and brought into existence chiefly with a view to educate the masses in the laws of the land and thereby to minimise litigation so ruinous to communities.

The Police had strict orders to see, among other things, that the bazaarman did not swindle his constituents by the use of false measure, public roads were not encroached upon for construction of private buildings, animals were not forced to carry weights heavier than they could bear, and liquors were not sold openly.

It was also Kaliph Umar who instituted a Jail Department. Until then Arabia had no idea of Jails and dealt with offenders in other ways. The first jail was established in Mecca in the house of Sufwan, purchased at a cost of 4,000 dirums. Subsequently, Jails were built in all Districts and criminals sentenced to terms of imprisonment in preference to other awards. The punishment of banishment also owes its introduction in Arabia to Huzruth Umar.

The "Baitul Mal," or the Treasury Department, was also started by the Kaliph. At first a Central Treasury was opened in Medina; and Abdullah bin Arkhum, who had a high reputation both for ability and integrity, was appointed to the charge, supported by a staff of assistants of proved merit. Later on, all Districts were provided with their own Treasuries under special officers who were amenable to the control of the local administration. When the Treasury in Koofa was broken into by thieves, the Kaliph ordered its removal to a site adjoining the Mosque, in order that it might remain safe under the watchful eye of the worshippers who frequented the sacred edifice for prayers during all parts of the day and night. Eventually, sentries were posted over them.

The canals excavated by the order of the Kaliph for irrigation purposes have already been noticed in the previous article. Apart from these, canals for the supply of drinking water and for traffic were also constructed, the greatest of which was called

the Nahri Amirul Moomineen (canal of the Commander of the Faithful) by which the Nile was linked to the Red Sea. The chief cause leading to its construction is thus explained. In 18 Hijree the whole of Arabia was subject to a severe famine and the Kaliph issued orders to Provincial Governors for the despatch of grain in abundance to Medina. These orders were implicitly obeyed; but owing to lack of facile means of transit, there was considerable delay in the arrival of supplies from Syria and Egypt—an impediment that readily suggested to the Kaliph the advisability of uniting the Nile with the sea. He accordingly issued prompt orders to the Governor of Egypt for carrying out the scheme which soon became an accomplished fact. It was not a little remarkable that this water-way, which was about 69 miles in length, was completed in 6 months. In the first year after its construction 20 large ships laden with grain proceeded to Medina. This canal remained in existence for a considerable period and greatly contributed to the development of the commerce of Egypt, whose Governor Amur bin Aus devised another project for joining the Red Sea with the Mediterranean, but for some political considerations the idea did not commend itself to the Kaliph and thus the credit of opening the Suez Canal was lost to the Arabs.

During the 15 years of his Kaliphate 4,000 Mosques were built by the Kaliph, as also many barracks, Government Houses, Public Offices, Treasury Buildings, Jails and Travellers' Bungalows. It must not be understood that these buildings were architectural ideals. With an eye to economy, simplicity was studied. The Kaliph was by temperament unostentatious, and further bowed to the popular opinion of his time that public money was intended more for the propagation of religion, and the improvement of the peasantry than to be spent on the gratification of what we now call the aesthetic sense.

Arrangements for the maintenance of roads and bridges were excellent, and it was always one of the conditions of a treaty with the conquered nations that they should maintain these at their own expense and under their own supervision. When the Kaliph went to Mecca in 17 Hijree he saw that the roads were ill-protected, without shelter, and waterless, and with characteristic prompt initiative gave orders for the construction of Police stations, travellers' bungalows and tanks at every stage between Mecca and Medina.

During the pre-islamic period no organised or permanent Military system prevailed any where. In the great Roman Empire which at one time nearly covered the whole of the world large jaghires were allotted to men of influence and martial tendencies who in return were bound to assist the Government with a certain number of armed men during the time of war. Thus the empire had no regular Army of its own or under its direct control, and when these chiefs chose to rise in rebellion against the paramount power they used this advantage to its detriment and final destruction. This was the old Feudal system and the same was in force in Persia and Constantinople. The idea of maintaining an Imperial Standing Army first occurred to the Kaliph under the following circumstances. In 15 Hijree an unusually large Peishkush (Royalty) was received from Buhria. According to the prevailing practice it should have been distributed amongst the soldiery, but the Kaliph on this occasion wished to consult his Council before disposing of so large a treasure which he thought might be spent to better advantage. After considerable discussion, it was resolved that a Military Department should be organised and registers opened and maintained for the Army. Those who registered their names for enlistment were divided into two classes—

(1) The Regulars who were always employed on Military duty and formed the Standing Army.

(2) Volunteers whose services were only required in times of war or other emergencies and who nevertheless receive regular salaries.

The Kaliph also divided the empire into Military circles called "Jund" or Head-Quarters of an Army Division. These were—

Medina	Demascus
Koofa	Hums
Bussorah	Ardan
Mosal	Palestine
Fistat (Egypt)	

In each of these places barracks were built for the troops and stables for the cavalry horses. The great historian Tibree says that the Kaliph had a cavalry force 400,000 strong which he distributed over the various Military circles according to their respective importance and needs. Each horse was tattooed in its

thigh with the words "Warrior in the path of God." Sulman bin Rabeea was in charge of the Department for the Medina circle, and he always took considerable pains in training the horses and was a great patron of horse-racing, holding a "meet" every year.

Although at this time the Military power of Islam had considerably developed, its naval strength was practically nil. On the other hand Greece was a great Sea Power, and the Romans were equal to the undertaking of aggressive maritime enterprises. It was therefore a matter of genuine necessity that all ports and stations lying near the Sea Coasts should be sufficiently strengthened so as to be in a position to cope with and repel any outside attack. In view of this contingency the Kaliph established, in the vicinity of all such stations, large Military camps of which the Arabs formed the preponderating element. Originally the regulars and the paid volunteers were recruited from the Muhagireens (those who had accompanied the Prophet in his flight from Mecca) and the Ansars (those who had received him with open arms in Medina), but the Kaliph extended the field of recruitment so as to embrace all sections of the Arabs.

History is silent as to the actual strength of the Kaliph's military power, but from circumstantial evidence it may be safely estimated at from 8 to 10 lacs. Ibni Sad says that every year the strength of the Army was augmented by 30,000 fresh recruits who were sent out on new expeditions. According to historian Tibree, in Kofa alone there were 100,000 fighting men of whom 40,000 formed the regular Army. It was this display of high Military preparedness which inspired other nations with awe and conduced to the success and security of the Arabs. So long as this arrangement was in force the flood of Islamic conquests moved on irresistibly. The first step however in the wrong direction was taken 30 years later by Ameer Moavia who stopped the allowances of the infant children of soldiers. When Abdul Malik bin Murwan came to power he made further reductions in this direction and Motasim Billah removed the names of all Arabs from the Military Register. This last was a most retrograde and suicidal step, and from that date success might well be said to have forsaken Mussalman arms.

The Kaliph also admitted the Persians in the army. The Imperial Guard of Yezdagar which consisted of a squadron of

4,000 picked men was after his defeat merged in the Islamic Forces, along with 6 Generals, viz. Siah, Khusrro, Shabrava, Sheroya, Shahroya, Afroode whose pay was fixed at 2,500 Dirams each. The most interesting feature of the Army so far as we Indians are concerned is that it had also amongst its ranks the Juts of Sindh who were called Zuths (the Arabic form of Jut) by the Arabs. Even Romans, Greeks and Jews were not unrepresented—500 of each of the first two nationalities and 1,000 Jews were present during the conquest of Egypt. The entertainment of foreigners in the Islamic Army was, says a historian, a matter of pure policy on the part of the Kaliph, for the Arabs stood in no need of outside help and were fully able by themselves to carry to a successful end all their warlike enterprises.

In the early days of the Kaliphate there was no systematic arrangement for provisioning the troops. Whenever an Army reached a station the Commissariat supply was obtained from the adjoining villages and hamlets more by mandate than by any agreement or contract. This system or rather want of system soon gave way to an organized scheme whereby every conquered nation was made to supply 25 seers of grain per head as a part of the Jizya (religious tax). In Egypt even olive oil, honey and vinegar were collected from the people. But it was soon discovered that this procedure operated heavily on the Jizya payers, and the Kaliph therefore substituted money payment instead—a change which was cheerfully welcomed by the people. Eventually a separate Commissariat Department was instituted called the "Ihra" which is a Greek word for godowns. The First Commissary-General was Amur bin Gipta. Originally the provisions were stored in a large godown and, on the first of each month, distributed to the Army at the rate of 1 Maund and 10 Seers per head. Along with this each soldier received 12 Seers of olive oil and vinegar. After some time the issue of cooked food was substituted. This fact has been prominently noticed by the historian Yakeobi in his memoirs of the Kaliph's travels to Syria. In addition to food and pay the troops also received clothing from the State. Even the batta system was not unknown to the Islamic Army in those early ages, and over and above these regular payments the soldiers had a proportionate share in all spoils of war. For instance at the conquest of Naharvind, each soldier received a gratuity of 6,000 Dirams and of Jeloolu, 9,000.

The Kaliph had a great solicitude for the health and well being of the Army. Expeditions to cold countries were organized and sent during the summer season and to warm countries in the winter. During the spring, the whole Army had a holiday and was sent to sanitariums to reconp. In selecting stations for the location of troops and the construction of barracks great regard was paid to climatic influences and sanitary considerations.

The Kaliph also laid down rules regulating the grant of furlough to the Army. Those who served far away from the seat of Kaliphate were granted home-permits twice a year. Once the Kaliph overheard a woman reciting very pathetic verses over her separation from her husband which led to the immediate promulgation of an order by him reducing absence from home and family to four months.

Whether the Kaliph had prescribed any uniform for the Army does not appear from any records that have come down to us beyond just a glimpse afforded by the treaty made with the Zimmes of Egypt, in 21 Hijree, wherein it was stipulated among other things that they should find the following sumptuary necessities for the Army.

- | | |
|------------------------|--------------|
| (1). Cloak | (3) Tronsers |
| (2) Long hat or turban | (4) Boots |

To each Army Division were attached a Treasury Officer, an Auditor, a Khazi and several interpreters, Physicians and Surgeons. As regards Army Manœuvres, there is no data to show what they consisted of, but it is gathered from the Kaliph's orders to his Generals that he impressed on the Army the special necessity of practising swimming, horsemanship, archery and marching barefooted.

The duties of Sappers and Miners were generally allotted to the conquered races. When Amur bin Aus conquered Egypt, the ruler of that Province agreed to the condition that the Egyptians should work in that capacity with the Moslem Forces. Thus when the Moslems moved to Alexandria to charge the Romans the Egyptians constructed bridges and roads and opened bazaars at every stage. The promptitude and willingness with which this work was undertaken by the people is, according to Makli raizee, an undisputed proof of the attachment and devotion of the conquered races to their new masters who thus reaped the rewards of their considerate treatment and wise toleration. The Intelligence Department was perfect. Natural facilities existed

for its maintenance. Syria and Frakh contained a considerable Arab population, a large portion of whom had embraced Islam. As they were old residents of the provinces, they were acquainted with every local occurrence and incident, and as they had permission from the Kaliph to keep their conversion to Islam a secret, and in appearance resembled the Parsis or Christians rather than the followers of the new religion, they had free access to the enemy's camp which was turned to excellent account in the fierce combats at Yermuk, Khadesia, and Thukreeth. In Palestine the Jewish clan of Samirah was specially selected for this duty, and in return for their services, their escheated lands were restored.

It is a matter of considerable surprise that in spite of the Islamic Forces being so numerous, and composed of men of different countries and nationalities and of diverse manners and dispositions, and further being spread, without open communications or rapid means of transit, over areas which lay at a distance of thousands of miles from their base, they were so loyal and submissive to the Kaliph and so much under his control. Things could not have moved more smoothly had the Kaliph been in personal command. In fact his hand was visible in every thing; this was in a great measure due to his great personality and popularity. He had also attached to each Force a confidential correspondent who kept him informed of every thing connected with it, which enabled him to set right at once any irregularity that was brought to his notice and thus to effectually guard against any possible tendency to breach of discipline.

The Kaliph strained every nerve for the propagation of Islam, not certainly by the sword as some prejudiced Christian writers would have us believe, but by the adoption of most humane and rational measures. He was strongly opposed to the principle of conversion by force. His Commanders had strict orders not to use compulsion. Their duty was to place Islam in its simplicity and truth before the people and to explain its doctrines, leaving its acceptance or rejection entirely to their choice and discretion. The great secret of his success in this direction lay in the fact that he selected as Heads of his Forces and Missions men of high culture, pure morals, great piety, coupled with affable manners and a congenial disposition. Their individuality produced most wonderful effect on the

minds of those with whom they came into contact. George, the Roman Ambassador, who was deputed by his Government to negotiate with Abusobhah, the Commander of the Mussalman Troops, was so much overpowered with the high tone of the Moslem religion that he at once separated from his kith and kin and embraced Islam. History is full of instances of this nature. Apart from this, the masses were also influenced by the belief that it was impossible for an uneducated race, limited as to numbers and residing in forests, to undertake the titanic task of conquering the world, without divine help which they were assured would be extended as their Faith was from God. When Yezodagar, the emperor of Persia, sent a mission to the emperor of China for help against what he called a common enemy, the latter, after making minute enquiries regarding the Mussalman Army, their mode of warfare, their allegiance to their Commander and Kaliph and other details, declared that it was useless to oppose so great a nation. In the Campaign with Persia when one of its distinguished Generals retreated from the field he was arrested by his own Commander and was about to be punished when he took up his arrow, broke a large stone with it and said that when this arrow which could break a hard stone had no effect on the Mussalman soldiers, any opposition to them was futile as obviously they had God on their side. Another cause of the rapid extension of Islam was the conversion to it of the Heads of several influential religious denominations. For instance, when Demascus was conquered the Christian Bishop of that city embraced Islam, and this had a wonderful effect on his followers; also the conversion of several chiefs and nobles after the conquest of Jelola resulted in the conversion of their subjects. After the fall of Khadessa the whole Imperial guard which was 4,000 strong became converts to Muhammadanism without a single exception.

It may further be mentioned to Huzruth Umer's credit that after the conquest of Egypt when the Mussalman Commander captured the residents of some villages for having fought against the Mussulmans, and sold them as slaves, the Kaliph administered to him a severe rebuke and ordered the return of the whole lot to their country and restoration to their freedom. He distinctly made them understand that it was entirely a matter of choice with them either to embrace the new

religion or to adhere to their own. This act of the Kaliph created such a deep impression on the hearts of the people that most of them became Mussalmans by their free will.

There are hundreds of instances of this nature, but what I have quoted in the preceding lines is ample to show that Islam made rapid progress in the holy régime of Huzruth Umer, not by the use of the sword, but by its own grace and auspiciousness and by the tact and toleration of its Commander.

The Kaliph's one great ambition was the education of the masses. He established elementary schools all over the conquered countries and fixed scales of pay for Schoolmasters. He also appointed itinerating Schoolmasters to teach the holy book to the homeless Bedouins and their children and constituted inspecting agencies to report from time to time on the general progress of education in the empire.

The collection of Revenue or the *Jamabundy* system was most perfect and conducted with great circumspection, the Kaliph being very solicitous to ensure the people against rack-renting. Each year on the receipt of the revenue of Irakhs it was usual with him to send for 10 men from Koofa and 10 from Bussorah, and put them on oath four times to ascertain if any extortion had been practised in collecting the same.

It is one of the five fundamental commandments of Islam that well-to-do Mussalmans should contribute annually a small percentage of their wealth to the National Fund for distribution amongst warriors in the way of God, homeless travellers, needy debtors, and the general poor. This contribution is called *Zakat* in the Koranic phraseology and literally means, alms. With a view, therefore, to ascertain the actual number of men liable to such taxation and, also, the number of protected non-Mussalmans, the Kaliph ordered the taking of a census in all Provinces under Islamic sway. A detailed and interesting account of its operations in Egypt and Irakhs is given by the well-known historians, Thibree and Mukhrizee. Thus even this adjunct of a civilized administration was not unknown to the Commander of the Faithful.

The privileges conceded to the conquered nations speak eloquently to the Kaliph's humane toleration and liberal sympathy. The great Roman and Persian Empires which were then looked upon as the centres of civilization and enlightenment treated their alien subjects much worse than slaves. Although the Syrian

Christians were the co-religionists of the Romans, they were shewn no sympathy and given no proprietary rights over their lands. The Jews fared still worse! They were not even regarded as subjects; they could claim no rights, and enjoyed no privileges of citizenship. The fate of the Christian subjects of Persia was much more deplorable. When these empires changed owners passing into Mussalman hands, the Kaliph reversed these conditions, and allowed all classes equal rights and privileges. They were treated more as parties to a contract than as bond slaves of the State. In support of this contention I subjoin a true and literal translation of the treaty of Palestine which was concluded by Huzruth Umer and couched in his own language :

"This protection is given by Umer, Slave of God and Commander of the Faithful, to the Christian people of Palestine, and extends to their lives, property, churches, and cross, to their healthy and sick and to all denominations of their religion. By this it is agreed that their churches will not be utilized for temporal purposes nor will they or their surroundings be demolished, or injured, nor will their crosses or property be interfered with. The people will not be subjected to any force or compulsion in the matter of religion or to any wordly loss. For their part it will be incumbent on them to pay the *Jizya* (religious tax). In deference to their wishes the Jews will not be allowed to live in their city. Such of the Greeks as wish to leave the town will have protection as regards their life and property until they reach their destination and the same security will also be extended to those who desire to remain in Palestine, provided they pay the *Jizya*. If any of the Christian residents wish to leave their native land and accompany the Greeks, they will be allowed to do so with perfect safety and will remain under protection until they reach their new settlement. This protection is given in the name of God and his prophet and is binding on all Kaliphs and Mussalmans." This was executed in 15 Hijree and is attested by Khalid bin Vaeed, Amur bin Aus, Abdur Rahim bin Auf and Moavin bin Abi Safyon.

The banishment of the Jews was dictated by deference to the wishes of the Christians who cherished a strong hatred against them in the belief that they were responsible for the crucifixion of Christ. As regards the Greeks, although they were the chief

enemies of Islam and had opposed it in army, they were unrestricted as regards their movements.

The most remarkable illustration of the Kaliph's generous impulses and liberal sympathy is the humane treatment accorded to Zimmeees (protected non-Mussalmans), whose life and property were placed on an equality with those of Mussalmans. If a Zimmee was murdered by a Mussalman the latter was made to forfeit his life. Their chattels were equally safeguarded and their lands, which no Mussalman was permitted to purchase, preserved in the same way as before the Mussalman conquest.

He gave the Zimmeees full share in the discussion of Administrative questions, chiefly those connected with themselves. Khazi Abu Yusuf says that when Huzruth Umer was returning from Syria he saw some people standing in the sun, and oil being poured over their heads. On enquiry he was informed that they were punished as defaulters. He then wished to know their defence and on learning that it was inability to meet the demand, he ordered their release and the remission of the impost concurrently repeating a tradition from the prophet, *viz.*, 'Molest not people, verily those who molest them in this world will be punished by God in the next.'

He left a will exhorting his successors to carry out faithfully the sacred pledge given to the Zimmeees; to fight, if necessary, for their cause, and to protect them from unnecessary annoyance and molestation. They enjoyed perfect freedom in the observance of their religious rites and ceremonies and their Church Dignitaries received every mark of respect and consideration. The Patriarch of Alexandria who had gone into exile for 13 years from fear of the Romans was, after the conquest of Egypt, sent for by the Mussalman Governor and restored to his position and dignity. The Zimmeees in common with Muslim volunteers drew pay from the Treasury during the times of peace, and were even admitted to the special grants sanctioned for old and infirm Mussalmans.

In brief, under Islamic rule, each one felt he was the free member of a commonwealth in which he had a direct personal interest and in which he therefore took pride. The State was a union of men and not a mere mechanism, the working of which was in the hands of a privileged few. The ideal was republican interpenetrated with a profound religious spirit. No wonder that it was invincible:

GHULAM MAHMUD.

THE BEGINNING OF ROMANCE.

THE legends of Arthur and his knighthood form one of the great foundation stones of all romantic literature. We find some trace of them in the folklore of almost every country.

It is the universal character of these romances which makes it so difficult to trace them back to their source. They have lost in exactness, as they have passed from one country to another. Indeed, it is not too much to say, that they have become elusive in character in exact proportion to the way in which they have been spread abroad: and for this reason there must of necessity be much of uncertainty in any effort to discover their origin. The stories are with us always. They have touched all romance with their own mystic charm; but whence they come we can only guess, and, though we feel their influence, we often cannot analyse their form. Like all that is best in life—the things of the spirit in contradiction to the things of the flesh—there is much in them which will *not* be bound down by rule and definition.

The beginnings of these romances lay in little things, and for their earliest development we have to look to the unwritten records of the people, which were chanted or sung amongst them at a time when books were unknown, or very rare. There is not a nation, however new or uncivilised, but has its own stories, its own dreams, woven into some form of national folklore. These stories make a lasting impression upon the lives of the people; for in them they find an outlet for all the passionate imaginations and unsatisfied longings of their heart.

Among no people has this tendency to indulge in romance been developed to a greater degree than among the Celts. Proud and vindictive, shy and elusive, with a quick temper and a passionate love of the beautiful, they were a people bound to find some outlet, in outward expression, for the fire which burnt within. It was this necessity of their character which caused them to create the romance of Arthur and his knights.

From the very first, the romance appears to have developed on three distinct lines, which, in the first instance, started far

apart, apparently with very little connection, but finally became blended into one great and harmonious whole. The first and oldest of these lines of development was the birth of the idea of Arthur, the hero prince, who should come to redeem and deliver his people. The second was the gradual development of those ideal types of knighthood, that gathered around Arthur, until the great harmonious-hierarchy of the Round Table was formed. While the third was the growth, and introduction into the story of Arthur, of the legend of the Holy Grail—that mystic symbol, which brought a spiritual element into the romances and stamped them for ever with immortality.

In order that we may realise how the conception of Arthur first arose in the Celtic mind, we must briefly consider the national history of the nation. For the creation of a hero prince was the immediate and natural outcome of that history. Driven from their original home, by the calmer, stronger, more calculating Saxon, they were scattered abroad in Wales, Brittany, Cornwall, Ireland and Scotland. What was left to satisfy their pride, broken down by the conqueror's hand, except the hope of a national hero, who should come and lead them back to their former state of glory? Like Israel of old they waited in their captivity for the Messiah who should come to deliver them. Their bards sang songs of this imaginary hero. They put the hopes and desires of the people into their own rude verses. Mysterious prophecies floated from lip to lip. Songs and legends passed from Wales to Brittany, and from Brittany back again to Wales, gaining ever in magnitude and importance, as they went from one to the other; until at last there arose, clear and distinct, the person of the hero who would come and deliver his people.

Exactly how, or why, these hopes and stories gathered around the name of Arthur—a prince about whom little, or nothing, is known—we cannot now tell. Perhaps it was for the very reason that the knowledge about him was so meagre that he was chosen as the national hero. All other princes had fought and failed. About Arthur nothing was known, except that he was a prince of South Britain, who had fought valiantly against the Saxons. Thus, myth and legend gathered around his name. Marvellous stories were circulated about his birth and death. All Celtic people, wherever dwelling, began to dream of the day, when he would arise like the dawn, and once more establish the

Celtic rule. It is recorded, by one of the writers of the time, that anyone saying he was dead was in danger of being stoned. On his imaginary tomb at Glastonbury was inscribed, "*Hic jacet Arthurus rex quondam rex que futurus*," "*Here lies Arthur once a king, and a king to be.*"

In the twelfth century all these myths, legends and popular beliefs were gathered together, and given a lasting form, by Geoffrey of Monmouth, a Celtic monk. He wrote a new Chronicle of the Kings of Britain, the object of which was to glorify the Celtic race. He cared little for facts. He eagerly seized upon the traditions and fancies of the time and wove them all into his Chronicle. Compared with the developments of later days his account is bald and meagre. Arthur is a great prince—nothing more. He has little, of that mystic charm, which gathered around his personality as the years went by. Very few of the characters afterwards connected with his name are even mentioned. We hear nothing of the Round Table, or the Holy Grail. Still his chronicle is of the utmost importance. The great work that he did was to take the person of Arthur out of the land of myth and legend, and give him an historic form. His Chronicle gives the first rough outline of the beautiful romance which was to follow.

The work which Monmouth had begun spread rapidly. His Chronicle was widely read. It rose like a bright spring of romance amidst a wilderness of record. Wherever it went the blossoming fancy of other minds began to burst forth. It was quickly translated into Norman French, by a Norman cleric, named Wace. He made many additions to Monmouth's account, especially introducing the legends of the heroes of Brittany. To his pen we owe the story of the Round Table. In this way the story of Arthur became closely interwoven with the romances of Brittany.

In the reign of King John this book was translated into English, by a poor, parish priest named Layamon. His rendering of the story is much finer than that of Wace. In many cases his narrative is a true poem. The account he gives of Arthur's birth and death is especially beautiful. The whole work is fraught with tenderness, simplicity and strength. It reveals much of the inspiration which has illuminated the minds of the writers of a later day.

As soon as the legend of Arthur became firmly established

it was inevitable that other stories of knights and heroes should spring up and become incorporated with it. The hero prince formed a kind of central pivot round which these stories gradually gathered. His name was found a convenient peg on which to hang all mythical legends, and stories of romance. Thus, the cycle grew, until the whole of the Arthurian legends were gradually evolved.

The stories are so numerous, so varied, and so interwoven one with another, that it is impossible to tell with any certainty how they first arose. We may catch a gleam as to the origin of many of them from a very ancient myth, known as "The Great Fool Legend." The idea which underlies this legend is a very old one, and it is so widespread that some trace of it can be found in the folklore of every nation. It varies according to special circumstances, but it always has its fundamental principles the same. It invariably tells the story of a boy—usually a prince—born and brought up in exceptional circumstances, whose character is generally noted for strength, simplicity and purity.

Some trace of this ancient myth can be found in most of the Arthurian legends. In almost all of them the hero has either been born, or brought up in exceptional circumstances, while his character usually shows the qualities indicated by the old legend. Of course, the variety of the development is endless; but a careful analysis tends to show that the essential idea which underlies the stories, is nearly always the same.

Let us take three examples:—Sir Lancelot, Sir Percival, and Merlin. These three characters are entirely distinct from one another except that each is intimately associated with the name of Arthur. Now, how far is the idea of the old myth developed in them? What do we find about the birth and early life of each?

Sir Lancelot, while still a baby, was stolen by a tiny elf from his mother Helen, wife of King Ban of Brittany. The elf carried him to her home in the depths of a fair and wondrous lake, where fairies tended him: until he came to manhood's state.

Sir Percival was also brought up in an exceptional manner. He was kept at home by his mother. She reared him in a state of complete ignorance of the ways of the world. When he came to court, he insisted on following all the counsels she had given him. Thus he persistently refused to dismount, even when told

to do so by Arthur himself, because she had said, "A knight should remain ever on horse back."

In these two cases the birth was natural, but the bringing up exceptional. In that of Merlin the birth was extraordinary. He owed his existence to a desire of the fiends to frustrate the redemption of man, by the birth of Christ. His father was an evil spirit, who by guile embraced a virgin. In this way he inherited a double nature, which gave him his peculiar power.

Utterly different as the stories are, we see the mythical idea of the old legend developed to some extent in each of them. In each the hero had a wondrous birth, or early life. Distinct in all else, this central idea underlies the three. And this may be taken as typical of many of the other Arthurian legends.

The earliest written accounts that we have of these romances date back to the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They are written both by Frenchmen and Englishmen. For the development of the Arthurian cycle owes as much to France as to England, and it is often impossible to decide from which country any particular romance originally arose. It is as foolish to try to do so as to determine if a man is more the son of his father or of his mother. We know who wrote the romance, but we cannot say whether the French copied the British stories, or the British the French. Nor need we desire to do so. To localise the stories to one place would be at once to limit them. It is their universal character which gives them their exceeding power.

It is impossible within the limits of a paper like this to mention all the old romances which have come down to us. We owe most of them to three writers, one of whom was English, while the other two were French. The Englishman was Walter Map, the brilliant courtier of Henry II, who, perhaps, did more than anyone else to give soul and lasting endurance to these stories. The two Frenchmen were Robert de Borron and Christien of Troy. To Walter Map we owe the story of Lancelot,—a great conception, superior, perhaps, in classic merit to anything in the whole cycle of the romance. He also wrote, "The Passing of Arthur" and "The Queste of the St. Graal." To the pen of Robert de Borron we owe "the Romance of Merlin," the oldest of all these ancient works, and "The First Part of the St. Graal, or the Romance of Joseph of Arimathea." Most of the other romances seem to have been first written by Christien of Troy, a writer about whom very little is known, except

that he is called "*le bon pere Christian*," by his contemporaries. He gives us the legend of Percival, the story of Enid and Eric—who in the Welsh legends is called Geraint—and the first outline of the beautiful love idol of Tristram and the fair Iseult; though this last work has, unfortunately, been lost. Different versions of these three Romances are found in an old Welsh book called the *Mabinogen*, a name which means instruction for the young. They are probably of a later date than Christian's romances, and may have been copied from them.

The names of Walter Map and Robert de Borron bring us to the last and greatest of the lines of development of the Arthurian Romance. For it is to them we owe the introduction of the legend of the Holy Grail, which brought unison to the story of Arthur and his Knights, and incorporated it into one great spiritual whole. It was this legend which raised the romance above the commonplace. As long as Arthur and his knights were vowed to the performance of worldly adventures only, they were like ordinary men. But as soon as they had entered on the mystical quest of the Holy Grail they became immortal. They were not men but symbols! Types of the eternal struggle which takes place in the heart of man,—that warfare not of flesh, nor of blood, but of the spirit.

Do we owe this great work chiefly to Walter Map or to Robert de Borron? We cannot say. De Borron's romance is the oldest; but in his preface he says that he has founded it on a Latin book, and most scholars think this is a lost work of Walter Map's. Let us give the honour equally to them both. The idea has in it the element of all true romance—the struggle of the human soul after the divine. It does *not* belong to England. It does *not* belong to France, but to the world.

It is difficult to tell how the idea of this holy dish first arose. The word 'grail' comes from the low Latin word 'gradule' meaning a mixing bowl. This image of a mixing bowl, or magic cup, is a very ancient one. It occurs in old Eastern legends, and there are numerous allusions to it in all Celtic myths. Now, is there any connection between these ancient symbols, and the mystic vessel of God?

The earliest British form of the idea seems to have gathered around the Cymric hero, Bran, the Blessed, the God of the underworld. He goes to the land of shades and brings back

many talismans. Chief among them are an inexhaustible vessel of plenty and re-juvenation, and a magic sword or lance, known as a Peredur. Surely, we can here catch the foundation of the idea of the Holy Grail, and also of Arthur's enchanted sword, Excalibur? The old magic vessel of healing, increase and knowledge in some way became changed into the sacramental dish of God.

Exactly how this was done we cannot say. It seems likely that there may have been some connection or confusion between Bran, the Celtic God, with his magic sword, and Brons, the brother-in-law of Joseph of Arimathea, who at one time had the keeping of the holy-dish. In one other way it is possible to trace a connection between the old Celtic myths and the Christian story. The place where the Holy Grail is supposed to have rested is Glastonbury—called by the Romans the Isle of Avalon, from the British word, *avalla*, meaning an apple. This was the earliest home of Christianity in our island, and one of the first Christian churches was built there. It is at least possible that this church took the place of some ancient Celtic temple dedicated to the worship of Bran. In this way the old heathen myths would be brought into close connection with the Christian legends. The two would become inextricably mixed and interwoven; until the magic vessel of Bran, the Blessed, would gradually change into the Holy Grail, the sacred dish of Christ's last Passover.

"The old order changeth, yielding place to new.

And God fulfills Himself in many ways.

Lest one good custom should corrupt the world."

The conception which these old romances gave to the world of spiritual knighthood has passed away. New customs and fresh habits of life have created new ideals. But it is still true to-day, as it was then, that it is the pure in heart who obtain the fulfilment of their dreams. It is this which makes the Romance of Arthur still live among us, and will cause it so to live in generations yet to come.

C. GASQUOINE HARTLEY.

THE NATURE AND NECESSITY OF RELIGION.

RELIGION is man's bond of union or communion with God. Our natural tendency to religion manifests itself in various ways. When we look on the wonders of creation,—the sun, the moon, the stars, the mountains, the seas and oceans—a feeling of awe and admiration is experienced by us. The almost boundless expanse of these stupendous objects impresses on us a sense of our finite and imperfect powers of sensation and perception. The naked eye is not sufficient to take in a full view of the orbs of light lying at immense distances from us. The high rocky elevation, or the vast volume of water presents a majestic and grand spectacle filling us with wonder as to its immeasurable magnitude. These objects almost illimitable in space give us some idea of the infinite, if only relatively to our limited faculties. When they lead to the idea of their creator, a solemn sense of a superhuman power, an indefinable feeling of ecstasy and veneration experienced by us indicates that there is a tendency to religion in our nature.

The hopeless condition of man, his position of dependence on a power superior to his own, points to a similar conclusion. When we see that our most cherished and dearest objects are not attained, our best efforts and exertions prove often times abortive and unsuccessful, the inference irresistibly forces itself upon us that there is a Divinity that shapes our ends, rough hew them how we will. This submissive self-surrender and holy resignation to the will of God is distinguished from fatalism or blind faith in mere chance. The one does not make us remiss in our efforts though less confident in the self-sufficiency of our capabilities, the other paralyses our energies on the erroneous conviction that our destiny has been marked out and predestined once for all. But a rational trust in some higher power in all humility is instinctive and natural to us. The implicit reliance of the child on his parents for support and guidance, the alacrity with which men look up for help and direction to leaders and pioneers in every movement, social, political or religious, the spontaneous exclamation for divine help in moments of danger, the instinctive feeling that there is some power supe-

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rior to our own against which it is vain to contend, all these prove that the sense of dependence which is a part of our being is a natural impulse and a strong indication of a religious tendency in our nature.

Again conscience manifests a religious tendency in our nature—a disposition to follow up a superior standard of moral excellence. The supremacy of this moral sense of right and wrong is evident from the different feelings resulting from the violation of its dictates and those of any other faculty. When through the miscalculation of reason and judgment we fail in any of our undertakings, we experience regret, not remorse. No one is ashamed of having held an erroneous opinion, but the case is different when he goes astray from a righteous course, when he is guilty of any moral turpitude. Conscience is the supreme dictator. "Speaking with a voice," says Dr. Mortineau, before which our whole personality bows and which equally gives law to other men, it issues from a source transcending human life and infuses into it a moral order from a more comprehensive sphere; it postulates a superior will in communion with our own and administering the world as a school of character."

These three elements, then, submission to the authority of conscience, a feeling of awe inspired by what seems infinite and a disposition to depend upon some power superior to our own, constitute our religious susceptibility or tendency, being one of the essential parts of our nature. Its universal character is not affected by its absence, if observed, among savages, for they lack also intellectual and emotional development. And the inference of religious tendency not being common to human nature from its want of it among savages, would be as absurd as if one were to argue the absence of intellect and affection among mankind on general from their absence among such uncultured people.

The factors or component parts of an idea of religion are thought, feeling, and will—knowledge, affection, and self-surrender. Even if not admitted to be the essential constituents, they are, any rate, insolubly united, inseparably present, in religion. One of these elements can be eliminated in our conception of religion. They are all essential. The importance of knowledge in the formation of the compound idea will be at once perceived when it is maintained that religion cannot be a reasonable process, a healthy condition of mind, if constituted by either feeling or voli-

tion to the exclusion of knowledge. Then however true it may be that short of the action of the will in the form of self-surrender of the soul to the object of its worship, the religious process is essentially imperfect, this surrender cannot be independent of reason and yet reasonable. In order to be a legitimate act and not one founded on blind faith, it must proceed from love enlightened by reason. This sentiment must rest on the knowledge of an object worthy of it and worthy of the self-surrender to which it prompts.

Not only reason but morality must be the guiding principle of a religious sentiment. Religion may be considered under two general heads, the first comprehends what we are to believe, the other what we are to practise for the regulation of our conduct and the discharge of our duties. The one is the province of faith, the other of morality. Faith seems to draw its principle, if not all its excellence, from the influence it has upon morality, and no article of faith can be true and authentic that weakens or subverts morality which is the practical part of religion.

To this moral aspect of religion, prominence has been given in Manu Samhita. According to this learned Rishi, the ten essential features of religion are patience, forgiveness, self-control, absence of cupidity, purity, subjection of the senses or passions, wisdom, learning, truthfulness, equanimity of mind or want of irritability. The Geeta lays much stress on the practice of morality as a means of securing Divine grace leading to salvation. One who bears malice to no body, is friendly and kind towards all, exempt from pride and selfishness, who is the same in prosperity and adversity, always cheerful, constantly devout, self-restrained, devoting his mind and soul to the service of God, is His favourite. (Chap. XII, 13, 14).

Buddhism and Christianity inculcate good moral precepts. In fact morality is the corner stone of every system of true religion.

The foregoing observations about the nature of religion show its necessity to man standing in close relation to God. Our religious relation to God—the transcendence of all that is finite and relative and the elevation of the finite spirit to communion with infinite and absolute spirit,—is a thing which is involved in the very nature of man. What the phrase “necessity of religion” implies is that in the nature of man as an intelligent self-conscious being, there is provision

made enabling him to rise above what is material and finite, and to find the realisation of his natural yearning only in an infinite spiritual perfection.

To establish the capacity of finite intellect to comprehend an infinite intelligence involves a discussion of the materialistic theory. The inadequacy, says the Rev. John Caird, D.D., “of all materialistic theories of the world may be said to be two-fold. First, professing to exclude mind or ultimately to reduce it to a function of matter, they really presuppose or tacitly assume it at the outset. Secondly, the principle which they employ as the master-key to all the phenomena of the world—that of force or mechanical causality, is applicable only to inorganic nature, is inapplicable to organic or vital phenomena, and utterly breaks down as an explanation of consciousness or intelligence.”

A few remarks would make the truth of these propositions clear. If experience is the source of all our knowledge, it implies something that is not given in sensation. We can only attain isolated and transient sensations by our organs of sense. But isolated sensations are not knowledge. The processes of comparison and classification are indispensably necessary to attain real knowledge. Such process being mental, thought is the very root of our knowledge of nature. If matter contains the potentiality of life it remains as impossible as ever to apply the principle of mechanical causation to the phenomena of life. For, when we reach life under whatever prior physical conditions it may have been evolved, a new and higher conception is required to comprehend such phenomena. Here the thought or intelligence breaks forth into a new and higher expression of itself. In all forms of life there is present an element compelling the mind to pass from the conception of force or efficient cause to the altogether more complex conception of self-causation or self-development. Thus the Materialist cannot help accepting the conclusion that thought or mind is not an evolution of matter but the *præ* of all things.

We shall now endeavour to show what constitutes the necessity of religion. The disproof of the materialistic reduction of all things to the expression of mechanical force does not furnish any proof of God or any justification of the religious attitude of mind. To prove the necessity of religion it must be shown that there is in the very nature of mind a potentiality of infinitude, that upward movement which is involved in religion. Priority

of thought is not sufficient unless we can show that mind is impelled onwards by its own inward constitution towards some infinite kind. There is a vast difference between our ideal of perfection and our actual attainment. However great our progress towards it may be, we are conscious that it yet falls far short of our ideal. We are conscious of our moral infirmities, yet we can tell that there is no point of moral progress beyond which we may not aspire. We know that our knowledge is limited, nevertheless there is no limit to it in our conception. This boundless capacity of progress, while we have a secret ideal of perfection immeasurably higher than our highest attainments, is what is called a potential infinitude in our nature as spiritual beings. That is to say, the spiritual nature and life of man are capable of realising the consciousness of God and our essential relation to Him.

God is perfect and absolute; we are finite and imperfect beings. Is it possible for the finite to attain to a knowledge of the infinite? Can the imperfect realise a consciousness of perfection? A little consideration will show that God is not unknowable as the Sankhya Philosophy as Positivism would have us believe. Our knowledge of what is finite and imperfect is admitted. Such knowledge implies the conception or ideal of what is infinite or perfect. The knowledge of a limit implies an actual transcendence of it. We can only be conscious of imperfection because we have within us, latent or explicit, a standard of absolute perfection by which we measure ourselves. God is absolute and perfect and our knowledge of Him as such is involved in the knowledge of ourselves as relative and imperfect. It is our knowledge of God, the relation of our nature as spiritual beings to Him, which alone gives reality to our partial knowledge and makes us aware that it is partial.

It may be contended that the conception of my own imperfect knowledge is forced on me by the presence of an intelligence relatively greater, however imperfect in itself; that nothing so vast as knowledge of an infinite being is needed in order to make me conscious of my own finitude. But it is forgotten that the standard of measurement of my own finitude is applicable to all stages of human attainment. It is a standard which, whatever may be the standard of my spiritual progress, would still reveal to me my own imperfection. I do not ultimately measure my knowledge or become conscious of its limited and imperfect character by

comparison with another man's knowledge, because that also may be imperfect and erroneous. But by referring to an absolute knowledge, I invariably act on the conviction that it is an infalliable standard and an ultimate criterion of certitude. Even scepticism cannot avoid the conclusion which it attempts to dispute. In the very act of doubting, it arrogates to itself a knowledge which it asserts it does not possess. To be able to pronounce human knowledge as defective and imperfect, the sceptic must of necessity have an ideal of absolute and perfect knowledge in comparison with which his verdict is pronounced. The very denial of an absolute intelligence in us could have no significance but as a tacit appeal to its presence. An implicit knowledge of God in this sense is proved by the very attempt to deny it.

From the foregoing observations it is abundantly clear that the nature of man as a spiritual being involves these two things:—

1. "The capacity of transcending his own individuality, of finding or realising himself in that which lies beyond him; 2. the latent or implicit consciousness of the absolute unity of thought and being, or of an absolute self-consciousness in which all finite knowledge and existence rest. In these two principles,—the first of which implies the never ending impulse to transcend ourselves, the second of which points to a universal or absolute mind as that in which the errors to transcend ourselves finds its ultimate explanation,—we discern deep-laid in man's nature that which constitutes the basis of religion."—*Caird's Philosophy of Religion*.

K. C. KANJILAL, B. L.

A LESSON FROM TRAVANCORE.

TRAVANCORE affairs have of late been looming large in the public press both in and outside the State; and local differences which would have been best settled, if left alone, have been carried to the columns of the Madras Press by people interested in sectional predominance and supremacy. The object of an appeal to the Madras Press is evidently to discredit local rivals and opponents, and not to serve the broad interests of the State. It is a pity that through the selfishness of office-seekers the State should get a bad reputation abroad. Travancore is exceedingly fortunate in its present Maharajah. His Highness is most earnestly devoted to the interests and well-being of the people, the mass of whom are happy and contented. The administration is enlightened and progressive. The needs of the people are being well attended to; and if you travel through the length and breadth of the land you will find no unhappiness, no discontent, no serious dissatisfaction with the administration, if we except the office-seekers, the noisy agitators, the fomenters of factions and sectarian hatred. These last would be a negligible quantity but for the facility they obtain in the outside press to give play to their ill-will and hatred towards sections and communities different from their own. There is, indeed, the local press which is not inspired by the highest wisdom or political foresight. It is not guided by a higher influence or by the spirit of moderation and calm judgment. Yet it can do no mischief if it is not countenanced by the leaders of the community and by the influential press outside.

Travancore sadly wants wise and sagacious leaders. There is not a single man who can be called the leader of the entire community commanding common allegiance and adherence. Those who by their position in the State are entitled to be called leaders are not acknowledged as such by all sections of the community; nor have they themselves by their broad sympathy and public spirit shown themselves worthy of the confidence of all. In Travancore alone do we witness sectarianism and caste

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feeling so rampant. In British India they are subdued more or less by a growing common national feeling. There all classes of people are willing to acknowledge a Boyanetree or a Melita or a Sankaran Nair as their common leader. But in Travancore, it seems, leadership cannot go beyond one's caste. The truth is that every one feels that he is a Brahmin or Nair first, and a Travancorian only next. It was Mr. Justice Budrudin Tyabji that declared that he was an Indian first, and a Mahomedan next. I am afraid there is not one in Travancore who is actuated by such a spirit. Here every one is a casteman first, and may choose to be a Travancorian only when an appointment has to be claimed. We have been brought to this pass by sectarian and caste selfishness, by the perpetual scramble for power, office and emoluments.

There is no healthy rivalry. The desire of every one is not that all should have a legitimate share in the administration of the country, but that his own caste should predominate and appropriate every office, every position of prominence and influence, to itself, keeping out all the rest from the enjoyment of power, authority or emoluments. It is this unfortunate spirit that has been the bane of Travancore and the misfortune of its ruler. Every one is ready to flatter the Maharajah. But true loyalty does not consist in flattery, but in a sincere devotion to his person, throne and authority. Such devotion can be possible only when people are determined to do nothing which would unnecessarily and unjustly throw discredit on his rule, weaken his administration, and impair his reputation as a sovereign and ruler. The local agitators are neither loyal nor patriotic in this sense. They do not care a jot for the good name of the Maharajah or of his rule; what they endeavour to obtain, by flattery if you please, is all state patronage for themselves and their castemen. And while they are prosecuting this not very creditable aim, they have created the most unfavourable impression about the Travancore administration in the mind of the outside public. To outsiders the State has been made to appear as if crumbling to pieces by dissensions and by maladministration, whereas as a matter of fact the affairs of the country are being managed with a sole aim to serve the best interests of the people of all classes under the benevolent and sagacious guidance of the Maharajah who holds the strings of the administration in his own hands, and controls them with sound judgment and statesmanship.

Those who belong to no particular party or clique are simply disgusted with the caste and sectarian animosity which is exhibited, not by it remembered by the prominent members of the community, but by a class of camp followers who follow nobody in particular, but who consider that the kingdom of Travancore was created so that their castemen may hold all the appointments in it to the exclusion of all the rest. But they are powerless to arrest the mischief which has proceeded too far. A strong man who can unite all these mutually hostile forces and keep them under control is wanted; and it is to be hoped that such a man will soon rise among us and assert himself to the dismay of peace-breakers. If the present state of affairs is allowed to continue, domination by outsiders is the fate awaiting Travancore; all the higher offices in the State may have to be filled by outsiders brought from Madras or elsewhere; and the noisy local partisans may be consigned to insignificance and impotence. It is to be hoped that Travancoreans will have enough of patriotism to avert such a contingency which, for the moment, seems to become more and more inevitable.

Caste feeling has been in existence in Travancore for a considerable time; but it has now taken an acute, open and aggressive form. Under Mr. Shangarasubbier and until the death of Mr. Thanu Pillay, caste antagonism had been in abeyance; and here it is necessary to add that the present Dewan Mr. Krishnaswamy Row is not responsible for the present state of strained feeling which, as I have already pointed out, has been created by irresponsible place-hunters.

To understand the situation in Travancore it is necessary to indicate the division of community. The most conspicuous sections are the Brahmin, the Nair, and the Syrian Christian. The Brahmins are not entirely indigenous, though many of them are. They contain a large proportion of foreign element which immigrates freely from neighbouring British districts. The other two communities are not subject to this change, because they receive no recruits from foreign territory. If all these three combine against foreigners, there will be some motive for union among them. But the Brahmin coalesces more with his foreign brother than with the indigenous Nair or Christian; and the difference is thus accentuated. In former times the Brahmin considered himself as a Malayalee, as he in fact was. But the tie

with the foreigner has now become stronger, and has accentuated the distinction which, until a few years ago, was nominal. As regards office and emoluments the Christians are in the worst position. The "traditional policy" of the State is against their admission to all appointments in the revenue line, although with regard to other departments they are treated better than the low castes among the Hindus. The Christians, therefore, feel their position; and they see no hope for them in the near future. The Syrian Christians, it may be added, form an important and respectable community in the State. They are loyal, industrious and peace-loving. They form an important portion of the tax-paying community. Yet they are practically excluded from any real voice in the administration of the country. There is no lack of highly educated men among them; but owing to want of opening in their own country they are largely taking to British service where they distinguish themselves as subordinate executive and judicial officers, as medical men, and in other capacities. Intellectually they are not inferior to any other section of the community; but in their own country they have to despair of their future as participators in the administration. It is impossible to expect them to be other than discontented under these circumstances; and they have got influential advocates everywhere.

The Nairs are in a much better position, though even they have lost their old ground. In times gone by they were the rulers of the country. They held all the important appointments in the State. They were soldiers and statesmen. But with the series of Maharattah Dewans their power and influence waned, and they were gradually ousted from the service till their proportion became very small. In Dewan Rama Row's time they reached the lowest limit, for then a studied attempt was made to exclude them from every possible place of honour and distinction. This led to the famous memorial which brought into prominence the cry of "Travancore for Travancoreans." Mr. Rama Row was succeeded by Mr. Shangrasubbier, and the new Dewan conciliated the party in opposition by a policy of justice and consideration. Some time later Mr. Thanu Pillay became the Chief Secretary to the Government; and with him as a participator in the government of the country the Nair community no longer felt that they were strangers in their own land, and began to regain slowly their lost position in the State. Of the qualities of Mr. Thanu Pillay it is not possible to speak too highly. He was the most patriotic of the

sons of Travancore. In intellectual capacity and solid attainments he stood highest. As a statesman, it may be safely said, he had not his equal in the State. He did his best to conciliate all classes, and never encouraged sectarian animosity. Indeed, there were people who were envious of his eminence and influence; but even sectarian malice could do nothing to dislodge him. It was in anticipation of his becoming Dewan that a party paper was established in Travancore; and, to speak the truth, it was the birth of this journal that marked the beginning of caste animosity in its present intensity.

So long as Mr. Thanu Pillay lived, all went well; but his death came as a blow to his community which had centred all its hopes in him. In certain quarters extremely ill-considered and unhappy references were made, which went to indicate satisfaction, which was not well suppressed, at his lamented death. Those who loved and admired him and regarded him as the coming man felt this most keenly; and the younger members of the Nair community, deprived of his wise lead, began to exhibit their feeling and bitterness, not always with wisdom and judgment. For the prevailing ill-feeling, therefore, it is unjust to blame one party alone. Those who spoke of Mr. Thanu Pillay in unkind terms after his death describing him as a "party man" are as much responsible for the present situation as their opponents. His death further left the administration without a participator from among the Nair community in its councils. It appears, moreover, that the Nair element in the Huzur English office has been reduced, since Mr. Thanu Pillay's death, to one or two, a fact which demonstrates a sad want of broad sympathy and statesmanship in those responsible for the result. In fact, there is a lamentable want in Travancore of men who can treat all classes of people alike, who can inspire a universal feeling of confidence, who can regard and treat intelligent aspirants to office and distinction in a cosmopolitan spirit, who can lend a helping hand to any one without regard to caste or creed, and who can rise above their surroundings so as to be looked up to by all with equal confidence, regard and attachment.

It is daily becoming more clear that the spirit of caste and sectarianism which has done so much harm to Travancore can no longer help the progress of the general community or any section of it. It is no longer expedient to keep out any class from office and emolument. You have to enlist the services and co-oper-

ation of the best men available in every section of the community. The Brahmin must encourage the Nair and the Christian; the Nair must encourage the Brahmin and the Christian; the latter must encourage the Brahmin and the Nair; and all must encourage and sympathise with the lower and down-trodden classes. So long as this is not done by men in authority, there is bound to be the present marked antagonism between castes and sects and creeds. Will the next Dewan, whoever he may be, make a genuine effort not only to himself rise above the evil influences that surround him, but to permeate the entire officialdom with a loftier and more generous feeling towards all classes of the Maharajah's subjects? Mr. Sreenivasa Raghava Iyengar or Mr. Nagamiah, whoever may succeed Mr. Krishnaswami Row, will have a splendid opportunity which, I hope, will be fully availed of in the interests of peace, friendliness and brotherhood, so as to vindicate the higher patriotism of Travancore, as distinguished from the patriotism of the Brahmin, the Nair, and the Christian.

And here let me say a word not only to officials, but also to those members of the public, who are now engaged in finding fault with each other, to be a little more generous to those whom they regard as their opponents. I have heard and read a good deal against "Nair Samajams" and against the claims of the Pillays of Travancore to call themselves Nairs. What, on earth, can these harmless diversions do, and why should others trouble themselves about them? Let there be Nair Samajams in every nook and corner of Travancore. I do not see how they can, in the least, affect any body in Travancore. Why then create ill-feeling by crying against them. And then let all people call themselves Nairs, what can that matter any more than the practice of those who are known as Patters calling themselves Iyers as has now become the fashion? The Pillays of Travancore are of the same class as the Nairs of Malabar and Cochin, though their title has been different and though they do not intermarry with the latter. A change in their designation is their own concern, with which others need not trouble themselves.

In Travancore they have been put down as "Malayalee Sudras," a title which the Nairs of Malabar are not known by and would, for aught I know, resent. How, then, did they come to bear this title. They are described in official reports as "Malayalee Sudras" to distinguish them from "Pandy Sudras." This description has doubtless a foreign origin and has been due

to foreign domination, that is, domination by foreign Dewans and officials. The very word "Malayalee" is of foreign design; it is used by foreigners to describe the natives of Malabar. It is strange that in their own country the Travancore Nairs should have come to bear a title of foreign design; but they owe it to foreign Dewans who virtually became their masters for a series of years. There is evident dissatisfaction on this account on the part of the Travancore natives; and the present move is the result of this feeling. They now desire to call themselves Nairs; and it seems to me ill-advised to make the "Nair craze" a point of attack, as some people are doing. All these, however, are mere outward expressions of a discontent the cause of which lies deeper and has to be sought in the balance of power and distribution of patronage in the State. This discontent is general, but it is expressed in the most violent and even indecent form by a vulgar class who write in the local papers, and who carry their caste and sectarian animosity for ventilation outside.

The lesson that has to be deduced from this state of things is that it is no longer possible to govern Native States on the old lines under the perpetual predominance of a particular caste or class. The variety and conflict of communities and interests are increasing. Each disappointed section has an interest in discrediting the others; and local dissensions must inevitably discredit the administration in the eyes of the outside public and the British Government. The result cannot be conducive to the best interests of the State. A Government which is found incompetent to control the conflicting elements under its authority cannot long maintain its reputation outside; and the British Government will feel justified in interfering in its affairs. In many Native States internecine quarrels are fast becoming the order of the day; and as communities increase and fail in their common attachment to their Government, the difficulties of administration will also increase.

Far-seeing statesmen should take note of these signs of the times and devise a remedy. The practice of a particular section of the community wielding all power in the State cannot endure to the advantage of the common well-being. It can only deepen the despair of those who are kept out. What is necessary is to create hope for all, and inducement to support the central authority. Each man must feel that he is a unit of the State, and that along with the rest he has equal advantages of sharing power,

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authority and influence. Ability and character must enable the meanest subject of whatever caste or creed to rise to eminence and power. All communities must have equal opportunities for exercising a voice in the councils of Government.

The present system of practically autocratic Government from which all but Hindus of the higher castes are excluded and in which the Christian, the Mahomedan and the so-called low castes generally have no share or voice, must gradually give way to some form of national government from which none shall be excluded by reason of caste, sect, creed or race. In other words, there must be some form of constitutional government of which the sovereign will be the supreme head and in which the important elements of the community will be represented. I have, for example, indicated the three important sections of the community in Travancore; and of these three, as I have said, the Christian is the worst. A representative of each of these sections must have a place and a voice in the control of affairs. It will, no doubt, take a long time to attain this end; but there must be a gradual and steady preparation for it. Even the despised Tiyyan, if he is distinguished by ability and character, must have the chance of rising to power and influence, and not consigned perpetually to a life of degradation and despair.

The creation of the Legislative Council and of Town Improvement Committees in Travancore is a step in the right direction. These institutions must be extended and developed so as to give a real voice in the administration of the country to all classes of the people. A community so united and a Government supported by all from common motives of self-interest will be too formidable to be discredited by the cries of office-seekers and insignificant malcontents. The Government will be truly national with a national sovereign at its head, whose authority will be supreme in that it will be supported by all. If things go on as at present, and if a few favoured people enjoy a monopoly of power and office, the excluded communities can have no interest in the prestige or glory of the State. Their predominant desire will be for a change which will improve their position and their prospects, and not by any means for the maintenance of a system under which they are treated as helots and outcasts. No doubt, in a State like Travancore, the people are well-governed. They have only light taxes to pay; and their affairs are administered by their own countrymen who are naturally in sympathy

with them. But the educated men cannot but feel dissatisfied with their lot; and the Christians and the lower classes who compare their own position with that of their brethren in British India cannot but think that for them the British administration is better, in so far, at least, as they are not made to feel their inferiority to other Indian subjects.

In the present state of unbending conservatism in Travancore, it is perhaps hopeless to expect the governing classes to be very generous towards their less fortunate brethren. But the statesmen at the head of affairs must rise above their surroundings, and act towards all in a spirit of broad sympathy and liberality. The administration, as I have said, is carried on satisfactorily; but its spirit must change. It must give up its narrow bigotry, its rigid conservatism, and its jealous exclusiveness. This change, I fear, cannot come from the instincts or efforts of men within the State. It must be superinduced from without through the instrumentality of superior ministers who have a broad vision and a deep insight into the future, and are actuated by a genuine patriotism and a lofty pride in India and Indians.

PRO PATRIA.

THE ELEGY—II. THE CHURCHYARD AND ADONIS.

THE far-famed *Churchyard Elegy* next claims our attention. Gray resembled Milton in more points than one. Both were classical scholars and most careful workmen. Both were epoch-making poets. Milton combined in himself romanticism and classicism while Gray represented classicism and naturalism. But Gray excelled Milton and other greater gods in literary finish. His comprehensive intellect, insatiable curiosity and cultivated judgment extracted honey from flower to flower in the far away flora of the classic regions, and refined it into a nectar for all mortals. As a careful artist, never did he leave his lines fall from his hands rough and rude. A uniform level of perfection was reached by him only in this *Elegy*, though his other poems might boast of better qualities but in brief passages. It is this that has secured for him an undying poetic fame, and of this Mr. Swinburne writes that it holds for all ages to come his unassailable and sovereign station. In the whole range of English literature there can be no better study in poetry than the careful and thorough examination of this *Elegy* which, according to Dr. Bain, is a 'diffused expression of feeling or morality in general and also a sustained poetical exercise.' The feelings and thoughts expressed in it are so simple and universal that they easily sink into the hearts of all readers; and perhaps no writer, either before or since Gray's time, has written so well as he on such common place topics with so much unfailing freshness and originality as the *Elegy* presents. 'The church yard,' says Dr. Johnson, 'abounds with images which find a mirror in every mind and with sentiments to which every bosom returns an echo.' What particular churchyard Gray had in view is not known, and there is no reference in the poem to help us to localise it. It has been conjectured that Gray meant Stoke Pogis, the residence of his mother and aunt.

A churchyard has a history of its own. Originally the remains of the clergy were interred near the altar in the choir, and then men of true piety and high social rank were ambitious to lie by them. The church proper perhaps had not space enough to

contain the corpses of all men of that distinction. Then it seems that burial took place in the grounds about the church. Situated in the heart of towns, these churchyards, the repositories of the remains of the dead, were centres for the diffusion of offensive and unhealthy vapours. Convinced of the evil of burying corpses both in the churches and in their yards. Chadwick and a number of sanitary reformers condemned wholesale the system of intramural interment, and their condemnation led to the passing of the Burial Act, which enforced the opening of new graveyards far from the approaches of densely populated towns. A country churchyard, lying as it does on the lap of nature, is in itself a centre of pious cheerfulness and a community of the living and the dead. A grave is a tranquillising object, but it is the poet's art that combines pleasurable associations with it and makes it a cause for delight.

Then in some rural, calm, sequestered spot
Where healing nature her benignant look
Never changes, there in that rural scene
So placid, so congenial to the wish
The Christian feels, at peaceful rest within
The silent grave I would have strayed.

John Edwards.

The poet approaches a country churchyard one evening, when the sheep after pasture and the ploughman after toil are on their way home. The twilight is thickening into gloom, and nature grows tranquil and calm. But the solemn stillness of the night is disturbed, now and then, by the humming beetle, the twinkling sheep-bells, and the shrieking owl. Then his eyes turn to many a mouldering grave of the poor rustic forefathers to whom

Sweeter seems
To rest beneath the clover sod
That takes the sunshine and the rains,

and his thoughts go to the pleasurable associations of country life—balmy air, twittering swallow, shrill cock, and hunting bugle—which no more affect the peasants who sleep in those narrow cells bereft of home, wife and children, and who are no more called on to reap harvests, break clods, drive team, and fell timber. His next transition is an admonition to lords, nobles and proud men who may despise the low calling, simple enjoyment, and undistinguished life of the poor cottars, too poor to raise monu-

ments over their graves, that no invidious distinction awaits them in their hour of death; that knights and kings, belles and magnates fall under the same scythe of the foul reaper; and that no inscribed monument, graphic bust, voice of honour or adroit flattery can call back a corpse to life. Then he dwells upon the potential greatness of the peasantry who, for want of means, were obliged to leave their minds fallow, their fertile genius to dry up and their worth unrecognised like the radiant pearl in the fathomless ocean-pit or the sweet-scented flower wasting its perfume in a distant wilderness, but who, for the possession of which, could have been patriots like Hampden, bards like Milton, rulers like Cromwell, orators like Pitt, statesmen like Wolsey, philanthropists like Wilberforce, and historians like Hallam. Though their deep poverty rendered the growth and development of such virtues impossible in them, it at least freed them from the vices of high places and courtly coteries, the taints of bloodshed, hard-heartedness, hypocrisy, obscenity and court-flattery, and helped them to lead peaceful lives remote from the hum of cities. However poor, their graves were decked with a frail memorial—a rough stone bearing the name and age of the deceased and holy texts written incorrectly and incoherently by some untaught village poet—a rude stone like a finger-post, telling the careless passer-by to stop and shed tears for them and ward off the irreverent approach of his feet. However poor, the dying peasant, as other favoured mortals, does not renounce this life without a thought for some dear kindred or without some tears of pious affection shed on him; and surely with his death his affections and desires do not die but continue to speak from the urns. After these solemn and serious reflections on the short and simple lives of the poor, the poet forecasts how a brother of the lyre, of his own stamp and character would meet his fate, and gives a sample of an epitaph that he would himself wish to be inscribed on his own tomb.

“He frequented the upland lawn early every morning to see the orient breaking into gold, stretched his limbs every noon at the foot of an aged beech, and looked steadily at the haunted stream, now cheerful with his wayward fancies, now cast down with carking care or forsaken love and after all, borne like others through the Churchway path with ‘due dirges in a sad array.’ The tenant of the tomb was well-educated, though poor, and

was a man of enlightened thought. He possessed a beautiful nature and a sincere soul; he wept for the miserable and gained the love of God. The merit or otherwise of such a man in the embrace of our Universal Father let us not try to scan.

Here are layers upon layers of bibliography, eulogy and criticism clothed in elegant and polished language; but the gorgeous brocade of the verse, says Prof. Craik, does not hide the true fire and fancy beneath. Any amount of contemplation cannot make the mystery of life more clear or less awful and solemn. Though life and death are well-worn themes, in Gray's hands they have acquired a freshness and originality which, men may come and men may go, will go on for ever. The four stanzas, beginning *yet even these bones*, appeared original to Dr. Johnson who wrote that, had Gray continued to compose his poems in that strain, it would have been vain to blame, useless to praise him. 'For wealth of condensed thought and imagery fused into one equable stream of golden song by intense fire of genius, he knows no poem superior to the *Elegy*, none quite equal.' So wrote Palgrave. The crowd of images in the opening stanzas of the *Elegy* exhibit Gray's study and observation of nature, and the exquisite stanzas beginning, 'The boast of heraldry' and 'Full many a gem and such isolated lines as,

Even in our ashes live our wonted fires.
The paths of glory lead but to the grave.
Shut the gates of mercy upon mankind.
The breezy call of incense breathing morn,

which have become household words, manifest the skill of the workman. Gray seems to have executed the thirty-two stanzas of his *Elegy* in a protracted period of seven years. To convey a series of moral reflections, Gray rightly chose the Iambic Pentametre, alternately rhymed—the metre used by S. J. Davies in his *Immortality of the soul*, by Sir W. Davenant in his *Gondibert*, and by Dryden in his *Aneas Mirabilis*.

Gray's *Elegy* reflects his age. It was in his age that Parliamentary oratory dawned, that men of letters were beginning to be slighted by their patrons, and that Elaborate Epitaphs and *Elegies* were manufactured to order, and in his age reading was not such a common accomplishment among the masses as now. All these facts are faintly indicated in

The applause of listening Senates to command.
Or heap the shrine of Luxury and Pride
With incense kindled at the Muses' flame.

Their name, their years spelt by the unlettered Muse,
The place of fame and elegy supply.
Approach and read (so, thou canst read the lay).

Adonais, the mellifluous Doric forth of the Adonis of Bion, personates Keats, a friend of the poet Shelley. Keats died at Rome of hereditary consumption on February 23, 1821, but the intelligence was miscarried that the venom of the reviewers of his *Endymion* had eaten out his vitals and beaten out his music. Impressed with this report, and growing indignant at the written daggers of the savage critics, his friends at home who were enthusiastic for the fame of their dead friend wrote laments reviling the reviewers. But the arrival of the leisurely communication of Mr. Severn, who alone had spent his nights and days disinterestedly with Keats in administering to his comforts, discovered to the public that Keats' death was due to consumption developed during his autumnal tour in the Highlands, aggravated by his close attendance on his brother Tom, who, too sorely afflicted with the malady, died of it, and not at all to the gibes and jeers of the *Blackwood's Magazine* and the *Quarterly Review*. As his friends had published their *Elegies* long before the arrival of this true intelligence, their productions conveyed the first false impressions of the sad tidings and missed the deserving tribute of praise to the unsparing Severn. Among his friends whom Keats' death affected most, Shelley stands foremost, and then Byron. But Byron's well-known stanza of *Don Juan*, uttering the savageness of the reviewers and the untowardness of their victim in the same breath, travelled farther and wider than Shelley's beautiful lament.

John Keats—who was killed of one critique,
Just as he really promised something great,
If not intelligible—without Greek,
Continued to talk about the Gods of late,
Much as they might have been supposed to speak.
Poor fellow, his was an untoward fate,
How strange the mind, that fiery particle,
Should itself be snuffed out by an article.

The two reviews appeared in 1881 in the month of August and September respectively. Between their appearance and Keats's death, there was a clear interval of two years and a half during which Keats seems to have had strength and nerve to write *Hyperion*, *Lamia*, and a few minor poems, which have established his fame and reputation as a poet of no mean order,

and also to devote his time and mind to the preparation of the two dramas, *Otho* and *King Stephen* for the stage. Therefore neither Byron's passage nor Shelley's *Adonais* presented any true feature of Keats as he actually died; but both have operated to fix in the public mind unmistakably erroneous notions of his character and fate.

'*Adonais*,' writes Shelley, 'is a highly wrought piece of art and perhaps better in point of composition than anything I have written. There needs no mention that Shelley's *Adonis*, like Milton's *Lycidas*, was modelled on the laments of Bion for *Adonis* and *Moschus* for Bion, of which the former has in recent years been rendered into English admirably by Mrs. Browning. Shelley, imitating the Greek pathetic laments, has substituted Splendours, Gfooms, &c., for the mourning Pawns and Satyrs, the thoughts, fancies and desires for Bion's cupids, and the living English bards for the mountain Shepherds. He chose Byron and Moore as his chief mourners and chose them not without purpose, and the purpose will be evident if we remember Byron's hot and cold critique and Moore's tirade against Shelley himself.

Shelley begins the poem with weeping for the loss of *Adonais* though he is fully conscious that mortal bewailings have no power at all to resuscitate him. Still he calls upon the Sad Hour, the mighty mother and the Iorn Urania to weep for him. Then he exhorts the melancholy mother Earth to dry her tears and be silent, as her *Adonais* has joined only things wise and fair in

The undiscovered country, from whose bourne
No traveller returns.

He next addresses Urania, the spirit of Epic Poetry, to bemoan his premature death, the mournful loss of the youngest Epicist 'the nurseling of her widowhood,' her extreme hope, the loveliest and the last, as though she had once numbered in her train such mighty poets as the Blind Old Homer of England, the sire of an immortal strain, and the third among the sons of light as though she had lost them all and was given later on a race of feeble sons, whose only way to the Temple of Fame ran over the precipitous slopes of Industry. Where did *Adonais* die? The scene of his death lay in Rome under the blue Italian sky, where, in a grave amidst the eternal, he was enjoying deep and liquid rest in the blissful forgetfulness of the calamities that flesh is err to. Though he was dead, death and corruption would not

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prey upon his fair body; they would rather leave it to darkness and to the inscrutable workings of the law of change. At his death-bed none were present but the thoughts, fancies, and desires of the dead-singer to perform his funeral rites.

One of them thought that he was in a swoon and felt his body over; another broke her bow and reed and was obstinate in her sorrow; a third bathed his limbs and decked the corpse with wreaths out of the profuse locks of her hair; a fourth alighted on his mouth, the past medium of humorous and harmonious thoughts, and closed his icy lips. Then came in a sad procession, a troop of Desires and Adorations, Persuasions, and Destinies, Splendours and Gfooms, Fantasils, Sorrow and Pleasure.

All he had loved and moulded into thought
From shape and hue and order and sweet sound
Lamented *Adonais*.

Nature was down in her depths of sorrow: the morning grew murky, the ocean became pale and ruffled, the wild-voiced who was stubborn and silent, and the spring turned wild and autumnal. Twelve months rolled away, and nature appeared, once again in her mirth and joy. Even the graves at the touch of the genial season covered themselves with divers plants and flowers. Could these inanimate objects come back to life?

Shall that alone which knows
Be as a sword consumed before the Sheath
By sightless lightning?

No. There is a hope of his resurrection. All the surrounding objects of nature teach us that death lends what life must borrow, but, says the poet,

The Intense atom glows
A moment, then is quenched in a most cold repose.
Therefore *Adonais* will wake no more.

Urania was enveloped in sorrow and, at the entreaty of misery and her own attendant Dreams and Echoes, left her Paradise and reached the mournful place where *Adonais* lay. At her sight *Adonais* showed symptoms of life and breath, and Urania cried

Leave me not wild and drear and comfortless
As silent lightning leaves the starless night!
Leave me not!

She kissed him once and he was gone for ever. She fell a-mourning and soliloquized as follows:

"O my beautiful and gentle child, why did you strike new paths and come across unpastured critic dragons? Though you were solitary and defenceless in your conflicts with them, you could have shielded yourself with your wisdom or left your enemies in contempt or could have waited for the fulness of your powers to scare away those fickle monsters. Did not Eyrone, the Pythian of the age, let loose his volley of shafts on those cowardly wolves, ravens and vultures, and reduce them to fawn at his proud feet? You, possessed of a God-like mind, you, 'who made Earth bare and veiled Heaven' have fallen a victim to them and pass away from our midst, leaving us to night and darkness."

After Urania followed Byron, the Pilgrim of Eternity, and Moore, Irene's sweetest lyrist of her saddest song, and last came the frail, companionless, nature-loving and thought-hunted Shelley, and approached Adonais's Couch. Leigh Hunt is mentioned as the gentlest of the wise who taught, soothed, loved, honoured, the departed one.

Adonais died of the poison of his rude detractors the "Carion kites."

Remorse and self contempt shall cling to thee,
Hot shame shall burn upon thy secret brow,

And like a beaten hound tremble thou shalt!

His death was no real death at all. He is simply awakened from the dream of life and is a portion of the Eternal. It is only we in muddy vestures, victims of fear and grief, that wage an endless and unprofitable warfare here. Adonais is far above

'Envy and calumny and hate and pain.'

He is already 'one with nature' and 'a portion of the loveliness which once he made more lovely.' Men of brilliant genius, like Keats, die not but join the throng of the immortals in heaven. In the unapparent, Chatterton, Sidney and Lucan and many more 'extinct in their refulgent prime' received Adonais as their Coryphæus. If one wishes to see the shell which covered this priceless pearl, let him turn away from the viewless Universe and go to Rome, the sepulchre of the kings of thought,

at once the Paradise,

The grave, the city, and the wilderness,

to the Protestant Cemetery under the pyramid of Cacus Cestus and look on the graves; and he is sure to return home with a wish that a like fate should befall him—sure to return convinced of the evanescent nature of things of this Earth and of the perma-

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nence of that Light, that Beauty, that Benediction, that sustaining love which consumed the last clouds of cold mortality, and which is reached when Death the Deliverer, the Revealer and the Mysterioso destroys, at one blow, the citadel of life, standing as a barrier between the Soul of Man and the Spirit of the Universe.

The poet closes with a strange prescience that he also will follow Adonais ere long, which he did before a year elapsed.

I am borne darkly, fearfully afar;

Whilst burning thro' the inmost veil of Heaven

The Soul of Adonais, like a Star,

Beacons from the abode where the Eternals are.

Thus the whole of *Adonais* is, as Hutton has remarked, a 'shimmer of beautiful regret,' and is unsurpassed in English literature as an utterance of abstract pity and indignation. In it Shelley has shown the magic of his art both in the metamorphosis of the crude materials of his models into a hurrying train of beautiful spectacular images and in the clear exposition of his philosophy when he offers transcendental consolation for mortal loss. 'It is a poem' in the words of the Rev. S. Brooke 'written by one who seems a spirit about a spirit and belongs in expression, thought, and feeling to that world above our own in which Shelley virtually lived, by that philosophy, which is at once pantheistic and naturalistic, in which there is, however, an inconsistency when the advocate of the theory of absorption—the absorption of the soul into the primæval nature-forces, attributes individual empires to the departed Souls.' In the stanzas describing his philosophy as well as in those describing himself, Shelley is at his best; for, in them alone, he is free from his classic models, and in them alone his fertile imagination has broken off its fetters. The seven concluding stanzas, beginning 'Go thou to Rome,' though less exultant because surcharged with sorrow and trouble, are a piece of sustained eloquence. The spiritual and splendour of *Adonais* Shelley has embodied in the stanza of Spenser's *Fairie Queene*, Beattie's *Minstrel*, Shenstone's *School Mistress*, Thomson's *Castle of Indolence*, and Byron's *Child Harold*,—a stanza certainly appropriate to express the irresistible current and thrilling modulation of its verse.

M. S. PURNALINGAM PILLAI.

THE RIFT IN THE FLUTE.

"Look ! like as when a tank pours water forth"
 To suit all needs, so do these Brahmans draw
 Text for all wants from tank of Holy Writ.
 But thou, want not ! ask not ! Find full reward
 Of doing right in right ! Let right deeds be
 Thy motive, not the fruit which comes from them.
 And live in action ! Labour ! make thine acts
 Thy piety, casting all self aside,
 Contemning gain and merit ; equable
 In good or evil ; equability
 Is Yôg, is piety !

Yet, the right act.

*Is less, far less, than the right-thinking mind.
 Seek refuge in thy soul ; have there thy heaven !*

—Sri Krishna to Arjuna in the Gita.

THE air is full of reports of a wordy war between "reformers" and "revivalists" or *reactionists* and *inactionists* as some call them. I have tried to find out what the issue is between the two parties ; what it is that they are fighting about. The one is for "reform" and the other is for "progress." Now what do these words imply, and what is their value for spiritual Judgment ? Let us rigidly exclude all personality for the moment and look at them from a psychological point of view. "Reform" means "amendment of what is defective, vicious, corrupt or depraved" with a view to put things into a new and improved form or condition. And "progress" as applied to individuals, communities or the race, is "a going forward" or an "advance toward ideal completeness or perfection in respect of quality or condition." As an *existential* proposition, the existence of defects, vice, corruption and depravity both individually and socially cannot be gainsaid by any real observer. Admitting their existence as a fact, how did these defects come about ? Without going fully into this inquiry it can be stated here as an acceptable proposition that the *existent* evils are the result of a fallen, rotten, or low ideal. This however does not take us far : but it serves the purpose of freeing us from the tangled meshes of personality which makes a naturally complex proposition, inextricably more so, by mingling it with the passions, prejudices, and personal character-

istics of individuals. Accepting therefore the proposition that the evils we perceive are due to the imperfections of the ideal (individual or social as the case may be) we worship, no matter how we call them,—*mamool* or fashion, *mammon* or materialism, spiritualism or moonshine, it behoves us to trace its origin and history. All the defects we find among us can be traced, if we psychologically examine them, to moral weakness or fear to act up to one's convictions or to be true to one's self. This moral weakness, this insincerity to one's self, this self-deception which is the root of all evils, is the secret canker that eats into the vitals of men and women, as well as of Society which is but an aggregate of men and women in harmonious and living relation with one another where it is healthy, or discordant and mutually destructive where it is unhealthy or diseased. Now what is the origin and constitution of this secret canker ? How does it originate ? A calm, dispassionate and contemplative looking into the subject with an introspective mind trained to keen powers of accurate observation of its inner workings, will reveal with a force of truth and conviction, before which all rationalistic quibbling and logical hair-splitting will fade as darkness before the rising dawn—the fact, that the moment one falls from the wholehearted worship of truth as one understands it in his heart of hearts, that very moment he lays himself open to this deadly canker, the ravaging effects of which on one's *character*, it is impossible fully to describe here. But "what is truth ?" mutters vehemently the impatient critic, between his hard set teeth. Yes, yes ! We are coming to that. That is what we are driven. And shall we consider this old, old question here ? Yes, we must, willy-nilly.

"What is truth ?" asked Pilate of Jesus brave, and he answered it by * "rising from the Grave." "Many a time and oft has the question been solved, yet to the world, worldly, it is yet unsolved." Arjun bold cried like a child to know the truth from Krishna mild ; and "he the Lord loved him so that he told the truth to him in songs celestial and old." Truth is the end, the aim, the law of life ; it won't unbend for all your strife.

"Beyond the stress and strife of passions" sway,
 Behold ! 't shines calm and bright to lead the way."

"Oh what is this !" my critic cries ; "you refer to the Gita and the Gospel of Christ. But who knows what they meant and what they taught ; no two persons are agreed on the subject."

* By letting his soul rise triumphantly above considerations of body.

Christ himself has answered this question in terms identical to those in which Krishna has once and again answered the same query in different forms from Adju. "If you abide in my teaching you are my disciples, indeed, and you shall know the Truth, and Truth shall make you free." This is the ideal freedom, the ideal perfection, the ultimate goal towards which all "reform" and all "progress" must necessarily and inevitably tend. It would not do for you to call it "religion" and hang it in the supreme consciousness of your own "scientific knowledge" in this "scientific age." The sectarian scientist is still groping in the dark, as any honest man in the foremost rank of any branch of modern science will confess to you, as indeed they are publicly confessing it here and there. Space forbids my dashing off in a tangent at this point; and I therefore restrain myself and return to our subject.

To give a *more* practical and immediately useful advice, I will say it in the language of George Macdonald: "Do the truth you know and you will learn the truth you need to know." "He serves all who dares be true" says the immortal Emerson. First "to thine ownself be true" and with it "Hitch your wagon to a star," *i.e.*, cling with all the pertinacity you are capable of, to a very high and lofty ideal. Build up your ideal as high as the star in the blue vault of heavens; and as sure as the star shines and showers its influence on all that is below it, will your ideal help to lift you up against thine own lower self. For, it is a truism, as Joseph LeComte puts it, that "we form ideals and they react and form us."

"All this is no doubt a counsel of perfection," nods my critic, "but it *won't* do." I answer quite as emphatically "If it won't do, none else would ever do anything for you: you may fight with each other like killkenny cats, and scratch and bruise, and tear one another to the tail's end: but you will never benefit by it, unless it be that you learn by *personal experience*, that 'this fighting business is a ruinous affair.'" *Fight you must and fight you shall*; but not in the way in which you do, without any hold on the eternal principles of life or the laws of growth and freedom. Far be it from me to pose before you as a teacher. No, no, I am as yet a student, but a student who has lived and learned enough to say that he has wasted well nigh his whole energy for a score of years in vainly fighting against the eternal laws with varying success, only to find at last, when he was brought face to face

with Death, that the old reckoner with grim face has recorded: "This life has so far proved a failure." It was a solemn moment and I would not for my life have talked of it openly as I have done, were it not that I am moved by a consciousness, that the Grace of God that has saved me so far, or, the opening of my eyes to the inner and fuller life that regulates all this outer expression of it (if you will not deign to recognise such a being as God)—has made me a debtor to the Higher Law or Power to the extent of my testifying it to the world, when two parties of my countrymen, both of them earnest and true in their way, are divided so desparately on a question affecting the weal or woe of millions and millions of their less gifted countrymen and women, whom they regard with that sympathy and fellow-feeling that makes us all one large family of brothers and sisters owning everything we possess on earth or heaven, to the all-loving mercy and care of one Universal Being—call him personal or impersonal, Father or Mother, God or Law or whatever else you please—for, we can say nothing of him, but that He, or rather, *It Is. Om Tat Sat.*

Having thus laid hold of the root principle, we will now descend to details. The two parties agree in their aims, but differ in their methods. And this difference shows itself most in the vexed question of "widow-remarriage." This is a question that has moved me from the very beginning. The condition of widows, especially of virgin widows, was heart-rending to the extreme. The "Progressive" party does not deny this. But they ask, is your remedy the correct one? The standard of English societies and of European civilization is no guide to us. For, however advanced these countries of the West may be materially, they are still groping in the dark spiritually and are not yet fit to hold a candle to the East in matters spiritual. In the West, Intellect rules; and Rationalism holds undisputed sway. Intellect is great I admit; but I will not rely on it solely for my spiritual salvation, if I believe in such a thing. For "Intellect" as Emerson truly says "is vagabond." The Indian sage with a warmer imagination compares it to "a whore." It is wanting in constancy, is not steady in its loyalty to any line. It is "dry." There is no "heart" in it; no feeling. It serves well as "scaffolding" for the building up of true Character, which has its foundation deep in the soul. But taken by itself it is

unreliable; unaesthetic and even unethical. Its influence on conduct where it is not combined with *feeling* is as much for good as the reverse. Its tendency is destructive on the whole. After a patient and exhaustive study of Human Nature at large and a dry analysis of the varieties of religious experience, Professor W. James of the Harvard University, as an expert Psychologist viewing his subject, quite "dryly" as he puts it, i.e., without wasting any sentiment on the subject, comes to this conclusion: "When we survey the whole field of religion, we find a great variety in the thoughts that have prevailed there; but the feeling on the one hand and the conduct on the other are almost always the same, for Stoic, Christian, and Buddhist Saints are practically indistinguishable in their lives. The theories which Religion generates, being thus variable, are secondary; and if you wish to grasp her essence, you must look to the feelings and the conduct as being the more constant elements. It is between these two elements that the short circuit exists on which she carries on her principal business while the ideas and symbols and other institutions form loop-lines which may be perfections and improvements, and may even some day be all united into one harmonious system, but which are not to be regarded as organs with an indispensable function necessary at all time for religious life to go on." Though "both thought and feeling are determinants of conduct, and the same conduct may be determined either by feeling or by thought; yet there is this difference between the two which I would emphasize here: While feeling is "constant" and reliable in its relation to conduct, "thought" is "unconstant" and variable. Emerson simply emphasizes this, when he says that "Intellect is vagabond" and he is quite right. All the feverish haste and restlessness of the West is due to this reign of the Intellect, untempered by the due blending of "Heart" or feeling which is essentially spiritual in its nature. I have quoted at length Professor James' conclusion, for it is essential we must have a common platform to stand on while we survey the position of the two contending parties impartially with our eyes solely fixed on truth and truth alone. And such a platform this weighty conclusion by an expert Psychologist after a full and patient examination of the subject, viz., Human Nature, affords us.

Thus securely planted on a firm rock, we can afford to calmly survey the two opposing sides without fear of the ground

slipping from under our feet by any concussion or convulsion which the exigencies of party warfare and tactical manoeuvres may cause to the ground, during our operation.

The party of "reform," if we have understood them aright, seem to draw their inspiration more from the active and aggressive civilization of the West, and is also strong in intellect, thus making it easy for them to assimilate the lessons of the West. While the "Progressive" party seem to draw their inspiration from the spiritual ideal of the East and its exponents and exemplars, the Saints and Sages of India. So long as the best intellects were ranged on the side of "reform," the mass of people who never looked with favour on any departure from *mamool* or tradition (good or bad is nothing to them since everything gets consecrated in their eyes by time and constant repetition) simply grinned and bared their talk and castigation in print, taking their revenge when it came to action where by their very numbers they could easily make it too hot for any reformer who had not in him the "unquenchable fire of truth." The merely intellectual reformer thus came to be worsted, whenever he came to enter upon the field of action. Save a few rare and bold spirits, men of true culture and good mettle, who had more of gold in them with proportionately less of the baser metals as alloy, all others found their bravery and courage evaporate into thin air, when it came to suffering for their cause. In other words, when it came to living up to their tenets, which involved *feeling*, and *suffering*, their "vagabond intellect" left them in the lurch and they found themselves to be quite different persons from what they once thought themselves to be. The best and truest among the reformers, like the late lamented Mr. A. Subba Rao, felt this war of the flesh with the spirit most keenly, as every true and honest soul aspiring to live up to its own true ideal at one time or other feels and willingly suffers for its realisation. While the Western civilization has been careering on wildly with the march of intellect, and upsetting all old ideals and cherished methods of realising these ideals that were framed to suit other times and other circumstances than the present, and creating confusion and chaos in the breasts of young but ardent souls, who have found that life has lost all its zest for them before they have barely passed 30 summers, some great souls incarnated in obscure parts, began to shine and shed their influence in full bloom and manifest their beauty and sweet fragrance and attract ardent young men of

the class above described. The appearance of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa and the band of young men of whom Swami Vivekananda was the most conspicuous and famous, as he undoubtedly was able and great in soul, was only one among the many subtle influences that were silently at work in various parts of this ancient land. The great intellectual endowment of the Swami, well-trained and perfected by a master-hand that knew all the inner-workings of the soul has made it easy for him to capture the bare and barren intellect of the West, and when the Parliament of Religions surrendered to him at discretion, the Great War of the spirit and the flesh ended, as usual, in complete victory to the spirit; and the best intellects of Europe and America, with characteristic inconstancy, began to pay their homage to that subtle and seductive charmer and victor (the spirit or soul) in the person of the Swami. When the best intellects of the West thus yielded its claims to the superior influence of the spirit though not acknowledging it in so many words, it was a sign for the East to follow suit. For, in this advance of the intellect, the East as it is, has ever contended itself to follow the West at a respectful distance. With this change of front, the old bones in the valley began to be moved and there was a vague rustling noise in the air. So long ago as the time of the last Congress there was much discontent expressed at the way in which the reformers by capturing the Press had it all their own way so far as their propagandism at least was concerned, and a good deal of private canvassing to counteract their growing influence was going on. But the man with the spirit and the intellect combined was wanting, and the efforts made by half-hearted men were easily put out and brushed aside by the vigorous intellect and new bloomed energy of the reformers. The old spirit has now again manifested itself in a more impressive form, having grown and gathered strength in the meanwhile; and now they have an organ of their own. The new party has made its presence felt and has now appeared on the scene, as the result of a silent growth; and it would not do for the "reformers" to ignore them or carry things with a high hand. They may carry on the Conference and may indulge in platform oratory to the top of their bent, but the leaders will be reckoning without their host if they mean to ignore them. The point which the new party wish to emphasize is, if I understand them aright, that the Hindu Society is based on essentially a

spiritual foundation, and however much it may have now degenerated, the thing to do is not to uproot it and plant it anew; but merely water and manure it sufficiently well, so that in the vigorous growth that will inevitably follow, the excrescences and offshoots will fall of themselves or could be easily pruned without harm to the parent stem and the roots. Hindu Society though rotten to the core, has yet a fund of latent vitality in it; and a proper tending of it, letting in plenty of light and air, will improve it naturally without any cataclysm.

The "reformers" and "progressists," then differ in the matter of the *diagnosis* and where doctors differ, outsiders as amateurs can do little to give any rational aid. But it gives an opportunity to every quack to try his hand and experiment on the life of the patient. Hindu Society now is in this sad predicament; and if it has really any spark of true life in it, it will yet gather enough strength to kick at all this brood of quarrelling medicoes, and throwing their pills and prescriptions into the nearest ditch or fire, grow on its own inherent vitality overcoming the deadly canker that is undoubtedly now eating into its vitals. *Moral backbone* is the one word by which one can describe the auspicious symptom of such revival. And spiritual culture is the one natural agent that would help its growth. The one party may in its attempt be unconsciously guilty of "sanctimonious commonplace," as the other party is liable to be seized with "violent hysterics" when the woes and wails of the Widow are mentioned or touched; but both are inevitable lapses due to want of "inner light" or "fuller knowledge of the situation" as some would prefer to call it. The hopeful silver lining to the dark and threatening mass of overhanging clouds is that the leaders on either side are men of intelligence and true honesty of purpose; and however impossible of reconciliation their differences may now appear, they will soon come to agree when they have both let off some superfluous steam and begin to concentrate their remaining energies on a solution of the problem of life in their own precious selves, leaving the sensible and brave among the widows to solve their own problem by choosing either to lead a re-married life if they have the courage to face the trials, or to seek spiritual salvation for their troubled souls, if they feel or hear any such call on them. If Pandit Viresalingam or Vidyasagar and others like them are honored by all, they are honored for the moral courage they have shown among a genera-

tion of kneecrooking men, and this does not necessarily mean that the cause they have espoused as their own is the best for all sorts and conditions of men and women. The world's power to persecute you is after all derived from your own reverence of it. "Dare, and the world always yields" as Thackeray truly says.

Therefore my friends, "DARE TO BE WISE." "DARE, DO and BE WISE." Lay these words of practical wisdom to heart and act; act up to your convictions and you will find things far more easy than you thought it ever would be. "Do not care for show, do not care for numbers, do not care for the co-operation. If you wish to inculcate religion, act upon the adage 'example is better than precept'; I would advise you to act up to your convictions and speak little. Act earnestly and vigorously, do not wait for numbers. Numbers will come of themselves. Work but because you have to obey your conscience. I think difficulty is the test of conviction. Do not be daunted by difficulties. Persist and persevere, and you are sure to succeed." Wise and practical advice this that fell from the lips of H. H. the Maharajah Gaekwar of Baroda. Ponder well over it; engrave it in your heart. Infuse every corpuscle in your blood with the spirit and essence of this sage counsel, make it your own, and act. Every duty thus faithfully discharged gives you the power to fulfil the next duty that lies before you. That is the reward of life's duties faithfully performed; and you reap it now, at once, on the spot;—not in some remote future. This is the Gospel of Work the Gita teaches, which Christ and Buddha lived in their respective lives. Act and live in the living present, according to your light, and the future will take care of itself. And as to propagandism, do it with all your might,—but with this difference: that you teach others that you may learn thereby. *Qui docet discit* is a maxim, the truth of which you and I must daily realise in life. "He who teaches learns."

ANANDA MISSION,
ANANDASHRAMA,
TRIPPLICANE, MADRAS.

SATYANANDA S. SARMA.

THE SEPARATION OF JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS.

MR. CURZON said in his Budget Speech of last March that the subject of the Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions was engaging his attention and that he should like to solve this long-standing problem, one way or the other in his time. Since this pronouncement was made we have had the announcements, first that the Police Commission after a long discussion of the subject recommended against the separation, and second that it only said that it would not pronounce an opinion as in its opinion the subject was not closely connected with police reform. However this might be, it is clear that public attention will shortly have to be closely devoted to the subject. It is as well then that once again the case for the reform long prayed for by the Indian National Congress—the *Times of India* the other day referred to the subject as an "almost venerable" one—should be briefly stated, as we are on the eve of a big controversy over it.

We were glad, therefore, that Mr. Chinulal H. Setalwad did right in devoting the good portion of his address at the Sholapur Conference of November last to the subject of Judicial reform. In the midst of the controversy that is raging on the economic question, which has as it were been brought to a head by the valuable publications of Messrs. Dadabhai, Digby and Dutt, there is the danger of other not less important problems being thrown into the background if not altogether forgotten. One of these is the Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions. The National Congress took it up for the first time in 1886, and the late lamented Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose by his untiring exertions brought it within the range of practical politics. Mr. R. C. Dutt, Mr. Pheroseshah Mehta and Mr. Ghose himself published schemes to prove that the suggested reform was entirely feasible, while it was also shown that it would involve very little additional cost. The British Committee of the Congress took up the question with the earnestness characteristic of that body, and a number of eminent retired Anglo-Indian administrators and judges were made to interest themselves in the subject.

A memorial, influentially signed, was presented to the Secretary of State, who forwarded it to the Government of India for an expression of their opinion. The latter in turn sent it to the different local Governments and High Courts, and their opinions were duly forwarded to the Government of India. It was published in the newspapers that the Calcutta High Court reported in favour of the separation and that the Government of Bengal against it. It is also laid that the latter had consulted only its officials, retired and active, and not public bodies also as usual. One Mr. Munro, a retired Inspector-General of Police, who lately distinguished himself by maligning our countrymen in his evidence before the Police Commission, was among those that had the honour of being consulted by the Bengal Government, and as might have been expected he expressed himself as uncompromisingly against it as the late Sir John Woodburn himself was said to have done. If the above is what has happened, one may well satisfy oneself as to the value of these opinions of provincial Governments. These would, or at all events should, possess no more weight in the eye of the impartial critic than if Mr. Reilly would condemn Mr. Pennell for his Noakhali judgment, and appealed to the high authority of Osman Ali Daroga in his favour. The opinion of the High Courts should carry more weight with the Government of India than that of Local Governments, in a matter essentially connected with the administration of justice, and if as was done by the Calcutta High Court other High Courts would express themselves in favour of the separation, the Government of India should have no hesitation in deciding in favour of it.

There are many reasons why any delay in the separation of the functions should be extremely deprecated. In the first place the combination of magisterial, revenue and police duties in one and the same officer is leading to considerable oppression of the poor and ignorant masses. I write from intimate knowledge of Mofussil life when I say that apart from all sentimental and theoretical considerations, there are grounds for the separation of the duties which must appeal to the mind of a practical statesman. I shall not slay the slain by persisting in abuse of the much abused, though not too much abused, policeman. The Government of India have practically admitted the justice of the accusations brought against the Police, and much good is expected of the inquiries conducted by the Hon'ble Sir

Andrew Fraser and his colleagues of the Police Commission. As Sir A. Fraser well observed at the opening sitting of the Commission at Gauhati, it is more important that one should suggest the necessary and feasible improvements in the Police than that an indictment should be brought against it. This, however, by the way. I was going to say that the police being what it was, the hardship the ignorant and poor masses would be put to, unless an independent magistracy fearlessly did its duty and checked the vagaries and mal-practices of the police, might be easily imagined. I do not here refer to Police torture. I only invite attention to the illegal gratifications of the police Subordinates, by virtue of which the helpless rustic is eased of no inconsiderable sums, and this not infrequently too. I have known (and every intelligent observer of events in India has or must have known) of whole families ruined and disgraced by the heartless persecution of the Police subordinates. If, added to this, the Subordinate Magistracy is, by compulsion or otherwise, in close alliance with the police and becomes an active or passive party to the perpetration of oppression, what need be said of the lot of an honest but poor and ignorant man in the Mofussil generally, and in villages particularly? There are at least too reasons why the Subordinate Magistracy is in the extremely unsatisfactory condition in which it is (I refer particularly to the Madras Presidency of which I know). Firstly, it is one of the duties of Subordinate Magistrates to wait on Police Superintendents when they go to the former's head-quarters, they must consider themselves the latter's subordinates, and are not expected to go against their wishes. As a rule the Superintendent's displeasure blights the prospects of the Magistrate as much as the District or Divisional Officer's. This difficulty is not merely somewhat of a conventional nature, it is much worse. The Magistrate's duty does not begin and end, as it must, with Judicial inquiry into cases brought before him. He is held responsible for the suppression of crime. Which means, as sometimes it is even said in terms, that it is part of his duty to help the police in the detection of the criminal and in the securing of his conviction. He is prosecutor as well as judge. Should his conscience get the better of policy (it is the height of unwisdom and in policy for a Subordinate Magistrate to be always conscientious) and he acquits where he is expected by the police to convict, the Police Inspector loses no time in reporting against him to the

Superintendent, who has the ear of the District Magistrate and is not economical of the use of his advantageous situation. The District Magistrate, helpless himself in part, at once is at the offending Subordinate Magistrate and by transfer to an undesirable Station or stoppage of promotion or otherwise, teaches him a polite lesson in knee-bending to the all-powerful Police Inspector and Station-House Officer. In reality the Subordinate Magistracy is subservient to the police, and it is often next to impossible for an accused to get justice at his hands if the police is offended by him in any way. Appeals from the decision of the Subordinate Magistrate are usually ineffectual as in their turn the Divisional Officer and the District Magistrate are held responsible for the peace of the territory under their jurisdiction and are thus tied to the chariot wheel of the police. The position has been well described by the Right Hon^{ble} Sir Richard Garth, who said :—

"Imagine an active young Magistrate, having heard of some daring robbery, which has alarmed the neighbourhood, taking counsel in the first place with the heads of the police with a view to discovering the offender. After two or three vain attempts he succeeds at last, as he firmly believes, in finding the right man; and he then, still in concert with the police, suggests enquiries, receives information, hurries up evidence, through their agency, for the purpose of bringing home the charge to the suspected person. Having thus done his duty zealously in the first stage of the case, he next proceeds to enquire as a Magistrate, whether the evidence which he himself has collected, is sufficient to justify a committal. And, having come to the conclusion not unnaturally, that it is, he afterwards, upon the self-same evidence, tries the prisoner in his Judicial capacity, without the assistance of a Jury, and convicts him. However monstrous this may appear to an English public, the picture which I have presented is by no means overdrawn.

"It is not that the Indian public have any want of confidence in European Officers as such. But to be tried by a man who is at once the Judge and the prosecutor is too glaring an injustice; and it is only wonderful that a system so indefensible should have been allowed to prevail thus long under an English Government."

It is only interested prejudice that would dispute the truth of the above unanswerable indictment. No good has come out of the un-English combination of Magisterial and Police duties in one and the same officer, no good can come out of it. It has been fruitful in the past of nothing but the most vicious oppression of the people who have not learnt to take care of themselves; it is bound to be increasingly so in the future. It is demoralis-

ing in the extreme to both the oppressor and the oppressed, and the sooner it is done away with the better for all concerned.

Before leaving this part of my subject I must refer to another very great evil attending the present system, which, also, entails no little hardship on the litigants as well as the pleaders. The Magistrates being revenue officers also, they must go to camp frequently and they find it convenient to dispose of cases in camp. They go to the most out of the way hamlets and perpetrate on the litigants and pleaders the practical joke of posting long and complicated cases with a huge army of witnesses to be examined, for hearing there. Pleaders of long-standing absolutely decline to go there, while the inferior wares that can be had for some consideration are too clever not to demand considerable sums from the long-suffering party. The witnesses must be paid their *batta* and must be fed by the party all the while the case remains undisposed of. To aggravate the evil the Magistrate somehow contrives to leave the case still pending after all this almost intolerable worry, and he posts it for further hearing at some even more God-forsaken place. The whole cost of this painful operation must again be borne by the uncomplaining beast of the party. In the end it not unfrequently happens, for the reasons I have endeavoured to explain in the foregoing paragraph, that conscious or unconscious, and necessary or unnecessary injustice is done, and should the venturesome client, the losing party I mean, of course, take it into his head to appeal against the lower Court's decision, all that I have described above will have to be gone through a second time, only with this difference that this time the cost to be borne is much more than on the first occasion. The quotation that Mr. Setalvad made, in his Presidential Address at the Sholapur Conference, on a recent judgment of Justices Candy and Fulton of the Bombay High Court, is apposite and may usefully be reproduced re. Their Lordships say:

"Moreover it is obvious that in a case of this kind, involving a large number of accused persons, besides pleaders and witnesses, the trial could have been conducted at some central place as near as possible to the place where the accused and the witnesses lived. The diary shows that the trial began at Kalyan and was carried on at Gherbunder, Bassain, Na. Andheri, Bardi, Malegaum, Gungavaly, Bandore, Thana, Bandra Thana. At most of these places all the accused who had not been charged were present, and the inconvenience on some occasions must have been great. The District Magistrate has of course many duties to

perform which require his presence in many different places; but we feel that this fact was a great disqualification for that trial by him of a case like the present. It is always much to be regretted, when necessity compels the parties and witnesses in criminal cases to follow Magistrates from camp to camp, but in a case like the present . . . it was specially desirable that the proceedings should be conducted by Stationary Magistrate."

We are told that the report further shows that the trial dragged on from December 1900 to August 1901, a period of nine months, and that the accused were, in the words of High Court Judges, "severely harassed." It is within the knowledge of the present writer that in one robbery case a particular Magistrate in one of the Northern Districts of the Madras Presidency adjourned the trial no less than 33 times for some reason or other, and at last he delivered a judgment which was reversed in appeal by the Appellate Court. I should indeed consider that the particular evil dwelt upon in this paragraph, as a rule, results in unburldening the poor man who has the misfortune of figuring in a Criminal Suit, whether as accused or complainant, of much of his hard-earned scanty purse, and no responsible Government would be justified in tolerating a system inflicting such dire misery on those who are imprudent enough to seek the shelter of a Court of Justice for the redress of wrongs.

Yet another fruitful source of mischief is to be found in the most primitive and irrational method of recruiting the Subordinate Magistracy. The Ministerial Officers of District and Divisional Officers, after they put in a certain period of service and pass certain specified departmental tests, are deemed eligible for the discharge of Magisterial duties. They have never breathed any legal atmosphere so to speak, their acquaintance with judicial procedure is of the meagrest description, while to judicial temper and judicial independence they are perfect strangers. These men are paid no more than from Rs. 70 to Rs. 120 in the Madras Presidency, while I find from Mr. Setalwad's Sholapur address that in the Bombay Presidency there is a still lower grade of Magisterial Officers glorying in the name of Aval Karkuns and drawing only between Rs. 40 and Rs. 60 a month. In my Presidency too, Sub-Registrars drawing from Rs. 30 upwards were formerly invested with third-class magisterial powers, but that power has since been taken from them. Now this class of Subordinate Magistrates are of very inferior educational qualifications, vastly inferior to the pleaders appearing before them alike

as regards general culture, legal lore, wealth, character and status in society. I do not exaggerate when I say (and I write of the Madras Presidency alone) that while generally it is nothing but a caricature of law and justice that they administer, a low tone of judicial integrity, oftener than not degenerating into barefaced corruption, and subservience to the police, make the situation simply intolerable. A calm and impartial consideration of the position and environments of these Magistrates makes one wonder not that they are so bad, but that they are so good. They might easily be worse still and make the life of an honest soul literally impossible. Pending the solution of the larger question of the separation of Judicial and Executive functions all along the line, it ought to be possible for Government to effect the following minor, but not on that account any the less important, reforms at least:—

(1) The appointment of a larger number of Stationary Magistrates in the Subordinate grades who will have no revenue work, the latter duties pertaining to Tahsildars, as is now done to a certain extent in the Madras Presidency. By virtue of this proposal the number of Deputy Tahsildars would be reduced to an irreducible minimum if the whole class could not be done away with.

(2) The recruitment of the Stationary Magistrates exclusively from the bar, only High Court Vakils or First Grade Pleaders practising in District Courts and of a given standing being made eligible. Now any number of B.L.'s (in Bombay they are called L.L.B.'s) are available who would gratefully accept the place.

(3) A substantial increase in their emoluments. As I conceive the duties of Subordinate Magistrates to be, they are hardly less important than those of District Munsiffs, and if corruption is to be put down and the whole tone of the service improved, as has been done in a truly marvellous degree in the case of the latter class of officers, it is not too much to ask for better terms for them. A rate of pay of say Rs. 150 to Rs. 300 would hardly be too much to expect, regard being had to the better class of officers Government would get.

(4) Like District Munsiffs, Subordinate Magistrates, who would be Magistrates and nothing else, should be made entirely and exclusively subordinate to the High Court. Their appointment and dismissal, promotion and degradation, transfer and

leaves all should be in the hands of the High Court. They will then have nothing to fear of the Collector or the Superintendent of Police. Then may the public reasonably expect that no longer will fearless and conscientious Judges, like Mr. Justice Davies of the Madras High Court for instance, be under the necessity of complaining from the Bench, as His Lordship did once, that Subordinate Magistrates are always satisfied with the Police evidence.

Are the above reforms too inconvenient to be effected at an early date or are they too costly, when the sacred interests of justice demand them? The British Indian Government, who derive such large income from the administration of justice and whose mainstay of power is the popular confidence in their tribunals of justice, would, one should fancy, be the very last Government on the face of the earth to plead any excuse for inaction in so all-important a matter.

It is too late in the day for one to contend either that the combination of functions has the approval of any high authority, in the past or in the present, or that it has not led to greivous failure of justice. As regards the latter the list of cases compiled by the late lamented Mr. Ghose, wherein there was admitted failure of justice, is too formidable to be met with a sigh or dismissed with a shudder. The case of Lal Chand Chowdhuri of Chittagong (1876), the Fenwa cases (1876-77), the case of Barada Kanta Ray of Backergunj (1877), the Murshidabad Fishery case (1879), the Purnea Intimidation case (1881), the Furreedpore Bribery Prosecutions (1874), the case of Ramsan Ali of Midnapore (1875), the Jungipore case, the Bhagalpore case (1883), the Maldah Embankment case (1876), the Lokenathpur case (1877), the Monghyr case (1879), the Krishnagar Students' case (1884), the Rangpore Deer case (1886), the Jamalpore Mela case (1887), the Contai case (1889), the Serajgunji case (1891), the Sarachar case (1892), the Maimansingh case (1892), the Khulna Assault case (1894), and last but by no means least, the now famous Chupra and Noakhali cases, which sealed the fate of honest if misguided Mr. Penneil, speak for themselves. I do not forget that Sir Charles Elliott made quite a heroic effort in his memorable article on the subject in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for October 1896,—by virtue of which the saying has become current that "Sir Charles Elliott killed Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose," to disprove Mr. Ghose's contention as to the perpetration of injustice

in the aforesaid cases, but the house of cards industriously built by the ex-Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has been more than totally demolished by Mr. Herbert J. Reynolds, C.S.I., and Sir John Budd Phear in their replies to him in *India* for November 1896 and by Dr. Field in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January 1897. What appeared to Sir Charles to be a not proven case, was in the judgment of Mr. Reynolds, who had large experience of Bengal judicial administration, "a painful record of injustice, oppression, weakness and folly;" and, Mr. Reynolds added, "the evil system of whose working these cases are flagrant and outrageous instances has been in operation all along and is in operation now to poison the springs of justice in the court of every Magistrate in Bengal." In the thoughtful opinion of Sir John Budd Phear, "it is not extravagant to say of the entire article (of Sir Charles), its last paragraph notwithstanding, that it leaves the case which it attacks even stronger than it was before, and makes bare the inherent weakness of the arguments by which the continuance of the existing system is defended." In the elaborate and convincing reply Dr. Field gave to Sir Charles Elliott, there are two passages which bear reproduction, as showing the utter hollowness of the only serious attempt yet made to defend the existing system. Wrote Dr. Field:

"If every prosecution, directed by the District Officer in his executive capacity, had to be initiated by complaint before an independent Magistrate, as every civil suit in which Government is plaintiff has to be instituted by filing a plaint before an independent Civil Judge; and if every step in furtherance of the prosecution had to be taken on the application of the Government Pleader—none of the scandals, which Mr. Ghose has collected, would have taken place. The fact that no such cases have occurred in the Presidency City, where executive and judicial functions are separated, supports this opinion.

"Sir Charles Elliott disparages the evidence supplied by Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose on the ground of the paucity of instances—a fair argument, if it could be safely assumed that there were no more than some twenty cases in as many years. But this assumption cannot be made. The experiences of a single barrister only have been published, and he declares that they are not all that he could produce. In most of these cases men of wealth or position were concerned, who could afford to seek the higher authorities with the aid of professional advice. Those who have lived in the districts smile at the supposition that no other such cases have occurred, because no others have become publicly known or notorious. Upon the evidence, as it stands, there is enough to show that mischief has resulted from the union of Executive and Judicial powers in the same officer."

So, then, men in the position of Sir Richard Garth and Sir John Budd Phear, Mr. Reynolds and Dr. Field, have no doubt of the mischief resulting from the combination of the functions. Among statesmen the late Lords Dufferin and Kimberley, and Viscount Cross were on the side of the Congress in this particular non-contentious matter, while the memorial presented to the Secretary of State in 1899 bore the signatures of eminent authorities like Lord Hobhouse, Sir Richard Couch, Sir John Scott, Sir William Markby, Sir Roland K. Wilson, Sir William Wedderburn, and the late Sir Charles Sargent. The memorial is a most exhaustive document of its kind, and answers most effectively all possible objections that may be raised against the needed reform. It shows that the system of combination does *not* work well and is responsible for miscarriage of justice; that the system of combination, indefensible in itself, is *not* necessary to the position, the authority or the "prestige" of even an Oriental Officer; and that the separation of the two functions would *not* involve an additional expenditure.

I have thus far not touched in any detail on the financial objection. This, however, is absolutely non-existent. The Honorable Mr. Pherseshah Mehta, the late lamented Mr. Manojan Ghose, Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, and Babu Ambica Charan Musumdar, an ex-President of the Bengal Provincial Conference, have all prepared schemes to effect the separation, which do not involve the expenditure of more than a few lakhs of rupees a year in all the provinces taken together. The signatories of the memorial are convinced that the best answer to the financial objection is to be found in the scheme of Mr. Dutt, which has special reference to Bengal. The Honorable Mr. Ratnasabhapati Pillai sometime ago prepared a scheme for the separation of the functions in the Madras Presidency, and asked that his plan might tentatively be applied to the District of Tanjore, to be gradually introduced into the other Districts of the Presidency with the modifications experience might suggest. The bureaucracy was, however, inexorable; and just as the Honorable Mr. Mehta's request for the tentative adoption of his scheme in the District of Poona was met with an emphatic negative by the late Mr. Nugent, so did the wise statesmen who then formed the Government of Madras (Sir Arthur Havelock, Sir Henry Bliss and Sir Henry Winterbotham) declined to so much as consider the Honorable Mr. Ratnasabhapati Pillai's proposals. If, therefore,

Government still delude themselves by thinking that the separation would really involve a good deal of additional expenditure, even though they might not say with the late Earl of Kimberley that if "you were to alter the present system in India you would have to double the staff throughout the country," it is not certainly the fault of those that have been pressing on them the necessity of carrying out the reform. This becomes abundantly clear even from a cursory glance at some of the constructive scheme aforesaid. One of these, the one prepared by Mr. Dutt, I give below in outline. It is very practical, little costly, and altogether unobjectionable.

Of the nine Divisions into which Bengal is divided, Mr. Dutt thinks it neither feasible nor desirable, for the present, to effect a separation of Judicial and Executive functions, in the Division of Chutia-Nagapur, which consists of non-Regulation Districts, in the Districts of Darjiling and Jalpaiguri in the Rajshahi Division, in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong Division, and in the Senthai Parganas of Chittagong Division. In the remaining portion of Bengal Mr. Dutt would effect the separation at once. His scheme is that the District Magistrate, who should henceforth be called the District Officer, should be employed purely on executive and revenue work, and should be relieved of his judicial duties, which should be transferred to the District Judge. The subordinates of the District Officer, who will continue to perform revenue and executive work only, will remain under him, while those of his present subordinates who will be employed on purely judicial work should be subordinate to the Judge and not to the District Officer.

At present the subordinates of the District Officer combine executive and revenue and judicial work. A Joint Magistrate or Assistant Magistrate (subordinate to the District Officer) tries criminal cases, and also does revenue and executive work. A Deputy Magistrate (similarly subordinate to the District Officer) also tries criminal cases and does revenue and executive work. Mr. Dutt would change this arrangement. He proposes that the Assistant Magistrates should be employed purely on revenue, executive and police work, and should be subordinate to the District Officer. And when the Assistant Magistrates are promoted to be Joint Magistrates, they should be employed purely on Judicial work, and be subordinate to the District Judge. This proposal, Mr. Dutt says, will not only secure the separation of

functions contemplated, but will secure two other distinctly beneficial results. "In the first place young Civilians fresh from England, and wholly unacquainted with the manners and habits, and even the colloquial language, of the people of India,"—the Assistant Magistrates—"will be stopped from trying criminal cases until they have acquired some local knowledge and experience by doing revenue and general executive work, and watching police cases and police administration. And in the second place, such young civilians will receive a more systematic and less confused training in their duties by devoting their attention during the first two or three years to purely executive and revenue and police work, and then employing themselves for some years on purely judicial work."

"Coming to the Deputy Magistrates, who are uncovenanted officers and generally natives of India and who also combine judicial, executive and revenue work and are subordinate to the District Officer, Mr. Dutt proposes that in each district one-half of the Deputy Magistrates may be employed on purely executive and revenue work, and be placed under the District Officer, and that the other half be employed on purely judicial work, and placed under the District Judge. In districts where the revenue work is particularly heavy more than half the Deputy Magistrates may be placed under the District Officer, while in others where the criminal work is more important the Judge may require more than half the Deputy Magistrates. "These details can be very easily settled. But in the main it is clear and self-evident that the officers who are able to cope with revenue and criminal work which is heaped on them in a confused manner will be able to cope with it better under the system of division of labour proposed above."

If it is objected that the transfer of all judicial work to the District Judge will give him some additional work, the answer is that he will easily cope with it with the additional officers who will be placed under him under the proposed scheme. "In important and heavy districts, the Judge will have a Joint Magistrate under him, and the Joint Magistrate may in exceptional cases be vested with the powers of an Assistant Sessions Judge to relieve the District Judge of his Sessions work. In districts where there are no Joint Magistrates, a Senior and selected Deputy Magistrate can do the Joint Magistrate's work, and efficiently help the Judge in his duty of supervision of criminal

THE SEPARATION OF JUDICIAL, &c.

work. With regard to criminal appeals, the District Judge now hears all of them from sentences passed by First-class Magistrates. The few appeals from Second and Third-class Magistrates which the District Officer now hears may also be heard by the Judge, and the addition will scarcely be felt."

Mr. Dutt then deals with what are called Sub-districts or Sub-divisions in Bengal. The Sub-Divisional Officers, who are in charge of the Sub-districts or Sub-divisions in the outlying portions of the districts and are also completely subordinate to the District Officer, like the assistants at head-quarters, perform revenue and judicial and executive work in the Sub-divisions. The work of these officers is too heavy to be satisfactorily attended to by a single officer, and it has been urged, to save public inconvenience, that a Sub-Deputy Collector should be placed in every Sub-division. Mr. Dutt wishes this to be done now. The Sub-Deputy Collector can be entrusted with the revenue work of the Sub-division and be subordinate to the District Officer, while the Sub-Divisional Officer will be subordinate to the District Judge. There are 75 Sub-divisions in Bengal, and there are 97 Sub-Deputy-Collectors. Allowing for officers on leave, there will still be 75 officers always available for employment in the 75 Sub-divisions. It may be objected against this arrangement that many Sub-Deputy-Collectors are now employed at the head-quarters of districts, sometimes on important work, and that to take them all away for Sub-divisions may be impracticable. But wherever the necessity may be shown of Sub-Deputy-Collectors at the district head-quarters, they may be appointed. Twenty or thirty of these may be necessary, "and this is the only increase to the cost of administration which appears to me (Mr. Dutt) necessary for effecting a complete separation between Judicial and Executive functions in Bengal." But even this additional cost may be met by saving in other departments. Special Deputy Collectors and Sub-Deputy Collectors are employed on excise work, and their special services are wholly unnecessary in this department. If these were withdrawn from the excise department, and if the work of that department were included in the general work of the district, as was the case some five years ago (this was written in 1893), it would probably be unnecessary to appoint Additional Sub-Deputy Collectors."

Mr. Dutt concludes by saying that if this scheme be intro-

duced, it will be necessary to recast the Code of Criminal Procedure so as to relieve the District Officers and his Subordinates of judicial powers in criminal cases, and to vest them in the District Judge and his Subordinates. "The police work, the revenue work, and the general executive work can then be performed by the District Officer with care and satisfaction to himself and also to the greater satisfaction of the people in whose interests he administers the district."

Granting, however, for the sake of argument that the separation would necessitate some considerable additional expenditure, what then? Last year Government derived a profit of so much as 40 lakhs of rupees under the head of "Law and Justice" in the province of Bengal alone. There were considerable profits in other provinces too. These profits represent the measure of taxation of justice; justice may almost be said to be sold at famine prices. Are not then the tax-payers entitled to the genuine article and not the spurious imitation of it they are given in criminal administration? Year after year the Government conveniently find any amount of money for what the people consider, rightly or wrongly it is not necessary to inquire quite unnecessary purposes. I have not left myself space to discuss where and how economics might profitably be effected in the administration. Nor is this necessary. Even if it were no fact that "Law and Justice" itself yields so considerable a surplus as to suffice for not one but half a dozen judicial reforms the saving that would be effected by the abolition of exchange compensation allowance would be very considerable. It might or might not have been demanded by equity to compensate the highly paid European employes of Government by this allowance in 1893. But after the currency legislation of 1899, establishing a stable basis of exchange at 1s. 4d. the rupee, the continuance of the compensation allowance is not just to the people from whose empty pockets the money must come.

No excuse can, in my humble judgment at all events, avail the Government to put off a crying reform under one pretext or other for an indefinite length of time. After the incontrovertible mass of evidence that has been published showing the enormity of the evils attendant upon the vicious system now in vogue; after the admissions of statesmen in the position of Lords Kimberley, Cross and Dufferin, and jurists of the Indian experience and legal eminence of Lord Hobhouse, Sir

William Markby, Sir Richard Couch, and Sir Richard Garth; and with the huge profit "Law and Justice" is yearly yielding to our revenue-wise but expenditure-foolish Government, the refusal of Government to carry out the reform will be but an addition to the many undoubted mistakes it has made in ruling this country. As Mr. Reynolds said in his reply to Sir Charles Elliott's article, from which I have quoted in a foregoing passage, "that a system which is vicious in principle will naturally bear evil fruit is a reasonable conclusion," and it is for its defenders to show that this is one of those exceptional cases in which it is possible to gather grapes from thorns and figs from thistles. To quote another pregnant passage from Mr. Reynolds himself, which occurs in an article contributed by him to *India* for January 1894, "No Russian invasion, no Military Mutiny, no financial crisis, would so endanger our hold upon India as a general mistrust of our judicial integrity." Let Government in the infinity of its wisdom read, mark and inwardly digest the full force of the above observation. If still the existing combination of functions will be suffered to continue, one can only exclaim in despair with the old Swedish Chancellor, "See, my boy, with how little wisdom the world is governed!"

C. V. CHINTAMANI.

STUDY OF ANCIENT HINDU LEGENDS.

"Woe unto ye lawyers, for ye have taken away the key of knowledge."

Christ, Luke XI, 52.

"Specious, but wrongful deem

The speech of those ill-brought ones who extol

The letter of their Vedas, saying, "This

Is all we have or need." *Gita: Sri Krishna to Arjuna.*

"MARRIAGES are made in heaven," is a saying that has passed into a proverb and many are the traditions, folklore and sentiments that have gathered round it in all countries. A learned member of the Folklore Society has recently given* an account of the folklore and sentiments that have gathered round this saying in Southern India. The idea is that Brahma ties the knot in heaven, selecting the fates of those he intends to make man and wife below, and this idea is presented in various ways in fantastic stories, which when literally looked into are meaningless and absurd. Some enquiring spirits have put some questions pointing out the absurdity of the stories, but they have shown no depths in themselves, to penetrate below the surface and get at the truth that lies buried in these stories.

Approaching the subject in the spirit of a seeker after truth, and a student of folklore, it would be patent to all that "we study the traditions and folklore of a people to get at their national characteristics." Traditions and folklore in themselves will not give us an insight into their character. They are but the incrustations, mere fossilised remains of forgotten truths that at one time were popular and ruled the thoughts and regulated the life of a nation or people. And these are of no more value to the student of national characteristics than fossils of extinct animals and species are to the geologist. They are hints and ruined landmarks for the explorer of truth; and unless the student is able to dive deep into their significance and apply the principles of truth according to their unchanging laws to the facts, he would never be able to get at the truths that lie incrustated in these traditions and folklore.

* In the columns of the *Madras Mail*, widely copied by other leading papers elsewhere including the *Times of India*.

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With this serious end in view we propose to take into consideration the ancient ideals regarding love and marriage that have become incrustated into that neat little saying "Marriages are made in heaven." If one looks deeply into the saying with a knowledge of the spiritual laws that govern the union of souls one will see that it has imbedded in it a spiritual truth of deep significance and great value for the salvation of souls. As Mr. H. K. Beauchamp elsewhere quotes: "To treat of the ordinary life of the Hindu is to describe his religion." And marriage to the Hindu is nothing but a means for the union of soul to soul or *Atmavivaham* as it is called. It is on this principle that marriage is made indissoluble among Hindus. Sexual union, leading the life of a householder, begetting children are all but means to him for realizing the end which is the union of soul to soul.

Before entering into an analysis of the laws of Love, it would be well to bear in mind the following truths which are some of the axioms of the spiritual world:—

"All things in the world arrange themselves anew to each person, according to his ruling love. Man is such as his affection and thought are. Man is man by virtue of willing, not by virtue of knowing, and understanding. As he is, so he sees."

"The marriages of the world are broken up. Interiors associate all in the spiritual world." It is this that is indicated in the proverb "Marriages are made in heaven."

"Nothing can resist states: Everything gravitates: like to like. What we call poetic justice takes effect on the spot. We have come into a world which is a living poem. Everything is as I am. Bird and beast are not bird and beast, but emanations and effluvia of the minds and wills of men there present. Every one makes his own house and state."

"Whatever the angels looked upon was to them celestial. Each satan appears to himself a man: to those as bad as he a mortal man; to the purified a heap of carrion."

"The perfection of man is the love of use."

"Man in his perfect form is heaven."

"What is from Him is Him."

"Ends always ascend as nature descends."

"The angels from the sound of the voice know a man's love; from the articulation of the sound, his wisdom; and from the sense of the words his science."

Now about Love. The best on the worldly plane is "Mother-Love." To those who have not the experience of that blessing "conjugal love," which leads by slow degrees to the merging of each in other and both in "Universal Love." "Of progressive souls all friendships and loves are momentary." "*Do you love me?*" means, Do you see the same truth? If you do, we are happy with the same happiness: But presently one of us passes into the perception of new truth; we are divorced and no tension in nature can hold us together. "I know how delicious is this cup of love, 'I existing for you and you existing for me,' but it is a child's clinging to his toy; an attempt to eternalise the fireside and nuptial chamber; to keep the picture alphabet through which our first lessons are prettily conveyed."

To ascend now to the highest spiritual plane: "God is the Bride or Bridegroom of the soul. Heaven is not the pairing of two, but the communion of all souls," and earthly marriages are merely the picture alphabets by which we learn this grand lesson of the union of soul to soul. To come now to the interpretation of "Marriages are made in heaven." It refers to the unity of thought ideals, which unity when it comes to manifest in the physical plane, creates according to certain fixed laws the relation of husband and wife and all other true and natural relations. And the evanescent character of these earthly unions is ascribed to spiritual causes the working of which is thus beautifully described:—

"We meet and dwell for an instant under the temple of one thought and part as though we parted not to join other thoughts in other fellowships of joy." It is this living together in the temple of one thought which is represented as "tying together the fates of two persons,"—and as what transpires in the thought world doth in its downward course of evolution duly and inevitably manifests itself in "flesh and blood" or material garb in the physical world, it is called "predestination." And "Brahma tying the knot" is only the Universal law that "like attracts the like" clothed in the imagery of florid thought which readily personified every law and faculty of mind into Gods and Sages and Siddhas. They are however realities in their own spheres, but the language used in regard to them can only be so used symbolically to represent 'well-thought-out-ideas' or ideals, which when one realizes show themselves as 'character.'

Returning now to the spiritual plane wherein we met to

have a peep at the underlying truth of things that appear as myths and fables when viewed from a lower plane we find that *love* there, is not personal; it has become most refined. "So far from there being anything in the low and proprietary sense of "*Do you love me?*" it is only when you leave and lose me by casting yourself on a sentiment which is higher than both of us that I draw near and find myself at your side; and I am repelled if you fix your eyes on me and demand love. In fact, in the spiritual world we exchange sexes every moment. You love the *worth* in me; then I am your husband; but it is not *me*, but the worth that fixes the love; and that worth is a drop of the ocean of worth that is beyond me." "A husband loves the wife not for the sake of wife but for the sake of Brahman" explained the Sage Yagnavalkya to his wife Maitrayee, when she begged of her husband to give her that wealth of happiness that will never change nor diminish. To proceed, "While you love me for the worth that is in me and I am your husband; I, in the meantime, adore the greater worth in another, and so become his wife. He aspires to a higher worth in another spirit and is wife or receiver of that influence."

Such is the spiritual significance of husband and wife, of male and female; such the philosophy of sex in the spiritual acceptance of the term. When scientifically expressed, the same truth is put in the form of *positive* and *negative* state or the North and South Pole, or simply North and South as in the *purnas*; or again, in the language of New Science, as the Anabolic and Katabolic * elements or forces. Such is the nature of marriages that are made in heaven; and ignorant people unable to comprehend the regular course of manifestation of the higher law in the lower and physical world are regaled with stories which have imbedded in them the kernel of truth clothed in flesh and blood by the imagery of saints and sages, who have skilfully presented these truths in the form of legends which are akin to fairy tales and *Kindergarten* stories of the West. Interpret the legends and stories with the mystic key of symbology which is to unlock the treasure of spiritual truth which these often contain and you will be lost in admiration of the greatness of soul and skill of imagery that could clothe bare truths, which are mere abstractions, in flesh and blood and

* The Evolution of Sex, by Geddes and Thompson.

make them live and move like beings of the flesh for those who cannot rise above the flesh for the time being; but who in due course, will come to recognise the truth when they come to realise it in their life.

ANANDASRAMA,

TRIPPLICANE.

C. V. SWAMINATHA AIYAR.

WHAT A BOTANIC GARDEN IN A NATIVE STATE OUGHT TO BE.

BOTANIC GARDEN is a necessary appendage of every Civilized Government which is interested in the well-being of its subject Population. This is more so in all Tropical countries, for, as a rule, the bulk of the people depend upon agriculture, and their prosperity rests on the degree of perfection to which that and other allied Sciences attain. Great Britain and Holland have made considerable advances in the direction, and France and Germany are following in their foot-steps. Go-a-head Japan is running its race with all the vigour of its youthhood and the wisdom and care of old age at Formosa. There is not a British Colony which has not a Botanic Garden, and the Bulletines that are constantly issued from some of the most insignificant of them in the West Indies, add to our knowledge on the subject. The Premier Colony of Ceylon has a model Institution organised upon modern Scientific lines, and the Lal Bhag at Bangalore comes up very near to it. But the United States of America stands far a-head of all these countries in this respect. The Board of Agriculture which deals with the subject is perfect in itself and it has brought to its aid all the latest discoveries of Science and the inventions of Art.

2. According to the latest developments a Botanic garden consists of three divisions, viz. :—

- (i) The Scientific,
- (ii) The Botanical and Horticultural garden,
- (iii) The Experimental garden.

3. The most important of them is the Scientific division whose prime object is the continued investigation of the Flora of the country, native as well as introduced. The result of such an investigation is the study of its Economic Botany which may be defined as the "study of plants and their products with reference to their uses or possible uses in the arts, manufactures or commerce." In other words it is the acquisition of knowledge, what particular plants or classes of plants yield what particular products or classes of products, how they are best collected and prepared for use, how the quantity or quality may be improved

and what use may be made of every such product." To make the subject plainer still, our attention ought to be directed to the following products of the entire vegetable kingdom as classified by Dr. Watts:—

- (i) Gums, resins, caoutchoucs, guttaperchas and other saps and exudations.
- (ii) Oils and fats.
- (iii) Dye stuff and tanning substances.
- (iv) Fibres.
- (v) Drugs and Medicinal products.
- (vi) Edible products.
- (vii) Timbers.
- (viii) Miscellaneous products.

Thus the practical effect of this study is the improvement of the existing local industries and the investigation of new ones.

4. The next object of this division is the investigation of the diseases of plants and the attacks of insects and parasitic fungi. The maintenance of Laboratories, Libraries, Herbarium and Museum serve only as instruments to further the above said two objects of the division.

5. The next division is the Botanical and Horticultural gardens. Its main "duty is to introduce and cultivate a few specimens of every possible kind of plants that may prove of use or interest and to provide beautiful gardens" for the pleasure and instruction of the public. At the same time it provides "advice on horticultural matters and supplies seeds and plants to the public in small quantities."

6. The third division is Experimental garden. As it is not possible for a Botanical garden to make large scale "trials of economic plants or to supply large quantities of seeds or plants," that work is done by an experimental garden. It includes not only the cultivation of considerable areas of one plant, but also the trial of manures, different "modes of cultivation and treatment of disease, modes of preparation of products for markets and their actual sale upon the open market. Such an institution may serve as an object lesson and supply when necessary large quantities of seeds and plants, besides testing the Commercial possibilities of different cultivations. It may also undertake the very desirable work of breeding new and improved races and varieties of cultivated plants."

7. These are views of eminent authorities and when a State is in possession of an Institution of this kind it must be a perfect Agricultural Bureau which will at the same time prove a medium for reports on all economic products, and the interests of the cultivator is certain to be well looked after. This State ought to be equipped with one of its kind and it has the nucleus of it in the Napier Park or as it is generally called the Public Gardens. It will therefore be interesting to examine its present condition and see how far it comes up to the standard.

8. Before doing so, I beg to be allowed to say a few words prefatorily regarding the management of the institution. The Rev. Mr. Pettigrew was its first Director, and it was he that laid its foundation. From Mr. Athol McGregor downwards all the British Residents have been taking the liveliest interest to advance it in all directions and monuments of their labour have always been in evidence in the Park. When the Rev. gentleman severed his connection with the gardens, it was put in commission, and the gentlemen composing it who had other duties to perform, always did as much as their time permitted. Since the present Director became the sole manager he has been devoting more time than the Committee was able to do, and the realization of his personal responsibility has led him to attend to every minute detail. He signalized his reign by appointing a person who was trained at the Lal Bagh at Bangalore and who was a practical Botanist to assist him in these matters. In the next place he classified all trees and plants in the Public Gardens and published a pamphlet by the name of "List of trees and plants in and about the Public Gardens" following in the wake of the Madras Horticultural Society. Occasionally his excursions into the Forests brought in a few rare specimens from there. But all this is not enough to serve the demands of the country.

9. As far as I have been able to ascertain there is not a systematic investigation of the Flora of the country which is left to the Forest Department. Though that Department has the opportunity to do the work it has not the means to accelerate it. When the writer of this paper was in charge of the Department, he introduced a tabular book with the sanction of Government to secure the object, but the process is tardy and it cannot be attained without a special agency versed in all scientific details. The list of the trees and plants in and about the Trivandram Public Gardens above referred to, has not been followed by other

similar useful publications. The list itself yet remains to be made exhaustive as far as native plants are concerned. The industries receive no attention though raw materials are to be had in abundance. The existing museum of Economic products receives no constant accretions. The exotics having any economic value can be counted on one's fingers' ends, though ornamental plants from distant climes are imported largely at immense cost and trouble. There is no provision for the investigation of the diseases of plants. The library is a collection of valuable reference books and others on special subjects, but it is innocent of any local literature recording the transactions of the Botanical Garden. The Herbarium is not worthy of the name. There is neither a laboratory nor a person to work at it.

10. It should not be considered that I am finding fault with the present management or with anybody else. I am aware that had the State the means, it would have placed it at the disposal of the Director, and he would have gladly remedied the defects. As one interested in the economic development of the country, and as it is the all-absorbing topic of the day, I beg respectfully to invite prominent attention to show what ought to be done to lay it on a more scientific basis to ensure the ultimate development of the resource of the State, conscious as I am of my unworthiness to suggest such a step. Though the present Director is not a gentleman who has received a professional training, yet his knowledge of Botany has always stood him in good stead, and he has done much for the garden with its aid. He has a good native assistant in that Department, but what he wants now most urgently is a Chemical Assistant, a Micologist, an Entomologist and a Laboratory. Being armed with these instruments, the present area of the Public Gardens ought to be increased by absorbing the paddy lands and compounds on the northern side as far as the Nanthancode road, and some of the plots of grounds on the east of it, in it leaving Kanakakoonnu alone and planting all useful trees and plants that are certain to flourish at the place. As Travancore has almost all the climatic conditions excepting that of Frigid Zone, it is necessary that sites should be taken at different places such as Ashambo, Nagercoil, Middle Travancore, Shencottah, Kony, North Travancore plains, Peermade and High Ranges. In places where there are plantations under the Forest Department, advantage should be taken of them to rear the species that would find a congenial soil there. Some of them

should be Botanical and Horticultural Gardens, where, as I have already said, a few specimens of every possible kind of plant that may prove of interest or use should be tried to enable the authorities to give advice and instruction on horticultural matters to the public and to supply them with seeds and plants. The other plots of grounds should be used as experimental gardens in order to try certain particular species of great economic value on a large scale. The manilla plantain (*Musa textiles*) was introduced by the Forest Department, and a few plants are thriving at Arienkavu, but it has not the means and time to demonstrate its economic virtue, and thus educate the Public. Nor is it in a position to supply plants to the Public who may be willing to propagate the species? In the same way *Pinus Longifolia*, the turpentine producing tree, has been introduced, but the same tale has to be told regarding it.

11. The Agricultural Chemist will generally assist in the selection of sites for purposes stated above both on behalf of Government and private enterprise. He would teach how lands which had been allowed to lie fallow, including large plots of marshes as unfit for cultivation, could be turned to account. He would also teach how to prepare and use manures both by precept and example. The country being pre-eminently an agricultural one, the lands which have been impoverished by the tilling of ages, can be improved by special manures, and it is the province of the Agricultural Chemist to suggest the same. He will also teach us how to protect the existing ones without being affected by the action of the elements. I do not think that the value of cattle urine is appreciated and the system of litter is understood. The Micologist will be of immense use in other directions. The divine Coconut tree or the terrestrial Kalpagaversha has been the most important wealth of the country. But of late years a certain disease has taken hold of it, and it is dying in numbers especially in Mid-Travancore. The first symptom of the disease is the appearance of an yellowish tint on the tender fronds of the tree, and gradually all of them attain the same hue and the tree finally dies out. The same fate has fallen to the lot of the celebrated arecanut trees at Aramolay and other places. This is another source of the wealth of the country, and the condition of the people would be hard if they were exterminated. Paddy blights have been common, and it is of the utmost importance to save the plant to keep the people from starvation. The pepper vines

and tapioca are often affected by diseases. The function of the Micalogist is to study these and other diseases and propose cures for them. The entomologist has a duty to perform in a different direction. He has to study the insect pest, and the attacks of parasitic fungi, and suggest plans to eradicate them. There is not a useful tree in Travancore which has not been subject to the mischievous influence of either of the two, and to the latter in particular. It is hardly necessary to emphasize that it is the duty of a paternal Government to attend to the removal of these evils which affect the prosperity of the people and to say that any amount of public funds spent on this subject would not be thrown away.

12. The Director should be a full-time man, and whatever time he and his assistants may be able to snatch from other work should be devoted to the investigation of the eight kinds of economic products referred to above. I say this as Travancore cannot afford to maintain a special "Reporter on Economic Products" and as I feel that it should follow the example of Ceylon and Mysore in delegating the power of that Officer to their Botanical Gardens. When it was proposed to try the plantation of fibre beyond the beaten track there was considerable opposition, but articles manufactured out of it have secured a prize at the Ahamadabad Exhibition. In the same way other articles can be successfully experimented upon. Travancore is very poor with regard to fruit culture. By experience it has been found out that good mangoes can be raised at Shencottah, Quilon, Agastiswarem and Eranial taluks. Some of the finest fruit-producing trees in the last mentioned two taluks have died out, and they have not been replaced. There are other places in the State where good species will flourish. The Botanical Garden contents itself at present with propagating the existing species, but I think that it is its duty to introduce all the available foreign kinds which are numerous. As for instance the grape vine flourishes in Travancore, but sufficient attention has not been paid to introduce it largely into the kingdom. It is not necessary to refer to other kinds of fruit trees, but I should not omit to mention the desirability of minimising the number of male flowers of nut-mug trees to increase the quantity of production.

13. I think it necessary to add that there was an experimental garden at Peermade, but it has been abolished. At pre-

sent there is an agricultural farm at Neermankaray near Trivandram and it should form a part and parcel of the proposed Institution I am advocating. A small State like Travancore cannot afford to have a number of independent institutions. As much as possible a number of allied ones should be maintained under one common control. The Laboratories in the College of H. H. the Maharajah of Travancore as well as the resources of the School of Arts may with advantage be placed at the disposal of the working staff of the Botanical Garden and the students who have been endowed with scholarships to study higher parts of science in foreign countries should be encouraged to study the subjects named by me and enlisted in the service of Government to carry out the objects referred to above.

14. The Zoological Department as far as my limited knowledge goes is maintained at the highest pitch of perfection. It is no doubt a source of pleasure and of great educational effect to the public. But in the present condition of agriculture, horticulture, horticulture and the infant state of the economic developments of the country the importance of the branch dwarfs considerably before them. If the State is not in a position to find funds for founding a complete institution as the one suggested by my humble self, it would be desirable to abolish it altogether. The matter then resolves itself into a question of luxury or necessity.

15. The present cost of the Royal Botanic Garden at Trivandrum is about Rs. 30,000 a year including the Zoological Department, and I think for double the amount an institution of the kind I propose can be created. I do not of course include in the calculation certain initial costs.

16. It may not be out of place here to say a few words respecting the Board of Agriculture of the United States of America of which I have referred to already. Each State has a complete institution of its own, but at the head of all stands the Central Board at Washington to meet any difficulty either at home or abroad in the Colonies of Porto Rico, Hawie and Phillippines. It is divided into 14 divisions as follows:—

- (1) Weather Bureau.
- (2) Bureau of Animal industry.
- (3) Do Plant do.
- (4) Do Soils.
- (5) Do Chemistry.
- (6) Do Forestry.

- (7) Office of Experimental stations.
- (8) Division of Entomology.
- (9) Office of Public work enquires.
- (10) Division of Publications.
- (11) Section of Foreign markets.
- (12) Library.
- (13) Biological survey.
- (14) Division of Statistics.

17. As I have referred at least casually to most of the important divisions, I do not propose to dwell on them over again, but I wish to say a few words on the "Plant Industry" and in a passing way on the experimental stations. As the Board is practical, it does not care about Botanical curiosities or ornamental gardens. It always takes up lands where nothing is grown and tries to see that something useful is grown there. In the next place it exerts itself to grow two blades of grass where only one grows. Thirdly it does its best only to export and not to import. For this purpose it must produce all articles of food and other raw materials, for consumption in other ways. The Board has succeeded in producing such a large quantity of rice and wheat that it is in a position to export a large surplus. When one class of cotton was found to be destroyed by means of fungus parasite in the soil, the Board introduced a species which withstood such attacks. Again when the celebrated Florida oranges were found to be killed by cold, it introduced a species from Japan which was able to defy it. In the same way a kind of hybrid raisin grapes has been introduced to resist some of the worst forms of diseases peculiar to the Pacific Coast. No less attention has been paid to the investigation of grass and forage crops. At the present moment dates are being cultivated to supercede the supply from Algeria, Egypt and Arabia. We should not be surprised if the Chinese, Indian and Ceylon tea are entirely shut out from the markets of America where its cultivation has been begun under the auspices of the Board of Agriculture.

18. The experimental station is nothing but a prelude of large scale plant industry. It has been a necessity in America. The board is not enamoured of new industries. It first tries to restore those that languish from ignorance and carelessness before it introduces new ones. It replaces antiquated implements by those of modern inventions. The value of fertilizers is brought home to the farmer and the mystery of the rotation of crops is

unveiled. In fact, as in India, it has to arouse the attention of the people who are indifferent to their own interests. "The problem is not what to grow but where and how. Studies should be made of the adaptability of plants to soil and climate, of methods of handling the crops, of marketing, of stock feeding, of protection of stocks and crops from diseases."

19. Before concluding (in order to prevent misconception) I beg to submit that I may be found fault with for speaking on a matter with which I have no practical acquaintance. No one will deny that the literature on the subject as well as the channels of observation during my tours have been open to me. Before going as I do to an agricultural class I was instinctively led to study the systems of agriculture in vogue in the State in all its details and make some experiments as much as my limited time permitted. In the same way I have also studied the economic condition of the country as much as my feeble intellect enabled me. From all this my humble inference is that Travancore has a grand future if active steps are taken to develop its resources. I remember the day when the Revenue of the State was fifty lacs. It has doubled itself not by leaps and bounds, but has attained to that figure gradually. By improving Sericulture. Cashmere has recently enhanced its revenue, and I think that if this State had devoted more attention to the development of its economic conditions, the Revenue would have reached a higher figure still. At least in the interests of the subject population whose number is swelling enormously, the step I suggest ought to be taken. It is feelings like these that have prompted me to commit to paper my humble thoughts. After growing grey in the service of His Highness nothing else but the love of the country of my adoption could have induced me to come forward with them. Instead of looking at the source from which these suggestions emanated, in case an examination is made to see if the circumstances I depict do exist and the remedies I propose for bettering them are based on modern scientific principles, I shall be sufficiently rewarded for my troubles.

QUILON.

T. PONNAMBALAM PILLAY.

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THE

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THE MADRAS REVIEW.

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LEADERS AND PUBLIC LIFE.

THE most noticeable feature in the public life of India at the present time is its impotence. There is no doubt a growing public opinion which is being increasingly felt in the life of the people. There is a sort of spasmodic activity which is displayed here and there in public meetings, in organised conferences and associations; but there is no steady sustained work, no organised effort to focus the diverse forces so as to exert a permanent influence on the administration. The National Congress is no doubt the embodiment of such organised effort; it gives expression to opinions already formed throughout the country after discussion in the Indian press. But it meets once a year, and therefore exercises no steady influence, and is further prevented from dealing with matters which may arise in the interval. Public agitation, to be effective, must be steady and persistent; it must be directed to all matters on which the Government may be engaged from time to time. There must be an active public life, with recognised leaders in every province, and the most vigilant attention to every matter as it arises. Organised representation must be made to the Government on every important measure at the right moment; and it must be made by men of acknowledged authority and influence, by men who will command a hearing, and who will be listened to with respect.

Public movements have to be organised and led by the ablest and wisest men in the country, by men who can command a following and lead them to effort. India at the present time

lacks leaders. There is, indeed, no lack of men who wish to be leaders, but there are not men to follow them. Leadership is not acknowledged merely because the would-be leader wants prominence and distinction. It is attained only by the possession of qualities which are not acquired in a moment. Some men are born to lead, but a good many have to acquire the qualities of the leader. A high degree of disinterested patriotism is essential in a leader; and it must be affianced to ability, character, devotion, patience, forbearance, and the spirit of compromise. Above all the leader must have sound judgment on which his followers can rely. He must be able to inspire confidence in his followers by his skill, tact, capacity to cope with difficult situations, and above all to give sound advice. Those who acknowledge a leader look up to him to steer clear of shoals and quicksands and to help them in difficult situations. Ranade was a leader because he knew his following, and because also he had a clear perception of the true interests of the people, and of the right way to serve them. He had ability of a high order, and character, and wide knowledge of public affairs, and wisdom. He did not desire himself to shine, but his heart was in the work before him, in the good of his country, and in the future of his people. But, unfortunately, leaders of the Ranade type are rare in this country; and younger men do not seem to come up to take the place of men like him. Mere success in business or the mere possession of money would not do for a leader. The qualities which make a leader are intellectual and moral. There is no doubt a glamour about the successful man of business, about the high official, about the man distinguished in a profession. These are no doubt valuable accessories to success as a leader, but are by themselves of little value. This is a truth which men who wish to be leaders do not realise, and when they find that men are not willing to follow them for their success in life, they become disappointed and prefer isolation to an inconspicuous place in public life. To all men public life is a sore trial of temper, and no man who is not prepared to exercise the virtues of patience, forbearance, and forgiveness, need think of becoming a leader.

Men who are accepted as leaders have naturally great responsibilities; and in India where the differences of caste, creed and race are so great, these responsibilities are all the greater. The leader ought not to be a partisan; he ought not to belong to any faction or clique; his sympathies must be broad and cosmic

politan; and his sole aim should be the highest national good. We need not enquire how many leaders are there at present in India who answer to this description, but in Madras we must admit with regret that there is a conspicuous scarcity, not only of men of this description, but even of men who stand sufficiently high in public estimation. Of men unconnected with official life there are not more than two at present to whom the general public have accorded an undoubted position of prominence. We refer to the city of Madras, and not to the mofussil. If we wait to lead any great public movement, we have to be content with these to be placed in the front; and even to preside at a great public meeting we have to make our choice between them. Among merchants and land-owners we have no longer men of the type of Somasundrum Chetty and Rangiah Naidoo. Among lawyers, with the exception of Mr. Ananda Charlu and Mr. Sankaran Nayar, no one has yet attained that prominence in public life which we are accustomed to associate with acknowledged leadership. There are, indeed, men who are actuated by the right spirit and who study public affairs and make sacrifice in the public cause. But they have not come up to the front rank. For success as leaders, men must be broad-minded, capable and conciliatory. It is their duty to draw to them and keep together diverse sections of the great Indian community. All must learn to respect them and to confide in their judgment and patriotism. It is necessary in these days, when the national feeling is slowly growing among all sections of the people, that the leaders should conduct themselves in such a way as to inspire confidence in their followers and to promote union and co-operation among all. The National Congress has done much to create a feeling of oneness and common brotherhood. But there are still sections of the community which are disposed to keep back owing to a consciousness of separate interests and the fear of those interests being sacrificed to the advantage of the predominant classes. They entertain the suspicion that the success of the National Movement will not mean much good to them, but that others will exclusively profit by it. The Mahomedans and Christians, and even some other classes, are to a certain extent influenced by this suspicion, which is based no doubt on their experience of the manner in which the more influential classes sometimes seek to appropriate everything for themselves. We know this is not a justifiable suspicion, because in the onwar

move towards progress some people must take the lead first ; and the road once paved will be open to all. The advance of education, the opening of the higher branches of the public service to Natives of India, and the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils have all shown that a field once opened cannot be the exclusive property of any particular class, but must be common to all. If, in consideration of the backwardness of certain classes, these reforms had not been effected, no Indian would have till now held any place of honour and distinction. But now that they have been effected, we find Indians of all classes sharing the benefit in a manner which the backward classes had not expected. Take, for example, the Statutory and Provincial Civil Services which were created by reason of the persistent agitation carried on by the better educated classes of India. Are appointments in them held only by the classes which agitated for the privilege ? Again look at the representation in the Legislative Councils. Bombay was once, and Madras is now, represented, in the Supreme Legislative Council by a Mahomedan member. Mr. Mehta, a Parsi, is the accredited leader and spokesman of Bombay. Every Indian is anxious to honour Dadabhai.

Still we are far from assuming that there is no need for the more fortunate classes to be broad-minded in their sympathies. The Hindus have particularly to be careful as to how they treat their Mahomedan and Christian fellow countrymen ; and the leaders among them have a great responsibility in this direction. It is for them to show to Mahomedans or Christians that they are as good to them as are their own co-religionists. This can be done only by a readiness to sympathise with them and help them to the utmost of their power. Wise men would easily realise the importance of such sympathy and help. Short-sighted men lose opportunities which present themselves. We have a striking instance in mind of how differently leaders are apt to act towards classes or communities other than their own. A few years ago, a Mahomedan newspaper was started in Madras to represent the opinion of the more advanced section of the community. The policy it pursued was in favour of the Congress programme. First copies of it were sent to Congress leaders in different parts of India. Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee from Calcutta and Mr. Ranade and Mehta from Bombay, wrote very sympathetic and encouraging letters to its conductors, and offered their support. But a foremost leader in Madras acted differently ; he

declined to take the paper. This kind of attitude cannot but have its effect on the feelings of those who expected sympathy, while a sympathetic reception would have not only encouraged them in their work, but drawn them to the community to whose leaders they confidently appealed for support. There is undoubtedly a great deal in the way in which leaders act. The air of exclusiveness and indifference on their part is fatal to the development of a common feeling of brotherhood, and of the consciousness of common interests.

One fruitful source of suspicion, distrust, jealousy and mutual alienation is the public service, appointments in which are sought to be appropriated by different classes as though they exist not for the public good, but for the advancement of particular castes or communities. Patronage in the hands of a Hindu or a Mahomedan or a Christian, or even one of the sub-castes among the Hindus, is not regarded as common to all, but as something to be exclusively appropriated by those who hold the field. As far as the mass of the people are concerned it is a matter of perfect indifference to them whether an appointment is held by a Hindu or a Mahomedan or a Christian so long as he who holds it is fully qualified to do justice to his duties. But when will our people learn to regard an appointment in that light ? On every side there are complaints that once a man secures a position of influence in a public office, he exerts himself to bring in as many of his castemen as he can, and that he works against any others coming in. Is there any foundation for such complaints ? We think there is ; and we think also the remedy is in our own hands. No doubt those who do not possess a high degree of education, and are not broad-minded and far-seeing, cannot be expected to take a wide view of national interests ; but most of our men who hold responsible official positions must be presumed to possess sufficient intelligence to know what is essential for the growth of national union. It is those who are placed in the most favourable circumstances that can afford to be generous to others. It is those who have places in their gift that can give them away wisely. For the present, the Hindus by their superior education are placed in a more advantageous position than others of their countrymen. In Government Offices, at the Bar, and in public life, they occupy the leading position. In each of these spheres, they can and ought to be helpful to their less fortunate countrymen. We want to see

Hindu leaders with Mahomedan and Christian followers, extending to the latter their full confidence, affection and support. The Hindu minister of a State must have among his advisers and adherents men of the Mahomedan and Christian communities; and the same should be the case where different castes and sub-castes are concerned. If the permanent interests of the country and good of the people at large were the chief concern of men occupying high and responsible situations, there could be no difficulty in securing the harmonious co-operation of all classes of people in all that concerns the common welfare of the nation.

Caste has been said to be the bane of India; but, in our opinion, caste is by itself no obstacle to national progress. It is the spirit of caste, the desire for the supremacy of one caste over another, that interferes with the development of national feeling and aspirations. The National Congress, however much some people may abuse it, has done no inconsiderable good to the country in that it has created the first germ of national feeling. It has furnished a motive for the Indian people to subordinate their narrow differences to national good. It at least compels its adherents to keep up appearances, if not actually to give up their prejudices. And when men feel the necessity for national union and co-operation, they are bound to conceal their caste and sectarian feelings, if not actually to suppress them. This itself involves a course of self-discipline which, in the long run, cannot fail to produce an abiding influence on men's attitude and feeling. We have seen men who were once credited with strong caste and sectional feeling becoming broad-minded and cosmopolitan in sympathies when placed in responsible positions requiring just treatment of rival claims for success and smooth working. When a man feels that for his success in any responsible position the loyal adherence of all classes of people is essential, he has an inducement to subordinate his feeling to his intellect, his caste spirit to his sense of justice.

The British Government in India has created a great racial problem. Political reasons necessitate a recognition of divided interests, and the predominance of one interest over the other. Englishmen naturally feel that for their supremacy in India it is necessary that they should keep the main strings of the administration in their own hands. They do not think it prudent to make an Indian the Viceroy of India or the Governor of a Presidency.

They can hardly think of making an Indian the head of their army. For this it is useless to find fault with them. But the different creeds and castes of India have no such justification for denying to their own countrymen advantages which they themselves enjoy. They are all of them in the same position in their relation to the rulers. Their rights and their disabilities are common, and their interests are also the same. It is true that even where political reasons do not exist, Englishmen have been found to favour their own countrymen to the prejudice of Indians; but it must be remembered that they are thousands of miles away from their own home, and when their countrymen come to this distant country to seek a livelihood and appeal to them for sympathy and help, it is natural that they should try to help them to the best of their power. If Indians were in the same position, they would do no less. But even with all the fault that we are disposed to find in Englishmen, we must admit that there have been men among them who have shown the utmost sympathy and justice to us. Both among early and modern administrators there have been Englishmen who have been most liberal-minded and sympathetic towards us, and who have not hesitated to hold the scales evenly between the English and Indian races. It is the example of such men that we should follow in dealing with our own people, and not that of others who think it the best policy to divide and rule. We are more interested in our union and co-operation than are Englishmen who feel no permanent interest in the country. Even if Englishmen act in the wrong way, it is not our interest to seek justification in what they do for our national disunion. We cannot exercise any great influence on the administration unless we are one in our opinions and our efforts. We can never become capable for self-Government unless we are able to act as a nation. The British Government will be justified in saying that they cannot entrust a divided people with powers which they are apt to use for sectional advantages. In fact, this argument has been often urged to our face, yet we have been slow in learning a lesson from it. Indeed, we are improving; but we have a great deal more to improve.

A great responsibility lies, in this direction, on the leaders of the community, of the different sections of it. In fact, it is for the leaders to inspire a higher feeling among their followers. As the child is said to reflect the characteristics of the parents,

as the subject is said to follow the king, so the mass of the educated community will follow the example of their leaders. It is the higher influence that is wanting; and it can be imparted only by the leaders. We are quite aware that there are leaders among us who are prompted by the highest wisdom and patriotism; but we want such leaders to influence the feeling and conduct of all sections of the Indian community. Exclusiveness, cliques, faction, these are fatal to the growth of that broad national feeling which has sprung up under the influence of English education and English example, and which alone can be a means of strength to the British Government and of ensuring for us a better position in the future. Among us it is not unusual to see men grouping together according to their creed or caste; and separated as they generally are from the rest of the community, very often we find the resultant mischief in mutual suspicion, jealousy and hatred. The establishment of Cosmopolitan Clubs has in many places led to frequent commingling of people who have hitherto been kept apart except when they come in contact with each other in business relations, while even where there are separate sectional Associations it is being increasingly recognised that the aim of these bodies is not to accentuate differences, but to make each unit of the nation efficient and progressive. Mahomedan Associations, Christian Associations, Associations established for the special benefit of special communities or of people of different territorial portions all work for the improvement of the respective sections of people, and not to create divided interests or influences. Such Associations are necessary to serve the special interests of those who constitute them, interests which cannot be served by a body composing of all classes of people. Mahomedans and Christians have their special, social and educational needs which they have to promote on their own lines and with a view to their exceptional circumstances. A mistake is made only when they are made to assume an attitude of hostility to others, or to claim rights and privileges which conflict with those of the rest. Here again it is to the good sense and wisdom of the leaders that we must look for avoiding all appearance of aloofness and antagonism. The leaders of each community owe it to themselves to do their best to promote their common interests. But leaders like Mr. Justice Tyabji among Mahomedans or Mr. Mehta among Parsis, or Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee among Hindus, while

they are not indifferent to the interests of their respective communities, never encourage anything amounting to unfriendliness to other communities. Such leaders command the respect, confidence and attachment of the entire educated community of India, whether Hindus, Mahomedans or Christians; and it is more of such leaders that India wants, leaders who rise above narrow prejudices, and who by their ability, character, knowledge of public affairs, and devotion to the public cause, are able to command the respect of the rulers no less than of their own community.

We cannot achieve anything without the sympathy and good will of our rulers. Agitation, it is true, has its uses; but agitation should be so conducted as not to alienate the rulers from us. Our first duty is to convince them of the justice of our cause, and when once convinced they may not fail to sympathise with us. But no man is convinced by mere harsh language. Sober, moderate presentment of a case is more effectual than acrimonious discussion.

Indeed, it is inevitable in the heat of controversy that we should express unpalatable truths. Mere mealy-mouthedness is of little effect in political agitation. But still there is a good deal needed to smoothen the course of controversy which, in the hands of men imbued with a sense of responsibility, is bound to be free from unnecessary acrimony and a consequent cause of mutual ill-feeling. In fact, more can be achieved by leaders who possess the confidence of the rulers without forfeiting that of the people. Men of ability and character cannot fail to conquer the esteem of their fellows, be they rulers or ruled; and in order to attain this end they need not sacrifice their independence or their principle. The most successful leaders, the men who have been able to do the greatest good, have been those who have stood well with the Government and the people. Sir Andrew Fraser has said of the late lamented Dewan Bahadur Srinivasa Raghava Iyengar that he knew the people and that he also knew the Government. This is the greatest qualification of a leader in this country in our present circumstances; and there is need for more leaders of Mr. Srinivasa Raghava Iyengar's type. He knew well the interests of his people, and he also knew how best to serve them. He did not care for fuss and show; but by his tactful persuasion he won over those who were opposed to his views. As a member of the Police Commission, for instance, he

did not seek to shine by an onward display of his desire to support the views of his countrymen. He might have, if he liked, shown himself a very clever and patriotic man by putting all sorts of questions to witnesses, by cross-examining them when they advanced adverse views. But he showed his hand very little in that way. He exerted his influence in council, in the course of private discussion and consultation among the members of the Commission. There he was listened to with respect, and his views gained an ascendancy which they would not have done if he had been less considerate and tactful.

The younger patriots among us are apt to think that their duty lies in uncompromising opposition to the authorities; and a parallel is easily found in the state of things in England. It is hardly necessary to point out that the circumstances are different. Here the party that is in power is always one and the same, and consequently the party in opposition does not change. In the one case it is the object of the party in opposition to discredit the party in power. In the other, the aim is to help it to do us the greatest good. In the latter case hostility is out of place; it is even unwise. We can achieve the greatest good if we are on relations of confidence and trust with the rulers; and to this end an hostile attitude is fatal.

There is a conspicuous lack of understanding between the rulers and the people. Their social relations are of the stiff distant sort. They rarely come into close association with each other. Socially they live in different worlds altogether. Indians and Englishmen no doubt meet in public offices, in courts of law, and in the offices of merchants; but here they are drawn together for business, and not for the exchange of social amenities. There are no common places for both to meet. Even the clubs are either exclusively Indian or exclusively European. Even the Cosmopolitan Club in Madras which was established by noble-minded Englishmen for the purpose of bringing the two races together has, in course of time, become virtually an Indian Club, since very few Englishmen frequent it at present. And as for the English Club, it is openly exclusive. If, therefore, an Indian wants to meet an English friend or acquaintance, he has specially to make a journey to the place where the latter lives. This is possible and convenient only once in many months and not frequently. To men of business, this is sometimes irk-

some. Thus the opportunity is completely lost of frequent meeting and interchange of views which would clear away many misconceptions and misunderstandings. This is a disadvantage which it is not in the power of Indians to obviate. All that they can do is to seek their European friends and meet them so far as their business and opportunities would permit them. There are many men of position and influence in Indian society who never see a European official in his house and never care to make the acquaintance of one. European officials, even those who have been long in the country, know very few Indians, and they know much less of the position of an Indian in his own society. Most Indians, therefore, feel delicacy in going to a European official with whom he is not acquainted. Unfortunately, also, there is a tendency among some European officials to regard an Indian visitor as a suppliant for favour, based perhaps upon their experience of many of those whom they have seen. And those who have no favour to ask for are naturally reluctant to place themselves in a position in which they are bound to feel themselves humiliated.

We have, no doubt, whatever that every European official would be very much better if he saw and talked with as many Indians as possible. In fact, the most successful officials and administrators have been those who have had large personal acquaintance with the leaders of Indian thought and opinion. An official's time is not certainly wasted by talk with the more intelligent natives of the country. On the other hand, every official would find it to his advantage to devote a portion of his time to the interchange of views with Indian gentlemen of position, experience and knowledge. The existence of a number of such Indian leaders who know both the high European officials of the country and their own people is a source of help no less to the administration than to the people. And with all the difficulties in their way, Indian leaders cannot ignore the importance of their being on terms of friendship and confidence with those who rule the country. They ought to realise that difference of political opinions, even when it is most acute, should not be a barrier to the interchange of courtesy and confidence. Sensible men on both sides recognise that such difference is inevitable and must find expression sometimes even in an annoying form; and when this is once recognised there is found to be a readiness on both sides to regulate their mutual relations as though such difference

did not exist. A false standard of public duty has sometimes been set up by writers and speakers by emphasising the necessity of public men keeping aloof from men in authority; and the motives of some of those who have been too friendly with high officials and Governors have been unjustly questioned. It has been sometimes regarded as a sin for a public man to meet a Governor or a high official on the platform of the Railway station or to show regard and esteem in other ways. But such active courtesy and good will have their advantage for men who really desire to serve the interests of the country and the people. Good will and friendliness ought to be purchased at some small sacrifice; and there is no danger to one's patriotism or public spirit in doing so.

The leaders of the Indian Community also ought to create opportunities to meet their European friends in an informal way at social functions and gatherings. Our leaders have been very much remiss in this direction. With the exception of Rajah Sir Savalai Ramaswami Mudaliar, there is not one Indian of eminence in Madras who redeems native society in this respect. Men like Sir S. Subramania Iyer, Sir V. Bhashyam Iyengar and Mr. C. Sankaran Nayar, who are known to and have many friends among English men in high position, have never thought of giving even a garden party to their European friends and acquaintances so as to bring them and their own countrymen together even occasionally. This is a sad neglect for which our leaders have to hold themselves responsible. A frequent com-mingling of the leaders of the two communities cannot fail to have the effect of clearing misunderstandings and removing asperities; and if the occasions for such com-mingling are so few at present, they must be created by the efforts of leading men of both communities. The newspapers representing the two communities have also an important responsibility thrown on them. Ill-judged, indiscreet and hasty utterances on their part are sure to be taken as reflecting the opinions and feelings of their respective communities, and a good deal of forbearance and self-restraint is, therefore, necessary in those who lead and influence thought and opinion. In certain parts of India this forbearance and self-restraint are not shown in the discussion of public questions involving rival interests of race and creed, while in others, except on rare occasions, there is no trace of racial differences calcu-

lated to set one community against the other. We wish this example to be more generally followed for the sake of mutual harmony, good will, and broad public interests.

There is thus a heavy responsibility thrown on Indian leaders both in welding the diverse races and creeds of India and in improving their relations with the ruling community. It is a good saying that charity begins at home, but does not end there. It embodies an excellent principle which may be advantageously employed in regulating one's relations with communities other than one's own. We do not regard it as a failing, but rather a virtue that one should be attached to his caste, creed or race. But this does not mean that he should be antagonistic to other castes, creeds and races. He may well begin by loving his own people, but his love should not stop there. Each caste and each sect must be efficient units of the great Indian nation; and for this purpose it is necessary that they should receive the special assistance, guidance and sympathy of their own leading men. But it must be remembered that their efficiency is only a means to an end, and not the end itself. Every unit of a great army must be maintained in a state of the highest efficiency, if it is to be useful for a general operation; but the aim of efficiency is not attained if each unit is to rise in arms against the other. The efficiency of each is intended for the effective co-ordination of all the forces, and not for the degradation or destruction of one by the other. The case is not different with the units of a nation. While each has its assigned place in the national organisation, and its duty of training and equipping itself to the point of highest efficiency, each is bound to bear in mind that its ultimate interests lie in serving the whole nation and not its subordinate units merely. India, it must be admitted, has a good deal to advance in this broad conception; and it is, therefore, the duty of all patriotic Indians, more specially of leading Indians, to set up before their followers the high National Ideal represented by the Indian National Congress, and to always persuade them to act up to that ideal, subordinating their lower feelings and lower interests to this high aim.

The example of leading Indians is bound to have a very great influence on the attitude and feelings of the mass of the community. That example should, therefore, be such as would appeal to the enlightened national sense of all sections of

the community. Do not deprecate merit or fail to encourage it because it is found in one who does not belong to your caste or sect. The nation wants the services of all its best men, of all men on whose ability, knowledge and judgment it can indent for national service, who will be ornaments to the community and can raise the prestige of their race. If many men of this kind do not come up to the front, it is because our country-men have so few opportunities for distinction, and the field for the exercise of their faculties is so limited. But even in our limited sphere, the best intellects of the country can attain distinction and eminence provided they are encouraged by their own country-men without regard to differences of caste and creed. The position which such men as Ranade, Tyabji and Mehta have attained in the public life of the country shows that every community in India can furnish men of commanding ability, great force of character, and the essential qualities of leadership. Find out and recognise the best men you can find in every community, and in every section of every community, and never hesitate to give them the position of pre-eminence by reason of their caste, creed or race. To follow the lead of such men is not only safe, but is an honour to the nation, which we can ill afford to forego. Dadlabhai Nowrojee is a Parsee; and, in our old isolated state, we would have never acknowledged him as our leader; but the broad national feeling, to the creation of which he has himself contributed not a little, has made us forget that he is a Parsee, and he is now looked up to, not as the Grand Old Man of the Parsees, not of Bombay merely, but of all India. But for this feeling, his eminence in public life, his return to Parliament, would have been no matter of pride or glory to us, but would have been exclusively the pride and glory of the Parsees.

There is also need for the better appreciation of leaders on the part of the public at large, both while they are living and after they are dead. The men who have sacrificed much for the public good and have laboured long and strenuously do not, in this country, receive the same recognition as men in western countries. To a certain extent this is explained by the general apathy that characterises the nation and the general disinclination to everything that calls for active exertion. Our appreciation is more often passive and inert than otherwise. There is not, for example, one man in India who does not appreciate the beneficent rule of Lord Ripon; but, curiously enough, no Viceroy has

been more neglected by our countrymen as regards the important duty, which every grateful nation recognises, of leaving to posterity a permanent mark of their appreciation and gratitude. Viceroys, good, bad and indifferent, have been honoured with statues and memorials of sorts; but Lord Ripon, whom our countrymen have reason to honour most, has been the least honoured in this way.

The truth is that, without official stimulus, our people are not capable of doing anything. Every movement, which is countenanced by officials, receives ready support from our people, in the same way that every person officially recognised receives their homage. It is natural, in these circumstances, that people should look more to official appreciation than to the appreciation of the people. The former is easier to acquire, and more advantageous when acquired. How many of our great men have received any memorial through the exclusive exertions of our own countrymen? If the late Sir Muthuswamy Iyer had been denied a statue in the High Court, it could have been mainly due to our countrymen. If he got it, it was because Europeans, his colleagues on the bench and the Barristers and Attorneys who practised before him, were sincerely zealous to honour his memory; and, but for their enthusiasm and support the great Hindu Judge, the greatest that has sat on the bench of the Madras High Court, would have been consigned, like Ganesa in a Hindu Temple, to an obscure corner in the Victoria Hostel—a fate which had been seriously proposed for him with the acquiescence of some of our own countrymen.

The late Sir Seshadri Iyer, who had done so much for Mysore, failed to receive any posthumous recognition even from the Mysoreans; and had not Lord Curzon and Sir Donald Robertson actively interested themselves in establishing a permanent memorial, one of the greatest Indian administrators of the time would have shared the fate of many others of his illustrious countrymen who shone with brilliancy while alive, but were forgotten by posterity when dead.

When Mr. Justice Rande died, there was any amount of enthusiasm about commemorating his great name; but the enthusiasm did not survive many months. If European officials had taken an interest in the matter, the memorial would have now been an accomplished fact; but because our countrymen alone concerned themselves with the affair, the whole thing has virtually collapsed. It is not at all pleasant, to make these

admissions. But there is no other way of honestly pointing out the failing of our countrymen.

It is obvious, therefore, that nothing but a high degree of disinterested patriotism can afford inducement to our countrymen to devote their time and talents to the service of the public. However commendable disinterested patriotism may be, it has disadvantages in this country. Most men aim at success, distinction and wealth; and whichever road leads them to these is the soonest chosen by them. Official recognition is the easiest means of success and distinction in this country; and if men, therefore, have too much faith in it, it is none of their fault; our countrymen do little to modify this faith or to encourage reliance on the reward of public service. The man who has made sacrifices for the public good is very much poorer in purse, and does not find compensation even in the practical appreciation of those whom he has served. In this state public life cannot gain strength or vitality, but must lose its attractions as it has been doing of late. An increasing number of people are now keeping aloof from public life, because they find they can get on better if they devote their time and talents exclusively to the business or profession in which they are engaged. There is no opprobrium attached to selfishness, and no lack of homage paid to those who have succeeded by the exclusive worship of men in authority and utter indifference to the political aspirations of their countrymen. A remedy to this state of things is needed if public life is not to lose all vitality and strength; and it has to be applied by those who feel some concern for the future of this country.

THE MADRAS SALT INDUSTRY.

UNDER the above heading there appeared an article in the *Madras Times* of the 7th November 1903. In it the writer makes several observations which call for consideration and comment. I shall, therefore, take them seriatim and offer a few observations on each:—

(1) "The competition of Bombay salt in the Madras Presidency with salt produced locally is a question of some importance."

No doubt it is a question of importance, not to Government, but to the consumers who expect their supply of salt at cheap cost; and to the Railway Company, who depend on its transport to several places to secure their traffic receipts. If the Bombay salt be allowed to monopolise several Districts and to have an unmolested sale without having the competition of other salt to control the ruinous prices, then the consumers will be oppressed by the exorbitant rates, with the result of the middlemen enjoying the benefit of the reduction of the duty and not the consumers, for whom such reduction has been intended, as has been the case in the Malabar District and parts of Coimbatore, Salem, Bellary, Anantapur, Kurnool and South Arcot Districts, as also of the Mysore Province and Bangalore. As regards the Madras Railway Company, the loss of distant traffic will be very great. Hence though not for the competition of Bombay salt, and though not to enhance the interests of the Railway Company, yet the special system of manufacture must be continued, for the sake of introducing the same, in several of the Bombay salt centres, where the consumers have been and are likely to be oppressed by the high prices of Bombay salt.

(2) "During 1902-03 the Ceded Districts received a smaller quantity of salt from Bombay and Goa, but there was a falling off in the imports of Madras salt also."

The falling off in the imports of Bombay and Goa salt into the Ceded Districts during the season of 1902-03, was due to the appearance of Plague in a severe form, in several parts of those Districts, owing to which the merchants and the public had taken shelter in other Districts. There would

have been a further decrease in the imports of the said salt, if the ordinary salt stock of 1901 and 1902 mixed with the small-grained sifted salt had not been issued at intervals along with the light salt of previous years or if the Board had thought fit to allot the 60,000 Maunds of large-grained salt applied for for sale in the Districts, by (1) M. Siviah Chetti on the 7th October 1902, whose application was forwarded to the Board with the Traffic Manager's letter, No. 96497, dated 3rd November 1902, to which the Board replied in Board's Proceedings, No. 4523, dated 5th November 1902, informing that the Board had none of the special large-grained salt available for sale to M. Siviah Chetti, and, (2) S. Kammana and others on the 8th November 1902 whose letter was forwarded with the Traffic Manager's letter, No. A 96497, dated 11th November 1902, to which in Board's Proceedings, No. 4613, Salt, dated 14th November 1902, the Board informed him that it had none of the large-grained salt at the Depot to sell to the merchants.

The falling off in the imports of Madras salt as well, was due to some of the stations, though accustomed to Madras salt, having been compelled to have recourse to Bombay salt, in consequence of the stock of 1901 and 1902 having become heavy for reasons mentioned above, and if it were not for the issue of some light salt at intervals, there would have been a still further fall in the imports of Madras salt.

(3) "In 1901-02 the imports of Madras salt into Mysore decreased, while those from Bombay increased."

The sale of salt in Bangalore was undertaken by the Madras Railway Company, in June 1900, and though it was not a specially made one intended for competition, yet they were able to sell about 60 trunks in 5 months from June to October and further sale was put a stop to on account of want of salt.

During the year 1901, besides the salt being manufactured under the Bombay method, it was also sifted and the small-grained sifted salt was mixed with the salt of the other factories, which became heavy and powdery in consequence. The merchants cared more for the increased measurement of the salt, than for the size of the crystals. The system of sale, adopted at Bangalore, has been to distribute among the leading Mandi merchants all salt that may be received by them to be sold on commission at 2 per cent. These Mandi merchants have their established constituents, on whom there are

large outstanding balances. Thus the Mandi merchants with their constituents are bound to the Bombay merchants. In the midst of such combination, if any other salt should venture into the markets, it could not find a ready sale. However, the Madras Railway Company ventured into the Bangalore markets with 3 consignments of large-grained salt in February 1902, and in regard to the sale of the first consignment the Board have made the following remark in their Administration Report for 1901-02 :—

"And the Agent and Manager was requested to confine his operations to this quantity and to take it only to the Bangalore Cantonment Station, where the result of the first experiment had been comparatively satisfactory."

And finding that in the second attempt, they had not been so successful, the Company then engaged the services of a special officer, about the end of March for the purpose; and when under the arrangement made by him, there were prospects of good sales at Bangalore, the balance of the large-grained salt of the season was given away on contract, under written agreement, to Alavandariah & Son for sale in the Coimbatore District instead of in Bangalore. The Board could have waited for sometime longer to see whether the Company could remove any further quantity or should not have entered into any written agreement with the contractors, so as not to allow any further removals by the Company, even though they had made such arrangements at Bangalore, as to ensure them of a successful sale there; or could have thrown open for general sale to the merchants of Bangalore, as well as of the other Bombay Salt Centres, as was done in the case of a quantity of special salt of the year, so as to enable them to get their salt at cheap cost, instead of being oppressed by the contractors with high rate—*vide* remarks of the Board in their Administration Report for 1901-02 :

"The balance was thrown open for sale to the general public at 3 annas per maund to make room for next season's storage and was speedily cleared off."

As a proof of their successful attempt in Bangalore, a month after the contract of the balance of 1901 salt had been given away, there were removals of 1902 salt in May, by a contractor who prepaid all charges before removal, instead of at the place of destination, which was the concession originally granted to the Company.

(4) "In the following year, however, the imports from Bombay and Goa fell off, the decrease being ascribed to the accumulation of stocks in the hands of the merchants, while there was an increase in the imports from Madras."

While admitting that the fall in the imports of Bombay salt was due to the stock maintained by the merchants, it must be pointed out that the increase in the imports of Madras salt was caused by the arrangements made by the Madras Railway Company in securing professional and independent merchants to undertake the sale of Madras salt and to break up the then existing combination among the Mandi merchants and their constituents; and though these merchants managed to effect a sale of 8,550 Maunds in Bangalore in 3 months and though they had at the outset the assurance of the Board of a continuous supply throughout the year, yet when the sales were on the increase, the grant of a further

Petitions.

19th July, 1902.

18th August 1902.

26th September 1902.

22nd October 1902.

21st November 1902.

5th December 1902.

Board's reply.

N.D. 3115 Sale of 21st July 1902.

Sanctioned 4,000 Mds.

" 3,000 Mds.

N. D. 4376 Sale of 29th Oct. 1902.

4697 of 21st Nov. 1902.

5028 of 9th Dec. 1902.

quantity was refused in spite of repeated applications as noted in the margin. Had the Contractors been granted suffi-

cient quantity of salt in accordance with the hopes held out to them by the Board, at the time the first trial consignment was sanctioned to them, a greater quantity of Madras salt would have been imported into Bangalore, in spite of the stocks of Bombay salt, which then remained in the hands of the merchants. In the same way special salt had been refused to the other Bombay salt centres. It has been usual with the Bombay merchants, to reserve a sufficient stock in all the Bombay salt centres, to keep the supply to the merchants during the time of slackness of imports from Bombay, so as to prevent them from having recourse to Madras salt or to prevent the latter from having an unmolested sale in such centres. By this means they have been able to keep out the Madras salt.

(5) "It cannot be said therefore that on the whole in certain Districts, Madras salt is holding its own, on its own ground, against imported Bombay salt."

The Madras salt had not been given opportunities to maintain its position in several of the Bombay salt centres, because the sale of almost the entire manufactured special salt, was confined to one District and to one solitary individual

and only small quantities were allotted to other centres, which made the merchants lose all confidence in regard to having any continuous supply and which made the Bombay salt to venture more largely; and further the issues of ordinary salt had not been made according to season, and hence the heavy and powdery salt of 1901 and 1902 was issued in the interim, and even those places that had been accustomed to purely Madras salt, were compelled to go in for Bombay salt. Consequently if the special salt had been allotted to the Districts for which it was intended and the issues of ordinary salt had been made according to season without disturbing it by the issue of heavy salt in the intervals, the Madras salt would have held its own position.

(6) "It is true that the total quantity of salt imported into Madras Presidency in 1902-03, was only about 12 Lakhs of Maunds, compared with over 97 Lakhs of Maunds produced locally, and which, it might be remarked, was the highest outturn during the decade. But there is no reason why Madras should not be able to produce all the salt it requires for certain industries and for domestic use."

Considering the enormous number of factories scattered in all parts of the Presidency, considerable quantity of salt can be manufactured, so as to be sufficient for all purposes. Though the manufacture of salt is much cheaper at Madras, than at Bombay, yet owing to the disadvantageous position, in which it is placed, the salt is rendered unfit for sale in distant markets or to compete with the salt of the other Presidency. The manufacturers of excise factories being of poor classes are not in a position to lay out sufficient money for the cultivation of salt and their having recourse to the advance system from the capitalists, does not give them scope for scraping the entire quantity which their pans are capable of yielding. Enterprising companies cannot venture in some factories to manufacture an abundance of salt, because of their inability to dispose of the stock, either locally or in foreign markets, for want of facilities of transport at payable rates, at all times of the year. The factories of the Presidency being situated in such localities as not to be easily accessible and the transport facilities being expensive and impracticable in some cases the outturn will not be so much as to compensate for the trouble and expense. Further to have a control over the ruling prices of some of the important excise factories,

there are monopoly extensions maintained by Government, where a reserve stock has always been maintained, owing to which the manufacturers are handicapped, as in some cases they cannot induce capitalists to venture with sufficient investment, because it would not pay them, on account of their being put down by the monopoly prices, whenever they should go beyond a certain limit, and in other cases they could not manufacture sufficient salt, owing to their having fallen into the clutches of the capitalists. In either case the manufacture always falls short of the quantity, which the factories are capable of yielding and, most important of all, the concessions granted to monopoly factories and extensions have not been extended or allowed in the case of excise factories. Regarding the monopoly factories and extensions, where salt has been manufactured for Government, those that are alongside of excise factories are only intended to have a control over the ruling prices; and the Government do not care to utilize this salt for foreign markets, nor enterprising traders would venture to deal with it, in consequence of the uniform price fixed, which would either not pay in foreign markets or the transport of the same to such markets, in some cases, would be impracticable. The only monopoly factory that is possessed of all the facilities, is that of Ennore, where the salt produced will be just sufficient for the several Districts, which depend solely on it, and the prevailing price there is so uniformly high, that it would not pay in foreign markets. The most beneficial system of sale, by measurement, so as to adapt for all markets, has been followed; and as this course cannot be carried on in all other excise factories where issues have been made in two Maund cup scales, the sales of some of the factories have been falling down. Even the important place of trade, *i.e.*, the Madras Salt Depot, where all the Ennore salt has been stored and issued to Mofussil Districts, has fallen into the hands of the credit merchants, just in the same way as the excise factories have fallen into the hands of the capitalists, and the consequence has been that the price of salt in the mofussils has always been high. Thus it will be seen that owing to the disadvantageous position in which the manufacturers of excise factories are placed and their having been put down by the opening of monopoly extensions alongside of their factories—and in these the manufacture has been so restricted as to be

only sufficient to have a control over the excise prices—the manufacture of the Presidency has always been low. It will be thus seen that only such measures as would tend to put down the excise prices and to discourage the licensees have been taken, and no such measures have been introduced to protect the consumers from the exorbitant prices consequent on the Bombay salt having been allowed to have an unmolested monopoly of the several parts of this Presidency.

(7) "The average cost of Bombay salt imported on private accounts in 1902-03 into the several British Ports in the Districts of South Canara and Malabar was 9 annas 6 pies per maund, while the prime cost at Calicut amounted to 8 annas 11 pies per maund, against 3 annas a maund charged for Madras Government salt at the Madras Depot."

My information goes to show that the Bombay salt costs a great deal less than 8 annas 11 pies per maund, which is corroborated by the fact of the Cochin Government having been able to secure the best Bombay salt at Rs. 46-8-0 per 100 maunds delivered at their Malipuram Depot, which would come to 7½ annas per maund, and the cost of delivering at Calicut will not be more than the said rate. As invariably only the ordinary quality of Bombay Salt has been imported into South Canara and Malabar Ports for sale in the localities and in the Mofussil Stations, and as this quality would readily meet with large and unmolested sales, since the consumers have no other salt in the market to fall upon, the price of salt must be considerably cheaper than that quoted above. I heard from the Bombay merchants that it does not cost more than 3 annas per bag for importing by Puttimars, and when they can afford to sell sometimes at Rs. 4-12-0 to Rs. 5 per bag at Calicut, the cost price must be very low. If it should cost so much as 8 annas 11 pies at Calicut, then the Madras special salt will be able to compete with it, at least during the time of the slackness of imports from June to October, when the price of Bombay salt, which will be the remnants of imports of March to May and which will be short measurement, will go up—or when short measuring salt, which is the refuse of that year's manufacture, is imported in October. The Madras Depot Salt, though it costs 3 annas per maund at the Salt Depot, yet including the transport and other charges, would cost 8 annas per maund, when delivered at Calicut, irrespective of quality; and consequently, though not the ordinary salt, yet the special salt must be able to compete with it.

Though not at Calicut, the competition is possible in all the stations on this side of Calicut, since the cost price of Bombay salt will be increased by the addition of Rail charge while that of Madras will be proportionately reduced by distance. It must be also remembered, that unless the Bombay salt was considerably cheaper, it would not have been able to venture so largely into the far interior Districts of Coimbatore and Salem from the West Coast. The ordinary Madras salt can never be able to compete with it, but the special salt prepared under the method and the system of sale proposed by me in the concluding para., would be able to put out the Bombay salt to a great extent. It is not the superiority or the cheapness of Bombay salt that has helped it to pave its way into the far interior Districts, but it has been the facilities offered to the merchants in the supply of large quantities of salt at a short notice and in the allowing of large credits to be repaid after the sale of salt, while in the case of Madras no such facilities have been offered to them, and even the securing of a supply, on prepayment of all charges, is a difficult task to them.

(8) "Of course the reason why Bombay salt is preferred to Madras salt in the Districts named, is that the former is superior in quality to or is more suitable for certain purposes than the latter."

In regard to the superiority of Bombay salt I quite differ, as in several markets of the Malabar District and other places, most dirty salt, mixed with clay, has been sold; and the merchants and the consumers having been accustomed to this salt from time immemorial and having no other salt to permanently fall upon, since they cannot rest assured of a continuous supply of Madras salt, they have to confine themselves to Bombay salt, whatever may be its quality and quantity; and it is therefore conclusively evident that the free sale and popularity of any particular salt in certain markets depend entirely upon its untested prevalence from time immemorial and not upon the superiority or suitability of the same. As far as I am aware, the Bombay salt has been only used in this Presidency for human consumption; and owing to its high cost price, it cannot be made use of for other purposes. But in the case of Madras salt, on account of varied low prices, it has been used for tanning, fish-curing and export purposes.

(9) "It is possible to compete on more even terms, with

Bombay salt; if special attention be paid to the manufacture of salt in Madras, as was evinced by the fact, that while Bombay salt appeared to have had its own way in sale in 1892-03, in Coimbatore where specially made Madras salt competed with it, the increase in the imports of Bombay salt was not so large. But the attempt to compete with Bombay salt by producing specially manufactured salt, according to the Bombay method, has not been very successful."

The factories that are capable of producing salt fit to compete with Bombay salt imported by both Sea and Rail, are those of Ennore and of the Nellore District. Those of Chinna Ganjam, Kristnapatam and Tada are well-known for the manufacture of light and good salt fit for sale in the Ceded Districts. The salt of Chinna Ganjam can be made to compete with Bombay salt in Hyderabad, where large quantities of this salt had been sent some years ago, when the monopoly price was 2 annas per maund. The present increased rate of 3 annas has been brought into force to improve the sale of salt in the Ongole Factory. With such increased rate and with the high Rail charge and cart-hire, it cannot be made to compete with Bombay salt on the S.-W. and N.-W. Lines. This salt can therefore be advantageously utilized for the competition of Bombay salt in the Hyderabad State by the reduction of the monopoly price from 3 annas to 2 annas per maund. Turning to the Kristnapatam Factory, this is a very large outlying one, having 6 platforms and yielding salt to about 7 Lakhs of Maunds. Of these those of Nos. I to IV produce powdery salt fit for sale on the N.-W. Line up to Tadpatri, as also on the South Indian Railway in the Ceded Districts and North Arcot, and those of Nos. V and VI are capable of producing light large grain salt fit for the competition of Bombay salt on the S.-W. Line, as also in stations beyond Tadpatri. The manufacturers being of poor classes are not in a position to carry on manufacture independently, and hence if the Bombay method of manufacture be introduced and the manufacturers are made to scrape salt for Government at a certain rate of Kudivarum, nearly 2 Lakhs of Maunds can be produced. Instead of Platform No. IV where the Government have a monopoly extension for a 'reserve' stock, platforms Nos. V and VI can be advantageously utilized for all purposes. The factory is about 14 miles off the Railway Station, and though the salt has been subjected to damage and heavy cost of transport, yet the

track sales to distant markets are very heavy and several consignments are sent to the districts named above. As regards Tada this is a small compact factory, only capable of producing powdery but light salt. The sales are confined to near and adjacent markets, and only a few consignments go to the stations of Tadpatri, Adoni, &c., on the N.-W. Line. Neither the introduction of any new system of manufacture, nor the offering of any facilities will improve its condition. Coming to the factories of Ennore, those of Vallur and Athepet are capable of producing light salt and Voyalur and Kattur a little heavy one. Nearly all the Districts on the W. and N.-W. Lines and Bangalore Branch, depend on these for their supply, and besides these are the source of the Salt Traffic Receipts of the Madras Railway Company. When the factories have to answer for so many, it is highly necessary that their yield should be so great and so superior, as to satisfy all concerned. When these were under the excise system, the salt manufactured was able to work prominently up to Palghat and even further and as far as Raichur, as the lessees worked in the same enterprising spirit as those of the Bombay merchants, and gradually the Bombay salt was allowed to venture largely into the far interior Districts. After they have been converted into monopoly, the question of the competition of Bombay salt was thought of, and for the purpose, the manufacture under the Bombay method was commenced in 1901 and the salt was also sifted. Though at the outset, there was difficulty to carry out the desired end, yet when there were prospects of competing successfully in Bangalore and other Bombay salt centres, the contract sale in Coimbatore District of some 54,000 Maunds of the 1901 salt, was given away, instead of allotting any portion of it to other centres, where this salt was also intended. Of the 3 stations of Coimbatore, Tirupur and Erode, the first has been purely worked by Bombay salt, the second by both Madras and Bombay salt, and the third by Madras salt alone. The contractors instead of utilising the salt in Tirupur and Coimbatore for the competition of Bombay salt, sold 106 trucks in Erode; 42 in Tirupur and consigned nominally 14 to Coimbatore, though out of them, they re-booked to Tirupur 5 and carted a good portion to Udamalpetta. This contract only tended to clear off the large-grained salt by some means or other, to deprive the other Bombay salt centres of their share of this sale and to put

	MDS.
Erode ...	33,400
Tirupur...	13,220
Coimbatore	4,410

a stop to the sale of so much of the ordinary salt. The exorbitant rates charged by the contractors, say, 5 to 6 annas per Maund, tended to increase the imports of Bombay salt to Tirupur and Coimbatore as 24,079 bags of Bombay salt had been imported against 9,360 of Madras to the said two stations.

Then in 1902 the same system of manufacture and sifting was followed. When there were prospects of competition in Bangalore and Guntakal by actual removals to the said places, without allotting sufficient quantity for the same, a quantity of 180,000 Maunds, nearly the entire manufacture of the season, was given away on contract sale in the Coimbatore District, to the previous years' contractors, with the stipulation that one-fifth of the monthly removals to Tirupur and Erode should be made in the Coimbatore Town. They managed to dispose of the contracted quantity as below:—

	Large-grained Salt.		Bombay Salt.
	Trucks.	Bags.	Bags.
Coimbatore ...	124	2,0304	41,457
Tirupur ...	85	14,359	15,370
Erode ...	349	5,7112	...
Utukuli ...	2	330	...

The quantity consigned to Coimbatore was distributed as below:—

	Trucks.	Bags.
Re-booked to Tirupur ...	8	1,320
Do Palghat ...	2	340
Carted to Tirupur ...	57	9,595
Do Udamalpetta ...	28	4,712
Sold in Coimbatore Town ...	29	4,337

The quantity consigned to Erode was distributed as below:—

	Trucks.	Bags.
Booked to Sankaray ...	...	5,846
Do McDonald's Choultry... ..	...	520
Sold in Erode ...	328	50,746

The selling price fixed by the contractors varied from 12 to 14 As. for 2 Maunds and for a nominal sale of about 29 trucks in the Coimbatore Town, the monopoly sale of such a large quantity was given to the contractors to make a fortune for themselves at the sacrifice of many concerned. The contractors were able to main-

tain their high rates and to affect the speedy sale of all contracted quantity, in spite of the Bombay and other salt coming into the markets, because the heavy and powdery salt of 1901 and 1902 being mixed with the small-grained sifted salt, was not able to venture into the markets. At Erode, where no Bombay salt had made its appearance, the contractors sold about 115,000 Maunds to the total exclusion of so much of the ordinary salt, which would have done infinitely better. Though according to the said account, the quantity of Bombay salt which appeared to have been imported into Tirupur and Coimbatore, came to 56,827 bags against 35,763 of Madras salt, yet the large quantity that was carted into Udamalpetta and Pollachy *via* Palghat, if taken into account, would show that the imports of Bombay salt into the District, during the period of the contract, was on the increase. The exorbitant rates charged by the contractors, had tended to the coming in of Bombay salt by several other routes to the loss of traffic of the Madras Railway Company. When the Board was aware of the fact of a quantity of 1901 salt having been speedily cleared off, when it was offered to the public for general sale at 3 As. per Maund, it would have been well for them to have followed the same course in the case of all salt manufactured under Bombay method, which would have given all Bombay salt centres an opportunity to utilize this salt for the competition of Bombay salt and tended the Board to ascertain, whether the continuance of that process of manufacture would permanently realize their object. But unfortunately, nearly the entire quantity manufactured was given away to one individual to be sold in a District where the competition was unnecessary at Tirupur and Erode and impracticable at Coimbatore; eventually to bring a slur on the salt manufactured with great care and heavy cost.

No attempt was made to compete with Bombay salt in Salem, and the allotment of any quantity to this place was never thought of; and as the ordinary salt was heavy and powdery, it could not venture in to this place against the keen competition of Bombay salt, which was therefore allowed to maintain its monopoly undisturbed.

From the explanations given in the above paragraphs it will be conclusively evident, that sufficient trial had not been given to the specially manufactured salt to work its way up, in several of the Bombay salt centres, where there were chances of success; and since the entire manufacture of the seasons of 1901 and

1902, had been given away to one and the same contractors for one and the same District, where they had the facilities to utilize the major portion in stations, where the ordinary salt would have done as well, the contractors merely to enhance their pecuniary interests, never cared to utilize the salt for the purpose for which it was intended. If the entire quantity of the special salt had been allotted for sale in several of the Bombay salt centres and if such a course had not realized the object, then it can be concluded, that the special salt had proved a failure. It must be remembered that the chances of competition in places, where the Bombay salt has been imported by rail, are far greater than those by sea. The contractors having been aware of this fact in regard to Coimbatore Town, where a certain quantity of sale had been restricted and being loath to utilize a very small portion of their large profits in the other two stations, to make up the loss, if any, on the comparatively low nominal sales in the Coimbatore Town, first went on re-booking the Coimbatore consignments to Tirupur by rail and, when this was brought to the notice of the Board in my report, dated 10th September 1902, the next course adopted by them was to cart such consignment to Tirupur and Udamalpetta, by paying to the merchants a return cart hire of 3 to 4 As. per bag, which they could very well afford to do, and this would be evident on a reference to the number of consignments booked to Tirupur from Madras during the period of the contract as also prior to and after the expiry of same. Thus by these means the contractors were able to show the prescribed number of consignments to the Coimbatore Town, but not the prescribed sale there. It will be thus seen, that the method of manufacture was not a failure, but the procedure adopted to realize the object of such a method proved a failure, by the action of the contractors who had been selected for the purpose. On the whole the special salt had not been given chances to accomplish the object for which it was intended, but it tended to realize the object of the contractors, towards the enhancement of their pecuniary interests at the sacrifice of many concerned.

I beg to say a few words in regard to the measures adopted for the disposal of the new salt of 1903 merely manufactured under the Bombay method but not sifted. In consequence of the contract sale system, adopted for the last two years, not having worked satisfactorily, the Board declined to follow that course, though there were applications for the sanction of 2 Lakhs of

Maunds for sale in Malabar and Coimbatore Districts from one Hajee Abdul Sattar Hajee Abdul Shakoor on the 21st May 1903 and for 1 Lakh of Maunds for sale in Bangalore from T. V. M. Abdul Kader Sahib & Co. on the 29th May 1903, but they have adopted a course, which they considered, would not amount to monopoly sale, presumably, in the hope that it would tend to the removal of a large stock of old salt, along with the new one. They never condescended to consider that the present course would be worse than monopoly contract sale and that it would only tend to the removal of new salt, to the total exclusion of so much of the ordinary salt, to the oppression of the consumers. The Board have ordered the issue of 2,500 Maunds of salt per day, of which 2,000 Maunds to be issued to the 12 credit merchants of Madras, a set of 6 to have one truck each on every alternate day and 500 Maunds to the up-country *bona fide* salt merchants. The sale of the 2,000 Maunds has not been restricted to particular localities, and the credit merchants have been given full liberty to deal with their allotment in whatever way they may choose; and as regards the 500 Maunds the discretion of issue to the up-country *bona fide* merchants, has been given to the Inspector, Madras Salt Depôt. I cannot understand how the Board can imagine that the restricted sale among 12 merchants instead of one would not amount to monopoly sale. In the last two years contract of the special salt in the Coimbatore District, the oppression of the consumers was confined to one District by one individual; but under the present system of sale the oppression has been extended to several Districts by 12 merchants. I do not in the least complain against the Board's resolution to grant concessions to the credit merchants, as the *bona fide* credit merchants deserve such concessions, nor against the restriction of the daily issues to 2,500 Maunds, which has been regulated in accordance with the current year's stock; but the material point for consideration is whether all the men who are enjoying the concession of one truck per day can be treated as *bona fide* credit merchants.

Of these 12 there are only 2 who deal in credit orders on deposit of Government securities and possess large number of constituents in the mofussil. These deserve the concession granted by the Board, so as to enable them to keep their securities revolved and for the constant revolving of securities and the speedy disposal of credit orders, and the removal of a good quantity of new and old salt can be expected; and sometimes they

have to consign salt of their own accord to the mofussil and leave large 'outstandings.' In the case of these there is the assurance of a continuous and permanent business; and as they depend more on the interest on the accumulated securities the sale of salt at cheap rates to the best advantage of the consumers, can also be expected. Hence in my humble opinion these can be reckoned as credit merchants, though not the *bona fide* salt merchants.

The other ten deal in credit orders purchased from the Banks and Trading Companies, from time to time according to their demands, at a certain commission, and these are agents of the mofussil merchants for executing their orders. These have no responsibility of any kind and would carry on business only as long as it would pay. They do not care to consign any salt of their own accord and run the risk of outstandings, and hence their permanent continuance of business or of their effecting the sale of any large quantity of salt cannot be relied upon. They are in no way better than the majority of the numerous up-country *bona fide* salt merchants, who also pay for their supply of salt in credit orders. Of these ten, there are 3 or 4 who merely came forward to secure the one truck sanctioned to them. From the fact of their having had recourse to the removal of only the new salt allotted to them from the date of its issue, it will be evident that they have been granted this concession merely to oppress the consumers with double profits and to put a stop to the sale of so much of the old salt. It is very hard that such men should have preference over the innumerable up-country *bona fide* salt merchants, who are capable of removing large quantities of new and old salt on payment in credit orders. These ten are neither credit merchants nor *bona fide* salt merchants, deserving of any concession at all.

On the whole the credit merchants are only mediators for the purchase and supply of salt for the mofussil merchants on orders received, they have no fixed destination to consign their salt to, and have no responsibility of any kind; but the real *bona fide* salt merchants are those in the mofussil, on whom the consumers depend for the supply of salt, and it is only these that should have all concessions.

Let us now turn to see how far the *bona fide* salt merchants have been benefited under the present order of issue: since the daily issue of 2,000 Maunds has been given away on undisturbed

monopoly salt, none of the other merchants have any claim over the same. The quantity available for the innumerable up-country merchants, coming from all parts, whether from Bombay Salt Centres or otherwise, is only 500 Maunds placed at the discretion of the Inspector. Owing to the short fall of stocks in Bombay and the consequent increased price of salt in several of the Bombay Salt Centres, the demands for the Madras Dépôt New Salt, are very great, and they could not possibly remove old salt in consequence of its short measurement and its consequent inability to compete with the Bombay salt, even under the prevailing increased price. These centres have only been able to secure one or two trucks per week out of the 500 Maunds, and could not get more, owing to heavy demands from other places. Consequently they have been purchasing their requirements from the so-called credit merchants by paying them profits from Rs. 25 to Rs. 30, apart from foregoing the credit-order commission. The merchants of the places, which have been accustomed to ordinary salt, have also been purchasing from the credit merchants at high profits. Hence the credit merchants have been as it were the Commission Agents for the disposal of Madras salt, and all the up-country merchants have to purchase their requirements from them at high profits, when they are justly entitled to have them direct from the Madras Salt Dépôt, at a comparatively cheap cost. Thus under the present order, the consumers have to pay double profits for their salt, firstly of the credit merchants, and secondly of the local merchants, where they can have it by paying single profit, if issues be made to the *bonâ-fide* salt merchants in the mofussil.

It is further very hard that these *bonâ-fide* salt merchants have to fall back upon the so-called credit merchants for their salt supply, who if it were not for the present concession granted to them, are only their Agents for the execution of their orders. The issue of this salt has not been restricted to any particular localities, and hence they have been consigned only to those places, where the ordinary salt would answer well, thus putting a stop to the sale of so much of it. Hence for the speedy disposal of old and new salt, as also to protect the consumers of the several Bombay Salt Centres against the exorbitant prices of Bombay salt, the new salt may be ordered to be issued to several Bombay Salt Centres, and the old salt to such places as it has hitherto been working.

When such difficulties as above explained, are experienced in regard to getting the ordinary supply of Madras salt, it can be easily imagined, what confidence the merchants will have in securing a supply of Madras salt to keep their business going and thus endeavour to compete with Bombay salt or to give up their connection with it. Hence the consumers of the Bombay salt Centres have always been subjected to a heavy tax, and as far as they are concerned the reduction of duty has not in any way benefited them. Though not for the competition of Bombay salt, the manufacture under the Bombay method should be continued for the purpose of introducing the same in several of the Bombay salt centres, to have a control over the high prices of Bombay salt.

(10) "The attempt last year to sell the specially prepared 1901 salt in competition with Bombay salt failed and it was sold by auction for local consumption at the upset price of 3 annas per maund."

Out of the quantity of the special salt produced in 1901, only 2 trucks of 162 bags each were removed to Coimbatore and Palghat in November 1901 and 1903, to Bangalore in February 1903. These are places, where the Bombay salt has been imported in large quantities and where the combination system of sale has been followed, and hence the competition was very keen. Instead of having the sale effected by the merchants of the locality, a voluntary offer was made to them of this salt, and it was quite natural that in the case of such offers, the merchants would try to cut down the price in the hope that when once it was brought into their markets, it would be given away for whatever it would fetch; and further the offer of such low price was intended to discourage the coming in of further consignments. Finding that it was not the safest course to adopt, the Madras Railway Company had some salt of 1903 removed to Bangalore, by a contractor under agreement with the Board, during the continuance of the contract of the Coimbatore District for the 1901 salt; and there was another application also from a *bonâ-fide* salt merchant for the allotment of a large quantity to Bangalore. When there were then two competitors in the field, working for the introduction of Madras salt in the Bangalore markets, and when they had proved by actual removals that the introduction was practicable, instead of giving them a trial of a large quantity, the Board allotted nearly the entire manufacture of 1902 salt to the

Coimbatore District, and bound themselves by a written agreement, so as to give no opportunity to the other Bombay Salt Centres, where this salt was also intended for competition, to have any share of this salt at all. It is not understood, when there were so many places for introducing this salt for competition, why it should have been allotted consecutively for 2 years to a District, wherein the competition was unnecessary at Tirupur and Erode and impracticable at Coimbatore. If enquires had been instituted before the allotment of 1902 salt, as to how far the contract of 1901 salt had realized the object of the Board, whether the consumers had been benefited in any way and whether it would be advisable to allot the whole or any portion of it to this particular District or could be better utilized in the other centres, no salt would have been allotted to the Coimbatore District, and the entire quantity would have been thrown open for general sale in the other Bombay salt centres.

(11) "The attempt to make special large-grained salt by sifting in order to compete with Bombay salt, has been given up as the cost of such salt was seriously enhanced by the difficulty experienced in disposing of the refuse except at a loss."

The sifting process was quite unnecessary, and the mere manufacture under the Bombay method would have done well as it is considered that the salt mixed with large and small grains is capable of giving more substantial measurement, than the sifted salt, having uniformly large grains, as the latter is subjected to a greater loss in measurement in the course of transport, than the former; and besides nearly all the markets of this Presidency prefer the former method of manufacture. I know, as a fact, that the merchants of Erode and Tirupur disliked the sifted salt of 1901 and 1902; and they could not help purchasing this at any cost, since the ordinary stock of 1901 and 1902 had become powdery and heavy, and from the fact of their having had several consignments of other seasons, ordinary salt, issued during the period of the contract of large-grained salt, it will be evident that if the issues had been confined to the ordinary salt, prior to 1901 and 1902, the contract would have either become a failure, or would have controlled the high prices charged by the contractors, or would have convinced the Board of the advisability of allotting a portion of the salt to other centres, where it would have been better utilized.

The sifted small-grained salt was not sold at a loss, but with

a view to realize the cost of manufacture of the large quantity of the same, since the cost price of the special salt, having been fixed so low as 3 annas 1 pie per maund, the entire quantity had to be mixed with the salt of the other factories. It was therefore no loss to Government; but when this salt is issued, it will give scope for Bombay salt to venture largely and oppress the consumers with high prices. This could have been avoided at this favorable opportunity when there is a failure of the stocks in Bombay, if the distribution of old and new salt had been made in accordance with the object for which they have been intended, i.e., the old salt to places where it has hitherto been working and the new salt for the competition of Bombay salt. If the present system of sale of both the new and old salt be continued, great difficulty will be experienced in the disposal of the old salt, when new salt is imported from Bombay in March next.

(12) "How do they manage it on the Bombay side? The expert salt manufacturer may be able to give good and sufficient reasons for the failure to produce salt locally of a quality and at a price, which will enable it to compete successfully with imported Bombay salt."

Madras Salt.—The manufacture of salt in the Madras side factories, has been subjected to all sorts of restrictions and obstacles, owing to which good and sufficient salt cannot be manufactured.

In the first place the testing of brine is a material thing affecting the manufacture of well ripened crystallized salt. The salt is said to form at 25° and it becomes fit for scraping at 30°, and should the brine exceed this density, then the salt formed in the beds of such density is said to be rejected, as it is supposed that the formation of Epsom salt would take place. It has not been ascertained, the real cause of such increased density, nor whether the strict observance of the rules has been adhered to. In several of the factories in Southern and Northern Districts, during the months of May to July, salt does not begin to form at 30°, as owing to the heat of the soil the density of the brine increases; and consequently the salt is rendered unfit for scraping, which accounts for the short manufacture or production of powdery salt in some of the factories. The increase in the density of brine has been due to—

(1) the heat of the brine, and (2) the heat of the soil. If due to the former, the brine in the beds will be very much condensed;

and if to the latter there will be no condensation of brine, at that density; and such being the case, the salt formed in the beds has been invariably rejected. As occasional rains minimise the density of the brine, by suppressing the heat of the soil, and as Epsom salt will not be formed, except at a density of 37° , salt may be allowed to be scraped at 35° , during the hottest months of the year, which course would tend to the production of well seasoned light crystallised salt.

(2) The restrictions in regard to drying and storing the salt are also very great. The concessions of drying the salt on the ridges until it is completely dried, as is being done in the Ennore factories, have not been extended to the excise factories; though repeated applications have been made for the grant of the concession. When temporary guards are entertained and kept on guarding all round the pans during the manufacturing season, I fail to understand, how the granting of such a concession would not be a safety to the scraped salt. In some factories owing to want of sufficient drying grounds, the salt has to be stored in a wet condition, resulting in damage to the salt and in the occurrence of high wastages.

(3) The sifting of salt after storage has been totally put a stop to, presumably that the consumers would be oppressed with exorbitant prices. Though the sifting before storage has been allowed, it cannot be availed of by several of the factories, which have no export facilities, to store the small grained-sifted salt separately and to utilize the same for export purposes, or to dispose of by other means. Even if the separation of large crystals from the small at the time of scraping in the pans, has been followed, the same difficulty as that of sifting salt after storage, will be experienced. Hence by allowing the salt to be dried on the ridges, it will enable those factories, which have no export facilities, to scrape as much of the large crystallised salt as would be sufficient for this purpose, and leave the powdery salt in the pans to allow the brine to retain its density for further scrapings; and those that are possessed of export facilities can have the crystallised and powdery salt scraped and stored separately.

(4) The licensees of almost all the factories are of poor classes, not capable of laying out funds for the manufacture of salt, and hence they have to fall upon the capitalists to help them with the requisite funds. These capitalists who only care for the safety of their investment and of their profits, advance money

to the licensees on the manufacture at a certain rate of Kudivaram and owing to the high rates charged by them for the sale of salt, the sales become dull, and large stocks remain on the platform to the obstruction of further manufacture, resulting in the total cessation of the same in some years. Consequently the licensees become deeply involved and not being in a position to repay the advances, neglect their pans and leave them to their own fate. Apart from these capitalists, there are the credit merchants, in both excise and monopoly factories, who are mediators for the supply of salt to the mofussil merchants. Owing to these, the price of salt in the mofussils goes up considerably to the disadvantage of the consumers.

(5) The measurement system of sales followed at the Madras Depot, is not being allowed or capable of being carried out, in all the other factories of this Presidency. Under this system the salt is first measured in bags by Marakals, which are said to hold nearly 7 Madras measures. In each bag either 7 or 8 Marakals of salt have been put in, according to the requirements of each market, and each truck is loaded with 145 to 170 bags or so. The nett weight of the salt contained in the said bags will vary from 295 to 336 maunds or so according to the weight of the salt; and only in rare cases and exceptional circumstances, when the salt becomes unusually heavy, the weight per wagon will exceed 324 maunds. The average weight of each bag may be taken as $1\frac{1}{2}$ maunds or slightly more or less. Now the question arises:—

Whether the salt is sold in the mofussils according to bag or measurement. As far as I am aware of, it has been sold by bags, irrespective of weight and measurement. If the price of each bag has been fixed on the basis of the correct duty paid on the weight of the wagon, then there will be no question; but the rate on each bag has been calculated as containing 2 maunds, whatever may be its measurement.

170 bags at 2 maunds =	340 maunds—Duty...	Rs. 680 0 0
Less 170 bags at $1\frac{1}{2}$ maunds =	311 $\frac{1}{2}$ maunds	„ 637 8 0

Difference Rs... 42 8 0

The merchant is supposed to have paid duty on 318 $\frac{1}{2}$ maunds and recovers from the consumers the full duty on 340 maunds, in addition to his own profit on salt. Thus under the weigh-bridge

system of sales, the duty on all consignments weighing less than 324 maunds, has been appropriated by the merchants, and the bags are issued as containing 2 maunds irrespective of measurement owing to which the consumers have to pay the full duty and the merchants profit as well. But in the case of the salt of the other factories, where the above system of sale has not been followed, the consumers have to pay only the petty profit of the merchants.

The observance of this system at the Madras Salt Depôt, unlike that of the other factories of the Presidency, has produced a general impression that the Madras salt is always heavy and that no salt equal to that of Bombay can ever be manufactured in this Presidency. This impression has become an unshakable one, since the major portion of the districts into which the Bombay salt has had the facilities to venture, has been supplied with salt from the Madras Depôt. This system of sale has virtually put a stop to the sales of those factories on the North East Line, which have been notorious for the manufacture of light salt intended for the Ceded Districts and to increase the imports of Bombay salt on the Calicut, Bangalore and North-West Lines. Though no fraud has been committed on the Public Revenue, since the duty on all salt issued has been recovered, yet the consumers the poor licensees and the Railway Company suffer to some extent.

On the whole the Madras side factories being thus placed in a very disadvantageous position, have not been able to produce abundance of salt saleable in distant and foreign markets, owing to which they have been compelled to allow ingress for Bombay and other foreign salt to venture into the markets of this Presidency.

Though I am not aware of the system of manufacture at Bombay; yet as far as my information goes, it is left entirely to the discretion of the manufacturers, and no severe restrictions have been placed in regard to brine testing and the preparation and the selection of the different sorts of salt suited to all markets, which enable them to produce 4 or 5 kinds of salt of varied measurements and sizes. The Proprietors or Lessees of Factories are both manufacturers and traders as well; and as there are no middlemen to purchase the salt for the mofussil traders and charge high rates, the Lessees themselves or their authorized agents proceed to the several centres both in this and Bombay Presidencies, establish godowns of their own, supply the leading

merchants of the several centres with unextinguishing supply of salt to be sold on commission or on their own account, so as not to allow them to divert their attention to other salt, and allow large credits to them. Hence it will be seen that it has not been the lightness or any superiority of Bombay salt that has made it to venture into the far interior Districts of this Presidency, but it has been due to the enterprising spirit and to the tact and skill displayed by the Bombay merchants, in effecting a combination of the merchants in the several centres of their business, and to the facilities of ready supply and speedy sales offered to them.

The Madras salt has no sort of advantages of this kind; and when it is impossible for the merchants to get the requisite supply to meet their current demands, they cannot possibly expect to secure adequate salt for the maintenance of a stock to keep their business continually going and thus to keep out other salt to venture into the markets.

(18) "Another unsatisfactory feature during 1902-03 was the falling off in the quantity of Madras salt exported to Rangoon. The decrease, it is said, was due to the fall of prices in Rangoon."

The Oriental Salt Trading Company had special salt manufactured in Covelong for the Rangoon markets, and the course adopted by them was to manufacture large-grained salt and then crush the same by machinery to make it powdery. This expensive process, coupled with the heavy cost of establishment, increased the cost price of salt, so much so that it was not able to find a ready sale in the Rangoon markets against the keen competition of German salt imported largely. When the easy method of securing powdery salt from the pans at the time of scraping was suggested to them, they made a representation to the Board for the extension of that concession, and though it has been followed at Tuticorin, they have not been permitted to do so. Owing to these causes, they could not venture largely into the Rangoon markets.

(14) "The exports of salt to the Straits Settlement also fell off during the year, the lowness of stocks in the Tinnevely Factories having made it necessary to restrict exports."

With the exception of the Tuticorin factories none of the others in the Tinnevely District possessed either export facilities or salt of cheap quality sufficient to cope with the demands. Consequently exports to Straits Settlement have been

carried on from Tuticorin by the two special and regular steamers plying between Bombay and Penang, belonging to Borneo & Co. of Singapore who are both importers and salt dealers. These steamers generally carry timber cargo to Bombay from Penang, and as they have to return empty, they touch the Tuticorin Port on the way and take salt cargo to Penang. These steamers are specially adapted for the purpose, and they are, in accordance with the rules prescribed for conveying duty free salt to foreign ports; besides the proprietors themselves being salt dealers, could afford to accept whatever might be left, between the purchasing and the selling price as freight; and consequently all the steamers cannot be expected to undertake to convey this cargo, as in the first place they are not able to fulfil the conditions of the Export Rules and in the second place the rate of freight will not be a paying one; as the difference between the purchasing price at Tuticorin and the selling price at Penang is very imperceptible. It cannot be concluded that by having abundance of salt, suitable for export purposes, exports to the Straits Settlement can be increased, but such increase depends entirely upon the securing of vessels at payable rates of freight, which cannot be had at all times of the year; and even if any such vessels can be secured at all, they will be stray ones requiring cargo. It is not always possible to export Madras salt to Singapore, as against the keen competition of a comparatively good quality of cheap salt imported largely from "Yanam," and the Madras salt has been only exported to Penang. The salt exported has generally been the powdery salt separated from the large grains, at the time of scraping in the pans, which can be had at 1 anna 2 pies per maund, from the licensees of the factory.

The powdery salt thus secured year after year, has been found to be adequate to give a regular and sufficient supply of cargo to the said vessels at each time they touch the Tuticorin Port; and it would not pay to export other salt, as it can be advantageously utilized for the local and mofussil markets; and even if the export of this powdery salt be not permitted, on account of want of docks, it cannot be utilized for consumption either locally or in the districts; and it must be therefore allowed to occupy several places on the platforms undisturbed, until fresh imports are allowed.

During the year under reference a quantity of nearly 120,000

maunds was purchased by Government for fish-curing purposes at 1 anna 8 pies per maund, as the manufacture of the Sevendakolam extension was found to be inadequate to meet the entire supply, and consequently no salt was available for export purposes. The Board could have avoided this purchase and allowed the Straits Settlement to have its usual supply, by transporting so much of the large unsaleable stock in the Madras Depot, occupying so many spaces on the platforms.

Conclusion.—The best and safest course for the competition of Bombay salt, as also for other purposes, are explained below. Though several of the factories cannot be freed from the clutches of the capitalists and credit merchants, yet as they are situated in outlying stations from which salt cannot be brought at payable rates for the competition of the Bombay salt, and as the sales of such factories are only fit to be confined locally and to near adjacent parts, they must be left to their own fate. As regards the important factories on which several districts of the Presidency depend for the supply of salt, they are those of Chinna Ganjam, Kristnapatam, Tada and Ennore: The importance of these factories and the purposes for which they can be utilized, I have explained above. The most important factories that are placed in a very advantageous position to meet the requirements of all by the production of abundance of salt suited to all markets and purposes, are those of Ennore, consisting of Vallur, Athepet, Voyalur and Kattur. The outturn of these will come to about 18 to 20 lakhs of maunds per year. The factories can be made to realize the following purposes:

(a) *Competition of Bombay salt in the several parts of this Presidency.*—For this purpose the manufacture of Vallur and Athepet should be under the Bombay method, and to have purely big crystallised salt, the small grains must be separated from that of the large at the time of scraping in the pans; and by so doing the Government will not be put to any additional expense and there will be no loss in wastage. Under this process salt of good quality almost equal to that of the large-grained sifted salt can be produced, and the outturn will be so great as to be sufficient to compete with Bombay salt in all parts of the Presidency. The small-grained salt separated must be stored separately, and advantageously utilized for the fish-curing yards on the West Coast, as also for tanning and export purposes.

(b) *District and Mofussil supply.*—The manufacture of Voyalur and Kattur may be under the ordinary method, and if it should

be considered that the merchants should have their share of large crystallized salt. the small-grains can be separated from the large as said above, and unless it is found necessary to utilize this powdery salt as well, the same can be left unscrapped in the pans, to retain the density of brine for further manufacture.

The adoption of the above process of manufacture would in addition to producing sufficient quantity of good grained salt for the competition of Bombay salt, as also for District sales, will also give enough for fish-curing and other industries without any extra cost to Government. Taking the average outturn of the 4 factories to be 16 lakhs of maunds powdery salt separated under the process suggested above, would come to 3 to 4 lakhs of maunds and it can be minimised according to requirements. The quantity that would be required for the fish-curing industry, will be about $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 lakhs of maunds and the remainder, if any, can be utilized for export and tanning purposes.

(3) *The system of imports of Bombay salt.*—The Bombay salt is imported in two ways (1) by sea to the West Coast ports, and (2) by rail. The West Coast salt has been brought into the whole of the Malabar District, Coimbatore Town, Nilgiris, Salem Town and parts of Tirupur, Namakal and Kristnaghiri Taluks. The salt imported by rail comes into parts of Ceded Districts, Mysore Province and Bangalore. It also goes into Panrute of the South Arcot District and Cuddalore Port. The imports take place twice a year (1) from March to May and (2) October to February. During the time of the first import the newly manufactured salt of good measurement will be brought in such large quantities, as to leave a reserve stock to meet the demands during the time of the slackness of imports from June to October. During the time of the second import the remnant of the year's manufacture of inferior quality and short measurement, will be brought in and sold at moderate rates.

(4) *The system of sale.*—In the West Coast Ports, the merchants have their established Godowns at Tellicherry, Cannanore, Badagara, Calicut and Ponnani, where they bring in large quantities, maintain a reserve stock to supply to the merchants of the Malabar District as well as those of the mofussil that depend on this supply, and the imports and supply, of salt have been so very adequate, regular and timely as not to make them direct their attention to other salt. The system of sale adopted by them has been, since they have learnt by experience, that their monopoly sale will not be disturbed by the intrusion of other salt

in the several markets of their centres, to invariably sell to the merchants direct on credit at certain fixed rate; but in some places which are worked by Bombay and Madras salt simultaneously they follow commission sales so as to prevent the merchants from having recourse to Madras salt and setting up a competition.

As regards those centres to which the import is by rail, whether they are purely worked by Bombay salt or simultaneously with that of Madras, as the possibility of competition during a greater portion of the year, is far greater than that by sea, the sale on commission has been followed. The Bombay merchants come to their several places of business with their first import and remain until the end of June. During this period, they get out large consignments of salt and supply to the merchants to be sold on their account at a commission of 2 per cent. on the understanding, that they should be paid $\frac{1}{16}$ of the value on delivery and the balance after sale of salt; and when they go back to Bombay at the end of June, after the setting in of monsoons there they leave a large stock with the leading merchants to be sold on the said conditions. Thus the combination system has been strictly observed in those places where the import is by rail, owing to which the Madras salt has not been able to venture. The chances of competition in these parts are far greater than those by sea.

(5) *The system of sale that should be followed in the case of Madras salt to successfully compete with that of Bombay is to restrict the sale of the special salt to those places purely marked by Bombay salt, on contract sale, to the leading independent and bona fide salt merchants of the locality, who have no connection with Bombay salt and who would conduct sales in the same way as the Bombay merchants. This course is necessary to break up the combination and to discourage the maintenance of a stock for sale during the slackness of the imports; when the price of salt will be invariably high. In the selection of places for monopoly sale contract, particular care should be taken so as not to include any stations where the ordinary salt would do, so that the Contractor would utilize the salt solely in such places where it has been intended for sale. The merchants of our Presidency have not in any way been benefited by trading in Bombay salt, and they have been compelled to stick to it, because of the want of confidence in the continuous supply of Madras salt and of the facilities offered to them for their continuous business. There was a large accumulation of stock in the hands of the Bombay merchants, at the time of the*

reduction of duty by Government, and it has not affected them a bit, as they have been able to maintain their old high rates and to make up the loss, because of the want of other salt to control the prices. As I have reason to think that the continuance of the existing state of affairs in regard to the distribution of Madras salt would result in severe oppression to the consumers when new salt is imported from Bombay in March next, such measures as are necessary to mend the state of affairs, should be at once taken. If the monopoly sale system be considered as not capable of realizing the object, then the entire manufacture of the special salt, may be placed at the disposal of the Madras Railway Company, whose co-operation is necessary, in mutual interests, as they have the means of conveyance of all salt manufactured in the Ennore factories for utilizing solely for the competition of Bombay salt, in such specified localities, as the Board may deem fit to select; and since they are only interested in the enhancement of their distant traffic, the Board and Government can rest assured of all quantity that may be allotted to them being disposed of only in such specified localities, to the best advantage of the consumers and to the accomplishment of the object for which it has been manufactured.

(6) *The issue of the salt to the Mofussil merchants direct from Ennore.*—This course will be advantageous to Government, to the District and Mofussil Merchants, and to the Railway Company.

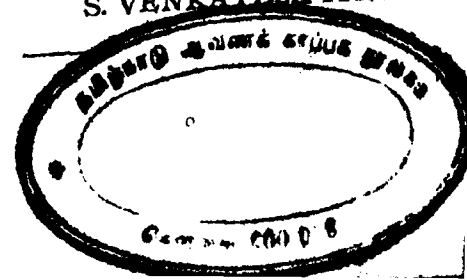
To Government.—Prior to the introduction of the storage system at the Madras Depôt, the salt manufactured was stored at the factories and issued to the Mofussil Districts; and in spite of the difficulty of transport, the salt was able to work in the distant parts of the Presidency, and the imports of Bombay salt were only on a small scale; and after the local storage at Ennore was discontinued, the Bombay salt gradually ventured into this Presidency with increased imports year after year. The superiority of the salt depends upon the retention of its measurement in the course of transport to distant places, and frequent tampering makes the salt lose its measurement. The salt is manufactured at Ennore and it has been brought to the Madras Depôt for storage and the course adopted has been first to fill the salt in bags at the respective factories; then loaded in Boats and brought to the Madras Depôt all through by Canal and then emptied at the Depôt. Then it is stored in 10, 20 and 30 garce heaps and issued to the Local and District merchants. Apart from the

salt being subjected to damage in constant loading and unloading and storing and the risk in the course of transport, by boats, the cost of transport and other charges are pretty heavy. To avoid this cost and to enable the salt to retain its measurement in distant markets for the competition of Bombay salt, as all the factories have canal communications, so as to be capable of bringing their salt to the Railway Station and consigning it direct, to the several places of destination, all salt that may be required for District sales may be issued from the factories direct as it is scraped; and the quantity required for local sales, together with the balance left after District sales, may be brought to the Madras Depôt and stored there, if local storage be not considered feasible. Under this arrangement, the Government will save so much of the transport, storing and covering charge on the quantity disposed of for District sales, in addition to the salt not subjecting itself to damage. As regards the procedure of issue of salt, if the way-bridge system of sales cannot be conveniently introduced at Ennore, the tare of the bags can be first taken at the Depôt with the tare of the empty truck, then forwarded to Ennore, where the bags can be filled with salt by markals, and then brought back to the Depôt, to ascertain the net weight, for the adjustment of duty and cost price. Thus the entire transactions will be carried on at the Depôt, though it would be a source of inconvenience to the Madras Railway Company, which would not be worth considering, when compared with the amount of distant traffic that would result under the arrangement. The salt for the fish-curing yards can also be sent from Ennore.

To merchants.—Owing to the loading and unloading and transport by boats, the salt loses its measurement to a certain extent; and the issues from the factories direct, would enable them to have good measuring salt which would compensate them for their trouble and expense.

To Railway Company.—This will be a source of traffic to the N. E. Line, apart from the vast scope for the enhancement of distant traffic, consequent on the good quality of salt. To facilitate convenient loading a siding can be constructed near the bridge between Posts Nos. 4 and 5 which has canal communication from all the factories.

S. VENKATESA IYER.



TAMIL LITERATURE AND EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.

BESCHI NOBILI AND RHENIUS.

It is surely a profitable task to those who take interest in the progress of Tamil Literature to take stock of the work done by European Scholars in the last two Centuries in Southern India. It is indeed significant to note the names of those who directed their attention and energy to the study of Tamil Grammar, Poetry and Vocabulary; for in that noble roll of learned men we find Jesuit Missionaries like Robert de Nobili and Constantius Beschi, Anglican Missionaries like Dr. Rottler and Dr. Caldwell, Dissenters like Hosuington, Rhenius and Winslow, Curlians like Ellis and Stokes, and Military Officers like G. W. Mahon and Colonels Brown, Pears and Bell.

A survey of the work rendered by these worthies in the cause of Tamil Literature cannot but inspire those in whom the fire of enthusiasm is still burning and may stimulate those in whom that enthusiasm is at present dormant. Of these celebrated names there is one which stands unique. The name of Constantius Joseph Beschi known among the Tamilians as Veerama Munivar, is dear to every Tamil scholar of repute in Southern India, for he combined in himself the erudition of a scholar and the sanctity of a Saint. It may be safely said that Beschi acquired a more perfect acquaintance with Tamil literature than any other foreigner who ever undertook the study, perhaps than any native of modern times. His voluminous works, both in prose and poetry, composed in Tamil as well as his translations from them are held in great esteem; and it is a noteworthy fact that one of the best original Grammars of that language now extant is the production of his pen.

Born at Castiglione, educated at Rome, Constantius Joseph Beschi in due time became a Professed Brother of the Order of Jesuits in the year 1706. In "holy obedience" to his vows he embarked for the East and arrived at Goa in 1707. Scarcely had a century elapsed since Robert de Nobili, a brother of the same Order and nephew to the famous Cardinal Bellarmine, had landed at the same spot and directing his steps southwards, had establish-

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ed the Mission at Madura. With a view to propagate the true faith of the Catholic Church, he studied thoroughly the language, customs, philosophy and religion of the Hindus, and proceeded to put in practice the plan he had sketched out for himself. He avoided the society of Europeans. He adopted the customs and dress of the Brahmans. He declared himself as one belonging to an illustrious caste similar to the Brahmin. He assumed the name of Tatwa Boda Swami. Nay he adapted himself to the prejudices and traditions of the people. And it is no matter of surprise that Robert de Nobili soon acquired the reverence and respectful attention of the Hindus who never fail to honour the Saint and the Scholar. With the wonderful influence Nobili acquired over those who came into contact with him, he was successful in "Engrafting an outward profession of Christianity upon the stock of Hinduism." He is said to have converted nearly one hundred thousand persons to the Faith.

Beschi followed in the wake of Nobili. Stimulated by his example and success, he determined to pursue the same method. He studied the languages, science and religion of the people. Unlike many modern Missionaries who could not easily detach themselves from their European environments and predilections, he familiarized himself with their modes of thought; entered into their prejudices, assumed the name of Veerama Muni, adopted their habits and imitated their custom and costume. Like Nobili he got to know the Hindus in their daily social life as no other European before or after him did. He was highly skilled as a linguist. In addition to Italian his mother-tongue, he had mastered Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Portuguese, Spanish and French; and of the Indian languages he was learned in the Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu, Hindustani and Persian. With this wonderful aptitude for learning languages it is no wonder that he was able to master the Tamil language as thoroughly as any Tamilian can possibly hope to do. His celebrated work *Tembavani* was in the form of manuscript for a period of one hundred and twenty years. It was in the possession of Mr. Walter Elliot as manuscript and taken from him and printed in 1853 at Pondicherry. It is a remarkable poem in thirty cantos relating to the incidents, historical and traditional, connected with the Old and New Testaments. This grand poem which in beauty of diction, in sweep of imagination and in intensity of religious faith is usually compared with the Para-

dise Lost or the Ramayana, may be regarded as the *Magnum opus* of this learned scholar. In 1727, a year after the publication of his *Tembavani*, Beschi wrote his great prose work *Vethiar Olukkam* for the use of Catechists, which in point of diction and in depth of knowledge is regarded by scholars as a standard work in Tamil prose. His services to the study of Tamil Grammar are embodied in the elaborate treatises written by him on *Shen-Tamil* (classical dialect) and on *Kosdun Tamil* (common dialect). His Grammars have proved invaluable (aids to his successors and to Protestant Missionaries and indeed to all students of Tamil after him. His Grammar on *Kodun-Tamil* (common dialect) was printed in Latin at Tranquebar in 1739, an English translation of which was made by Mr. Christopher Henry Horst in 1831. His Grammar of the High Dialect was translated by Benjamin Guy Babington of the Madras Civil Service in 1822. In the introduction written to this book by Beschi we find the following valuable observations on the study and mystery of Tamil Literature which will be really helpful to those who wish to do real good to the millions of Tamil people in South India :—

"That the Study will be one of considerable difficulty, I do not pretend to deny; but the labour will not want its reward. Among the natives themselves very few can now be found who are masters of the higher dialect. He among them who is acquainted even with its rudiments is regarded with respect; but should he quote their abstruse works, he is listened to with fixed admiration; what praise, then, would they not bestow on a foreigner whom they should find deeply versed in a science which they themselves consider scarcely attainable. They will readily attend to the teaching of one whose learning is the object of their admiration."

Again with the instinct of a great scholar and the ripe experience of a veteran Missionary, Beschi would add the following :—

"These remarks apply with particular force in this country, the natives of which are swayed *not so much by reason as by authority*; and what have we from their own authors to adduce in aid of truth, except the verses of their poets? For, since all their writings are in verse, they have reduced to metre their rules of art and even the rudiments of their language: whence

they naturally suppose that he who does not understand their poetry is totally ignorant."

It would be well if the modern Missionary who is perhaps a little impatient with regard to the study of foreign languages were to pay heed to the weighty words of this Tamil *savant*. He would thereby be able to get into real touch with the Tamil people among whom he works and also to understand their real genius through their literature which contains, as admitted by Dr. Caldwell and Dr. Pope, some of the loftiest thoughts ever given expression to by the sages and saints of yore of many climes. Beschi himself was raised to the position of a saint. He was called *Virama Munivar*. He went from village to village, held controversies with the high class men and made high caste Brahmins of Kalpatti in the Sankara Nayanar Koil Taluq where he built a church. He was imprisoned, and his church was levelled to the ground. It was the Christians of Kaithar on the way from Palamcottah to Madura that were instrumental in getting him out of the prison. This treatment was however accorded to him at the outset of his career (1714—1720). By his broad sympathies, no doubt to a great extent due to his wide scholarship especially in Tamil language and Tamil literature, by his liberal help to the poor, by his publication of erudite works in Tamil, and above all, by the assimilation and adoption of the manners and customs of the peoples, he gradually acquired an influence unique in its scope and in its nature.

This unique influence he was able to acquire at a time when the country was in a political chaos. "His times were characterized" says an author "by great cruelty, trouble and rebellion." In 1736 Chunda Saib besieged Trichinopoly, captured it and proclaimed himself as the King of the Pandyan Country. He prevailed upon Beschi to become his Dewan and conferred upon him four villages, Bakalum, Mahvai, Arasur and Nallur in the Trichinopoly District, which yielded a revenue of Rs. 12,000 per annum. In 1740 the Mahrattas besieged Trichinopoly and captured it in 1741. This was during the time of the second Peshwa Baji Rao I. Orthodox and exclusive as they were they would not tolerate a Christian Dewan and began to persecute him. Beschi ran away for life to Ramnad, and then to a port called Maynappadu belonging to the Dutch, where he found a Roman Catholic organization and church. It is said that he died there. It is not

possible within the compass of a single article to give a detailed account of his numerous works, but those already mentioned give an idea of the Herculean work which he set before himself and which he accomplished so successfully.

The Rev. C. T. E. Rhenius whose "Grammar of the Tamil Language" was published in 1853 no doubt could afford to say that scholars like Ziegenbalg, Beschi and others have failed in giving us pure Tamil, that they mixed vulgarisms with grammatical niceties and left us in want of a regularly digested Syntax. But Rhenius himself had to admit that the Tamil idiom could be learnt from those scholars. He himself like so many others was not aware of his own indebtedness to them. They were pioneers. They did the work of sapping and mining. They prepared the way for men like Rhenius whose advice to those who wish to study Tamil partakes of the same character as that of Beschi, but whose self-reliance is not so great, as may be observed from the following, as that of the great scholar:—

"How, then, shall we acquire the proper Tamil idiom? I answer that it can only be acquired by the assistance of a learned native, who knows the native Grammars well, has had no practice in English and foreign compositions, possesses a clear and logically thinking intellect and is no flatterer. With persons of this character I was early brought into connection; and to this providential circumstance must be attributed whatever degree of critical knowledge I have obtained."

One can understand that a Tamil Pandit should not be a flatterer. It would seem in the days of Rhenius many a Pandit was a flatterer. But his suggestion that he should have "no practice in English and foreign compositions" is not so clear to understand. It was perhaps the opinion of Rhenius that any time devoted by the Pandit for studying English is so much lost for the study of Tamil. Suffice it to say that he did good work in that he paved the way for scholars like Dr. Pope to rise and continue his labour.

V. R. P.

"A JUDGE'S DAUGHTER."

CHAPTER I.

"Love has no thought of Self!
Love sacrifices all things to bless the thing it loves."

MALUR,
15th May 1890

My dear Sukumaran,

After all, it is settled that our Komalangi is to be married to Sivaswami Aiyar's son. The marriage is to take place on the 5th of January and the four succeeding days. I am sending invitation cards to all our friends there; and I request you to take them with you, when you come.

Your most affectionate,
SEKHARAN.

Thus ran the letter which Sukumaran read with a face expressive of unusual joy. His smile lit up a countenance, which was typically Hindu and of the best kind. He carried the letter to the next room, where an old dark gentleman was lounging in an easy chair. The rays of the morning sun fell directly on the floor of the room through the window pane. At the old man's feet was lying a black dog sniffing the morning air and basking in the warm sun. From the ceiling was suspended a wooden cage where-in was a pretty parrot. No sooner did Sukumaran enter the room than the dog sprang up and greeted its dear master with a squeaking hum: the parrot shuffled up its wings and stood all attentive with its sweet little head raised up and delicately bent aside: and the old man who was smoking in spite of the invigorating sun greeted the incomer with regard and affection.

"Come in, Sukumar, and sit down on the Sofa there," said the occupant of the room, pointing to that which was to his right. The old man's eye fell on the piece of paper which was in Sukumaran's hand "What's that in your hand? Any important letter?"

"Nothing directly concerning us, father. It is a letter from my friend, Sekharan, about the marriage"—

"Of Komalangi?"

"Yes, of his sister. And the wonder of it is that she is to be married to Sivaswamy Aiyar's son."

"Why so? What about the Tahsildar's son; and of the boy who was a relative of Sekharan's mother?"

"As for the Revenue Officer's son, Sekharan's father does not relish the idea of buying a son-in-law for two thousand rupees cash in addition to the usual dowry of gold jewels and silver and brass vessels, cot, chairs and sofas, and other customary presents. It may be that the Tahsildar has made a lot of money and that his son would have, after his father's death, silver to overflow his pockets. But the Sub-Judge, an honourable gentleman, would not stoop to bid for sons-in-law in the matrimonial market. The other boy related to the Sub-Judge's lady is only seven years old; and the difference between the ages of Komalam and the boy is very slight, being but thirteen weeks. Hence they have selected the boy Neelan as the bride-groom."

"But what's this boy's age? And what is this Sivaswamy Aiyar?"

"Oh! pity! This boy is aged only ten and his father is a land-owner. In fact, almost all the people of the village of Marur are cultivators. Only a few of them are educated and employed otherwise."

"Strange that even the Sub-Judge should go in for infant marriages!"

"Yes,—But what can he do? He cannot help it. It is the bane of his village-people that they marry only among themselves. They won't give their daughters or sons in marriage to persons even in the neighbouring village. Hence a very active competition sets in, and the price of the boys is pushed up like that of an indispensable commodity in a time of scarcity. Every father snatches at the earliest opportunity to have his daughter married and as such marriages between girls and boys of three and five or six years of age are very common. And the marriage of the Judge's daughter is singular in as much as she is married in the advanced age of five!"

"What education will the boy be given in his village? And without education how can young men now-a-days pull on in the world? Even he who has taken his degree of the Bachelor of Arts gets only the starting pay of fifteen rupees per mensem. The days are changed; and, I think, it is for bad."

"Father you are too pessimistic. It is not all graduates that"

secure any high footing at the outset. An honorary degree does not guarantee success in life. But, I tell you, father, my strong conviction—the really educated find themselves well provided for. And touching the Judge's son-in-law, I understand from what my friend once told me, that the boy will be received into his father-in-law's family and educated under his guardianship."

"Indeed? Then everything will be well and good: and—"

"But I am afraid that Sivaswamy Aiyar and especially his wife Valambal would grudge to leave their son under his father-in-law's shelter. They might take it for a disgrace that they were not able to provide for their son's education in the metropolitan town of Tanjore."

"What! Are they so very silly? Would they be so blind as not to see the interests of their son?"

"It is the village folk and especially the women there that would taunt them. It seems that there is a maternal uncle of the boy at Trichy and perhaps he would be placed under him."

"From what you told me, Sukumar, I infer that the Brahmacharanam community of the Brahmins is very conservative and untutored; and that the females there more so. I think that all these evils are to be attributed to the ignorance of their women. But then they are not given any sort of education."

"No Father, not so. Their women and girls listen at nights to the teachings of the Village Sastry who lectures on the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. The songs which the girls learn from the lips of their parents are really instructive. Of course some of them are lullabies, a few amorous ditties, but the greater number as 'the Marriage of Rukmini' or 'the Life of Nandan' afford much moral instruction. But in spite of all these they have no ideals."

"They say Brahmins are superior to us morally and mentally; but what wonder is it that they should have such a pernicious marriage-system? Boys are sold to the highest bidder and how costly are their marriage presents! What more! The boy has not well mastered the twenty-six alphabets of the English language, the girl has not parted with its puppets; they are united together in solemn wedlock by a ludicrous caricature of a holy rite."

"But these are not so injurious as the custom that allows marriages between the sons and daughters of brothers and sisters. Marriages between persons so closely related, are physiologi-

cally harmful. Again, what strikes me as rather curious, is that the people of the bridegroom regulate the marriage expenses to be incurred by the bride-party. Above all it is that affected superiority of the son's father to that of the girl, which is most galling. If one, by chance, has boys and no girls, one's pride and haughtiness would be unbounded: while he who has all daughters and no son would deem himself undone."

The old man yawned and fell into a brown study. Sukumaran took the parrot out of the cage and placed it on his hand. But the dog could not brook the favour thus shown to his feathered companion and growled a low heavy growl; and Parthasarathy Naidu woke up from his nap.

"Why don't you get yourself married Sukumar? Your educational course is over, you have now entered the service and, by God's grace, your salary is enough to maintain a family however big. And should you not marry now?"

"Should I marry, father?" asked Sukumaran with a sardonic laughter.

"Peace, boy, peace: don't put that question any more. God forbid that you should not marry. Life, without a woman to comfort and console you, would be bitter. And don't you wish for such a bliss as I fortunately enjoy in your birth?"

"In sooth, I cannot conceive of any pleasure that may be derived from a wife or a son. A happy wife, a blessed mother and well fed child would only heighten my sorrow at the sight of so many unhappy widows and innocent orphans. To cloy a well-fed boy or to bring up a waif, which would delight you more? Father, it may be that the cup of life would not be sweetened without a woman's love, but not necessarily without that of a wife."

"Your levity, Sukumar, about conjugal happiness, does not rise out of a sad or happy experience of it, but out of total ignorance. When you have so many worthy examples before you, why don't you follow them? Marriage among us is enforced not only by social rules but also by our religion. A man or a woman, unmarried, is not complete by himself or herself; they are adjuncts to each other: the one is supplementary to the other who is complementary to the former."

"Pray, don't talk of examples, father. I see around me only deceit and double-dealing. Perhaps you are afraid to see youth so void of hope, and so misanthropical. And, with all

your arguments drawn from religion, I fail to find out the necessity for marriage."

"I can't talk any more," said the old man, in rather an angry tone: but suddenly added with appealing affection, "any how you should marry at least for your old father's sake."

Sukumaran was good-natured: and his simplicity and affability to all around him was very striking. In his elation he did not forget any of his old acquaintances, much less his former companions. And how then could he now make up his mind to displease him who has nurtured him, who has loved him dearly, and who has given him a very liberal education?

"Father, to please you, Oh, to please you, I would marry a thousand times. I would willingly subordinate my wish to your fond desires. But never ask me to marry one in our community."

Parthasarathy Naidu was startled at his son's supplication, as if it were a bolt from the blue. It was just a few days back that he had recovered from a bad cough and malarial fever. He was much reduced: his cheeks were hollow: and his eyes were sunk. He fidgeted uneasily in his chair, and at last asked his son why it was that he did not like his community in total.

"When I persistently told you, father, that I would not marry, I was thinking of the women of our community, of their being illiterate; and such an one would be given to me in marriage. In fact then, marriage would be a curse and not a blessing."

The father could not meet this argument. He knew fully well the condition of his people, and the knowledge of it was very oppressive. Parthasarathy Naidu was, a few minutes back, talking of the lack of education among the women of Malur. If the Brahacharnam women are, through ignorance spendthrifts and hip and thy custom-bound, the relatives of the old man are devoid of goodness and many of those virtues which make up the most womanly nature of woman. And to Sukumaran it is the abuse that attracts his attention first. Rather would he lead a monotonous life of celibacy than suffer the stinging pangs of unhappy union. An Assistant Engineer that he would very shortly be, he would have no time to brood over wife and children. His lot would be to be on his horse at day and in his tent at night. Hardly would he find

time to remain at home and partake of the rejoicings of the family hearth. His affection was deeply rooted in Sekharan: loving reverence he paid ever and anon to his friend's mother: and he derived the greatest consolation from the prattlings of Sekharan's little sister.

The father broke the silence. "It is true that the origin of the Naidu caste is humble; but time has wrought wonderful changes. By the touch of its mystical wand the low have been made high and the poor, rich. My greatgrandfather was a fiddler and so yours too. But my father became a landed proprietor though of limited means: and I worked upon the farm with an assiduity all my own; and in my fortieth year launched on mercantile enterprises and ever since, the stars have been smiling on my trade, and I have been thriving well. You would be the first in our line to hold a Government service, and you can procure for your sons and daughters alliances in bigger circles. But to me who is, after all, a merchant it is impossible to secure a girl for you in higher families."

"Father, I am afraid you have misunderstood me: Pomp of power and wealth or office do not make one high: nor erase the stain of birth. For our people, as a whole, I have a compassionate contempt: and let one of our girls belong to a higher circle or lower, I would have nothing by her."

"Then do you hope to marry one among other sects? If so, never dream of it. I fondly hoped to make you and my cousin-sister's only daughter, man and wife. Though she is poor she is handsome. And above all you are, by gratitude, bound to that girl's mother."

"How so? I have never seen her, any one of these long twenty years: nor do I clearly remember her face itself. You embarrass me, father, by saying that she and I are tied by warm gratitude."

"To tell you the truth now, it was she, my cousin-sister, that brought you up, and nursed you tenderly when you were left motherless. She is poor, and what would be the greatest consolation for her if it be not to see her only daughter married to you?"

It was almost a revelation for Sukumaran to know the kind preserver of his infant life. "Then it is my bounden duty to make that noble woman as happy as I can. But, father, let me not marry my sister: for so should and do I consider her girl, but I would very willingly support the family and I would assure you

that they would not hereafter know want and hardship." He finished his speech and paused a little. But suddenly, as if a new thought had flashed in his mind, he asked, "Was I, father, when I was ushered into the world, so cruel as to suck in the very life of my mother, poor mother—Or did she breathe her last after my birth, after having glanced on this unfortunate son of hers?"

The young man's heart was moved when he took a peep into the sad past, and his eyes were moist with tears, while Parthasarathy Naidu sat, as if puzzled by so naive a question. He heaved a deep sigh, turned towards the parrot's cage and replied: "My son, it is all a sad topic. I would we change the subject." Sukumaran could not understand why his father evaded such a simple and natural question, but did not wish to poke for it any more.

The heat of the day was becoming more intense: a very feeble breeze was touching the leaves of the trees. It was a pleasant and great relief to feel the gentle air and to hear the leaves softly rustling. Save for the noise of the carriages that now and then rattled through the street, and save for the shrill cry of a stray monger, there was silence around. Sukumaran's habitation was a neat, little bungalow in the western end of the Pycroft's Road. The garden in front of it was grown over with various plants; and the mingling of the colours was delightful. In the middle was a sweet circle of green grass with two narrow diametrical paths passing through a delicious fountain in the centre. A circular road of fine gravel concentric with the inner round enabled vehicles to come in, from the road. The carriage path was lined on both sides very artistically with fine pieces of quartz. And the front portion of the building was dignified with a high verandah and four stately pillars of polished black stone. It was in the parlour that the son and the father were seated. In the room every thing was in perfect order. On the walls were hung five original oil paintings of Mr. Ravi Varma, the most famous Indian Artist; the paintings of the two great English Artists, Marcus Stone and E. J. Poynter were also there facing the east. The corner shelves bore fine marble statues, and the chandelier ornamented with pendants of cut-glass rendered the drawing-room timely fashionable.

The clock chimed the hour of ten and Parthasarathy Naidu arose from his seat and went into the house. Sukumaran

approached his feathered pet and whistled to its hearing; the bird listened carefully to the tune and in its turn began to imitate its master's whistle. But a carriage was heard to approach the verandah and Sukumaran looked out through the window. It was his friend Sundaram that drove in. He was an old class-mate of his; and now was, after having passed the B.L. examination, an apprentice under Mr. Norton.

"Come in, Sundaram: quite welcome, come in," cried Sukumaran.

"Old chap, let me congratulate you; for to-day's Gazette has posted you as an Assistant Engineer to Cannanore, in the Railway extension, on special duty, until further orders. You are to join duty on the 15th of June."

"Thank you, friend. It is good news; and you are the first to bring it. I expected that I would be posted somewhere in the Northern Districts. But thank God, I am to be at Cannanore, so near Tellicherry where our Sekharan and his father are. By the bye, do you know of the marriage?"—

"Of Sekharan's sister? Yes, I know. I received an invitation card to-day; and I would be going there a day earlier. When do you start Sukumar?"

"I thought of being there on the morning of the 5th of June only. But since you go earlier, I shall accompany you."

The two friends talked about the programme drawn for the marriage and the expensive music parties that were arranged for. Minutes flew unnoticed, and the half-hour was wrong. As it was already late, Sundaram rose up to take his leave. But the paper boy brought in the morning mail and Sundaram waited to hear his friend read his appointment in the Gazette. But on the third page was an article about the marriage in Sekharan's house, under the heading 'Marriage in the Hindu Circle.'

"Hallo! Sundaram, everything about the marriage is here."

"Indeed! Then read it please, let me hear it." Both sat down, and Sukumaran read the article clearly and loudly.

"The Sub-Judge of Tellicherry has gone to his village, Malur, to celebrate the marriage of his daughter. She is to be married to the only son of one Mr. Sivaswamy Aiyar, a land-lord of the village. The girl is aged five and the boy only twelve. but it is singular that the Sub-Judge did not, like his village people, marry his girl even in her third year. He has arranged for grand music parties on all the four days for entertaining the

guests with. It is to take place on the 5th of June: and from what is told the celebration would be unique. Would that there were no nautch-party on the fourth night, as usual in these degenerated parts of Southern India! We wish the pair a long and happy future!"

"Who would have written this, Sukumaran? I think it is Sekharan himself."

"Possibly. He would have battled against having a nautch-party on the occasion; and when his point seemed hopeless, he would have resorted to the press, as if that could set matters right."

"Yes, yes; but everything can be learnt when we go there. It is time, let me go. Good-day!"

CHAPTER II.

"We two will wed to-morrow morn."

And you shall still be Lady Clare."

Tennyson.

In the pleasant district of Tanjore, the Lombardy of Southern India, which is watered by the sacred river Kaveri, is situated the small village of Maloor. The Kaveri is one of the finest, if not the finest, river in the Madras Presidency. Rising from the Western Ghats, in Coorg, it glides with a solemn grandeur, in south-westerly direction, through the Native State of Mysore, then takes a sharp southward race through Salem and Coimbatore and turns direct to the east through Trichinopoly and Tanjore: and, after having gone through its zig-zag course of four hundred and seventy five miles, empties itself into the Bay of Bengal. On it stand not a few towns of historic renown: with it is associated innumerable legends by the simple Hindus of the East: and by it are fertilised no less than four vast districts. Koleroon where the English sustained the great disaster at the hands of Haidar Ali during the Second Mysore War: Trichinopoly rendered famous by the skirmishes between Chanda Sahib and the Nawab of Arcot: Seringapatam where the "glorious little man" forced the fierce Tippu to surrender—all these stand on its banks. The Gungan chukky falls and the Burr chukky falls in the province of Mysore are two magnificent cataracts, the former of which is between 250 and 300 feet in height while the latter is about 200 feet high. The prospect

around the waterfall is very lovely: the back ground is formed by a low hill lined with tall and noble trees: the rocks are igneous and reddish brown: and a few tombs of the dead cluster at the head of the larger fall. The banks are fringed with spray and lined with trees of unusual growth: the water dashes down with a noise furious and tremendous: and birds hover around now and then taking a swift and side-long plunge into the foamy deep for catching a fish. But when the river reaches the little village of Maloor, all its wildness is gone. It moves softly and silently through a white bed of sand and divides itself into countless branches forming numerous deltas. The Kauveri is within a stone-cast from the village, and in times of heavy flood people in the village would by turns watch the bund night and day lest the river should overflow the banks and inundate the hamlet beyond.

Midway between the river and the village are situated two small tottering shrines, one dedicated to Vishnu and the other to Siva. In front of the Sivan. Coil stands a huge peepul tree, round whose base is raised a broad platform of brick in mortar. Encircling the tree and leaning upon it are stone-cut images of serpents and serpent-gods. The village folk, who would return from the sacred stream, after their morning baths, even before the sun has risen to smile at their pious ways and simple habits, used to worship the gods and goddesses in the temples: and the women, in addition, took seven turns at the least, round the banyan tree. The bathing ghat of the Brahmins, no Sudra was suffered to approach. To him there was one far down the stream. The thatched houses of the peasants were scattered to the east of the Brahmin quarters and between them lay a big and delightful tope of cocoanut trees.

Farther off, half-a-mile eastward was situated the miserable huts of the Pariahs. They could not come into the Brahmins' street, but on matters of necessity were allowed to near the backyards of their landlords. Around the village the sight was cheerful. Seated during the evenings on the terrace of the Sub-Judge's house you can look at the whole view with clearness. The dying sun would gild the land with red and brown: the tropical sky would be arched with streamers of soft colour finely blended. Beneath on the dry pasture the cattle would graze along the margin of the fields, while a few of them would chew their cuds, lying down in the tope, and hearing to the wild and measureless

tunes of the rustic cow-boy. The slovenly buffalo, proverbial in the east for its sluggishness, would tumble and roll in the muddy pools and find delight in the crows pricking its skin rough and black. The monkeys in the tope would make a squeamish noise jumping from tree to tree and drinking the cocoa-nut juice: but the next moment the watak-man would come and make a howling cry to drive out the dangerous intruders. The Indian coolies, men and women, would return in long files after their day's toil with mattock and spade in their hands and baskets on their heads. Flights of crows would dash through the sky to their nightly abode: and quail and parrots would, now and then, shoot into the sky screaming loud. The twilight would gradually fade away and the curtain of night would be softly spread and the hazy glory of the evening would disappear to our vision. In the dark blue sky the stars would peep one by one, and presently the sweet round moon would appear to spring from the deep recess of the airy nothing. And such a scene did Sukumaran and Sekharan, with a few select friends of theirs, look at from the Sub-Judge's terrace on the eve of Komalam's marriage. Darker grew the shades of evening around the bridal house, but within all was grandeur. In the streets covering the front of the house, was erected a grand pandal of artistic finish by special pith-makers and professional decorators. The payal and the pandal were both lighted with hexagonal glass lights fed by kerosine: and the dining halls in the interior with powerful sunlights. The drawing-rooms and the retiring ones were mildly lighted with candles. From the farthest end of the house came the noise of many brass-vessels rolled down; the sturdy voice of the head-cook loudly commanding his inferiors: and the strong smell of asafoetida and fried mustard. In the pandal the famous native piper was playing on his instrument to the accompaniment of the clanging of drums. Evidently everything is being ready for a great feast.

But above the blare of trumpets, came floating from a distance the ringing noise of the bells of bullock carts and the droll song of palanquin-bearers. Who could that be? Sukumar and his friends looked down from the terrace. The carriage and the palanquin halted before the house of Vemban, the maternal uncle of the bridegroom elect. From the first carriage the door of which was very readily opened by Vemban himself alighted two forms not clearly visible in the approaching dark.

ness: but both were shrouded with a thick and long saree, and in their noses and ears flashed forth jewels of diamonds. The palanquin contained a young man of average height: and he jumped out of it with a very elastic gait. He was dressed in an English garb and had the appearance of a native Christian.

"This, I suppose, is the Zamindar," asked Sukumaran.

"Yes. And the two females—they are dancing girls under his keeping."

"And he has taken them here for the marriage? Have they too been invited, Sekharan?"

"Oh, certainly not. We would be the last to do it. Even the Zamindar is not our guest. They have come at the invitation of Vemban, a particular friend of the Zamindar. They are the guests of the bridegroom people: and being so, they are to be accorded more honour. I mean, they should not be slighted, lest these should take it an affront."

"Very curious, Sekharan! We will have a funny thing of all these during the marriage. By the bye, what is Vembau?"

"He is now the private secretary of the Zamindar, but in fact more than the post would imply."

Meanwhile a servant ran in and told them that all were waiting for them below: and that everything was ready for the procession to go to the bridegroom's house and take them here for the feast.

"Come on, Sukumar, we shall go," said Sekharan.

"Pray don't press me, I shall remain here alone. You take these, our friends."

If there is any bitterness about the caste rules of the Hindus, Sukumaran, Sekharan and all the friends then felt its galling taste. For Sukumaran, a Sudra that he was, felt his position keenly and thought of it nervously that he should, single non-Brahmin, mix himself and move in a large concourse of Brahmins. He was not for it; and hence his negative reply in an appealing tone. The next moment Sekharan and his friends were in the throng below, and the procession started from the Sub-Judge's house. In front the native bandsmen and the piper advanced, step by step halting for a while, for every ten steps: then followed the pyrotechnic displayer now and then whirling into the air flowers of fire and stars of variegated colours. The Bengal-lights, brown and red and green, were dazzling with their brilliance in the steady light

of the lines of torches: then came the men with the women behind. The ladies dressed in Kasi silks and laced sarees and ornamented from top to toe with costly jewels formed a lovely galaxy. The piper's shrill notes shook the trembling staffs and the light of the fire-works and torches displayed the village women peeping through their windows to have a look on the moving pageant; Sukumaran was viewing the sight below from upstairs: and his heart beat with joy to see the enthusiastic crowd move on with slow and solemn steps. And on the terrace of the opposite house also were standing three figures; two lovely women and a young man—the dancing girls and their Zamindar. In half-an-hour the procession returned: but with more people, with the invited guests also. At the Sub-Judge's house everything was ready for their reception. In the upper story carpets and mats were spread on the floor: there were some dozen plates of silver for serving the guests with betel leaves: and silver trays were full of sandal paste to be distributed. In the two lower halls, plantain leaves were spread in parallel lines with sufficient space between the rows for allowing the carvers to move with ease. On every leaf was served beforehand all the curries, chutnies and fried potatoes: and the guests sitting, rice would be served in readiness. For every row was appointed a boy with a brass pitcher and a Poona tumbler for supplying water to the diners, sweet, cool, clear water of the Kanveri—the simple drink of the east. The seats were occupied with embarrassment, for all would in their inmost heart wish for the seats of honour: but only guests of importance, as the bridegroom and his relatives, would be given the preference of sitting in the first row facing the east. Course after course followed: first rice: then pepper-water; sweet-meats were served next; sweet pudding succeeded; desserts were carved and finally curd.

After the banquet the betel leaves and nut were distributed among the party, indiscriminately to the young and the old: and all were forced by hospitality to bedew their bodies with sandal paste. The gathering gradually dispersed, and only Sekharan and Sukumaran were left on the terrace. Usually in marriage houses rest and silence would creep in only after the late hour of twelve had been numbered, but both the Sub-Judge and his son loved to be systematic and punctual; and everything was finished at the usual time.

It was a lovely summer night, when the silver moon rode high in the milky path, when the stars gleamed like so many

of conciliation. All would return and then, after numerous offerings to the fire, the pair would be united together in wedlock by the family priests. The piper would scream the keenest and the trumpets blare the loudest: the priests all together would utter hymns in a stentorian tone: and the elders, gathered there, would throw on the bended heads of the pair, handfuls of saffroned rice. Thus amidst music and mantras and blessings were Kamalan and Neelan married. After the golden Thali was tied round the neck of the wife by the boy-husband, silver coins were distributed to the deserving poor among the Brahmins there; and this amounted to an enormous sum. The feast on the first day was unusually large, as even the uninvited and the poor were sumptuously fed.

The moon was spent by listening to the mimicry of a famous jester. His description of the Railway platform was too true and his imitations wonderfully life-like. The boisterous noise of the coming train, the shrill whistle of the engine, the rush at the booking office, the confusion when the train has arrived at the station, the cries of the various mongers, all were so admirably vociferated, that the assembly were seeing in their mind's eye the crowded station of Tanjore. Next he acted the part of a drunken convivialist courting two country maidens in a frolicsome way. The performance was comic, though exaggerated and produced roars of laughter. Yet two faces did not gleam with mirth, and they were those of the Zamindar and his Private Secretary. The guilty conscience was sorely and finely pricked, and a careful eye could have found out a slight tinge of bitterness tarnish their faces. Their seat was on thorns, no longer could they sit there. The Zamindar feigned head-ache and asking the excuse of the party returned to his lodgings, accompanied, of course, by his satellite. Sekharan and Sukumaran chuckled; and their secret smile was caught by the piercing eyes of Vemban when he threw a passing glance on the assembly as he retired. Lastly, the mimic imitated the still popular models of dialogues between a Komitty and his wife, a Christian Catechist and a Hindu Peasant, and a Muhamedan Constable coveting to be tipped and an ignorant driver of a hay-cart.

In Hindu households, on marriage occasions one would feel the monotonous routine very much, but the Sub-Judge had arranged for divers music parties. During the second and the third days of the marriage, the services of great vocalists and

violinists accompanied by famous drummers were arranged for, and the diversion for the party was well appreciated by all. The guests from Malabar and Nellore did not perhaps relish the dishes of Tanjore; but in point of music, all derived equal pleasure. Simple music as well as the cultivated one is delightful and all can participate in its divine charm. The rustic labourer has his surly hum as incentive to his midday toil; the little cherubim sprawling in the cradle with a purse-like mouth between sleep and cry, enforces from its mother lullabies to sooth its infant ears, the poor widow of our soil, whom we hear lamenting her bitter state:—

"They'll shave my curls away, and strip my jewels off,
And reave my brodered silks; and not a one to spare;
And not a loving word, and not a kindly look,
And woe where-e'r I go! They'll hold me for a curse,
And shun me as a snake, and make we work as hard,
And feed me ill and rough; O hard and hopeless fate."

has in her accursed condition recourse to the soothing strains of religious music; and even the cloyed sensualist revelling in mirth and jollity finds in music greater and greater solace! Irrespective of age, creed and position, music impartially appeals to all with equal pleasure. But, perhaps, to aliens, Indian music would not be very soothing; for generally they hardly hear good classical music, gracefully sung by sweet voices. And Indian music, though devoid of that elaborate harmony commanded by that of the Europeans, with its peculiar rhythm, the recitations and the unusual scales must necessarily fall on the foreign ear with a melody which at once would awaken in him wonder, sympathy and appreciation.

When the men are engaged upstairs in hearing music, the women below had, in their own way, a funny evening of it. The bridegroom and the bride were set face to face, on a new mat, dressed and decorated as feminine fancy would have it done; and a circle of ladies was formed round the little pair. But for the native pipers far away, near the wall, there were no men in that assembly of ladies. The pair rolled between them a saffroned cocoanut to the accompaniment of a lady's music,—one of the assembled. When she has finished it the piper took up the same song and tuned it in his pipe. Next another lady would be importuned to grace them with a song; and, after repeated supplications, from the hard-pressed lady's trembling throat would escape a

thrilling note. The boy-husband will then be directed to approach his lady and colour her feet red and yellow, he would hesitate, and the girl would be taught to bend her head in bashfulness, while the ladies would laugh a jeering, harmless laughter at the innocent scene of boyish reluctance and girlish naivety. The young wife in her turn would be led to do the same, and in addition crack, over her husband's head finely-made cakes of rice-flour and throw the bits on his cap in jest. This sort of funny exchanges would continue amidst songs and laughter, till evening falls, till the music party is over and till the gentlemen begin to come down to perform the evening prayer.

The fourth night is the last night of the marriage and, as such, the grandest. The supper was over that night in the Sub-Judge's house at the early hour of eight. They are making arrangements in the pandal in the street for a great party, probably that of the nautch-girl. The floor is covered with carpets and rugs, and big metallic lamps of native make are arranged in lines. The verandah is crowded with female faces and the pandal with men, old and young.

"Sekharan, send for her; let everything be done soon. We will have this business for two hours and be off with it. See some one fetches her."

"Yes, father, I have already sent two persons, and she has not, as yet turned out. Vemban is the proper man for it, and"

"Yes, yes, he is; she is his person; and but for him, who could have had dance in our house. Great pity! we have to yield, on all instances, to the bridegroom party. Send him please."

A few minutes elapsed, and the dancing girl and her party arrived on the scene. A whisper passed round the lips of the ladies, and a wild and steady gaze was fixed on the eyes of men. The Satan in beauty was anything between fifteen and twenty. Her face was clear and its expression favourably set forth by the effects of the powder; her limbs were plastic and her gait bespoke of juvenile vivacity. The jewels flowed with brilliance and every coquettish bent of her head was attended with a dazzling splendour of her ear-rings. On her hair and body was a barbarous display of jewels, perhaps to take in the enchanted gazers on. She has no glory of purity hallowing round her; but the glory of the diamonds far outshone and threw in the shade

the phantasmal charm of chasteliness. The trinkets which jingled at her every step kept time with the amorous beat of her heart. Alas! How she bowed to the audience. How with an affected modesty! How with a seeming womanliness! The woman, at whom the finger of ignominy is always pointed, whom her birth and profession have stamped blasphemous, who would readily and publicly sell her honour and flesh for golden bangles or a hundred rupee-note, who is the embodiment of vice and sin, that she should be allowed and, payed for, to dance in the marriage pandal before males and females is a shame which only few can feel. Her presence was pestilential, her face alluring, her trade seductive; and who knows how many hearts would be thrown into folly and vice at the sight of this fair human form of shamelessness! The Sub-Judge and his son were not unaware of the evils of nautch-parties: but they were forced to have it during the marriage by the compulsion of the bridegroom party in which Vemban was prominent.

"Begin the dance soon and you will end it in two hours." Said Sekharan addressing that girl.

"Pray allow me a few minutes more. I fear the assembly is not full yet" replied she with a twisted smile.

"Why, every body that should be present has come and you are to commence. Well, drummer begin, and you blow your clarionet."

Without obeying Sekharan the girl looked appealingly towards Vemban, and the shameless fellow interceded.

"Sekharan, don't you see that the Zamindar has not come? Without him among the audience she would not dance," said Vemban with some force in an offending tone.

Sekharan felt himself wounded. He did not reply Vemban. But with an indignant look ordered the wench to dance and threatened that, if she did not, she would have to pack off to her town; the next moment the Zamindar was on the spot, and much trouble was saved to the dancing woman. She sprang forward and threw a garland of flowers round the neck of the Zamindar as a mark of immense regard and began the dance. It was sickly for Sekharan to see the amorous gestures, and he returned from the pandal to Sukumaran who hated this business doubly and who was in his room reading Shakespeare's *Tempest*.

At one o'clock these friends were disturbed in their sleep. They had to attend the procession. The pair was seated on a

will be found arranged. Hand-in-glove with the narrower view of what may or may not suit British interests, goes the far larger and broader issue, the future of Asia. There is one nation in the world that can make Japan the Great Britain of the Far East, and that nation is the British Nation. Sooner or later that huge, unwholesome, semi-barbarous empire of China must succumb before the accumulation of civilization at her doors. She may fall to Russia, whose land-hunger in Asia is unappeasable; she may fall to England, who is in a chronic and almost comic state of adding new countries to her possessions against her own wishes; with a little timely help she may fall to Japan."

Since the above was written vast changes have taken place in Japan. The army has increased in strength. Japan has fought China successfully. She has been admitted into the comity of great Nations. She has formed an offensive and defensive alliance with England. And she is now on the eve of a great fight with Russia. The contingency which was foreseen of China falling to Japan has become more near; and English help, though it has not been hitherto rendered, will surely be rendered, if it becomes necessary. Captain Younghusband, indeed, possessed something of the prophetic vision, and though things are not happening exactly as he foreshadowed they are moving very closely on the lines of his forecast. It seems now certain that Japan is going to play a great part in the East. Her future it is impossible to predict. But that she has a future, a great future too, goes without saying. The English and American people were not in the nineties as friendly to Japan as they are now. The prejudice against Asiatics is at a minimum in the case of Japan; and travellers and critics speak of her now with greater respect.

At the time Colonel Younghusband wrote English and American Journals in Japan wrote of the Jap in a fault-finding spirit, magnifying little things against him and generally showing little desire for friendly relations with him, so much so that he pointed out the desirability of purchasing one of these Journals and conducting it in such a manner as to impress upon the Mikado's counsellors the friendly feeling of the British nation, in face of the bitter hostility of papers published at his very door. Time and circumstances, however, have changed this attitude of hostility, and English men as a class now readily extend to Japan the right hand of fellowship, and will no doubt be ready to be

brethren in arms with her. The rise of the Japanese power has been steady and sustained, and promises, with England, to control the destinies of Asia.

Of the army of Japan Colonel Younghusband speaks in the highest praise, even as it was in 1894; but with its subsequent growth and practical display of high efficiency this praise has to be further modified in its favour and to its credit. Having studied in detail and on the spot the armies of France, Germany, Italy and Belgium, besides those of Great Britain and India, Colonel Younghusband says he was more than astonished at the military efficiency of the Japanese Army, and more especially of the Infantry portion of it. The Japanese troops, according to him, "would do credit to any army in Europe." Such a testimony from such an authority is highly important, because it is recorded without bias of any kind, but as the opinion of an independent traveller who knows a good deal of the military art. Japan did not acquire her military efficiency without the help of Europe. She received her lessons from the best exponents of military art in Europe. For her Navy she went to Great Britain; for her Army she went to France; and a few years later the renown of the German victories led her to seek a change of instructors, and German Officers completed the task so well commenced by the French. The soldierly qualities are inherent in the Japanese. In martial spirit and personal courage they are second to no nation. They are short of stature, but strongly built, sturdy, active and possess good marching legs. As is well-known, they have been often compared to the Goorkas of the Indian Army.

Their Cavalry, however, is not credited with the same efficiency, although things must have improved a great deal of late since the Japanese are not the people to lose sight of a patent defect. In the earlier days they had no need for the use of the Cavalry; and the country which consisted of rice fields, mountains and forests did not afford facilities for the employment of Cavalry. It further appears that horses are scarce and inferior, a horse over fourteen hands being rare. The Japanese have short legs; and this goes against good horsemanship. Still, according to Colonel Younghusband, "the Cavalry rode well; but a glance showed that they were not born horsemen." The opinion still prevails that the Japs may not prove good horsemen as against the Russians. We cannot, however, say how far this opinion is based upon the old state of thing

which existed ten years ago. So shrewd a people are not likely to have overlooked one important branch of their Military equipment when they have been so long preparing for a stern fight with the Great Bear of the North.

As regards their personal qualities of kindness and courtesy every one speaks in the highest terms. These seem to be common to every class of Japanese society, from the rickshaw man in the street to the highest Minister of State. The first Japanese that a visitor meets is the rickshawman who bows and salutes in the most graceful and respectful manner. If you do not get into his rickshaw he is not at all dissatisfied, but wishes "better luck next time." Politeness is an inborn virtue of the nation. The shopkeeper does not in the least resent going to his shop and buying nothing. He shows all he has with pleasure, and merely adds to his parting salutation "Please come again." If you go into a Japanese hotel, you are surprised at the attention you receive. At the approach of a visitor there is great hurry and bustle about the portico, and when he reaches it two rows of merry little ladies all blows and smiles, and a sprinkling of men, with the proprietor of the hotel, all help him to alight, and fuss about as if one of the most important events was happening. "Will this room suit your excellency, or this, or that?" And with many bows and polite speeches he is shown over the house. Anything more kind and obliging than the attendance it is impossible to have. Every one derives satisfaction and pleasure from serving the visitor in every way; and if he goes out and is caught in a shower the whole country side take to him umbrellas and waterproofs. One part of the hotel is arranged in the Japanese fashion and the other is European. Hot baths can be had at any time. Every morning the little maid would get into a tremendous fuss about the baths. About 7 o'clock she would begin, "Bath ready, Sir." And if one person is not ready he would go and try all other people in turn. The moment she catches one, off she would go with the sponge and towels. Finishing one's bath she again appears; struts in front, opens the bedroom door, put you safely in and shut it. "Thank goodness another of these lazy people finished off for the day."

Tokyo, the capital of the Empire, is a thoroughly Japanese city. It covers an area estimated at half as large as that of London, with a population of 1,300,000. This is one of the best places to study the town life of the people; for here is to be seen

that modern Japan which has sprung up with such surprising rapidity. In the streets of Tokyo, nine-tenths of the men of the middle class, though wearing the national costume as far as their body, garments and feet are concerned, have on their head the European hat. The women wear the national costume, though some of the great ladies of the palace dress in European frocks and bonnets. Among the children, the little girls are dressed rigidly according to the Japanese fashion, but the little boys are like their fathers dressed in the foreign costume. Tokyo is essentially a modern city. It has its net work of telegraph wires, its lines of tramways, and its busy 'bus.' The postal arrangements are excellent, and fleet-footed postmen run rapidly to every quarter, while telegraph boys run on bicycles. At every corner there is a policeman in white uniform, with peaked forage cap bound with yellow and black and armed with a sword. Orderly ranks of rickshaws are seen at the licensed standings, with the rickshaw men uniformly clad, neat, willing, and obliging. The main roads are broad, clean and very fairly kept, and even the by-streets are not very narrow, and much cleaner than in most large towns whether in Asia or Europe. The shop-people are civil, obliging, and open to an offer. Large buildings crop up in every direction, and there are electric lights at the hotels. Newspaper boys bustle about in every direction, and Board schools are full of children. Nor do you miss a good Club, a fine Museum, palatial barracks, and large, well-managed hotels. All these vast changes are said to have taken place within the last thirty years. The railways are well managed and well ordered and the trains comfortable, clean and punctual. The first-class carriages are very comfortable being exact miniatures of the carriages of Indian railways, and what in England would be called saloon carriages. The second-class is also very good; generally two long seats facing each other running down the length of the carriage. The fares are moderate, being 3 cents (about an anna) a mile first-class, 2 cents a mile second-class, and 1 cent a mile third-class. A free allowance of 140 lbs. luggage is allowed to a first-class passenger, 88 lbs. to a second-class, and 40 lbs. to a third-class. There are, however, no refreshment rooms, with European food, at any of the stations. Tea can be bought at some stations for about an anna, including the tea pot and the tea cup.

European civilization and European example have not in all cases produced the most desirable results. Although the Japanese are remarkable for their politeness, deterioration due to foreigners is observable in certain quarters. In certain hotels kept by the Japanese the change for the worse is noticed. Colonel Younghusband says: "To bow down to the ground is no more debasing to a Japanese than it is for you or me to take off our hats. The act is one merely of courtesy or respect. In old fashioned hotels crowds of handy, cheerful, little maids, with the deepest respect and the most delightful alacrity, minister to one's wants. In the new fashioned hotels, careless ignorant women, who have lost all their Japanese ways and manners, leave one's room uncleared and one's bed unmade, to smoke pipes and gossip downstairs. The very scantiest courtesy and what is more important, scantiest attendance, do they bestow on any one. A deterioration due to whom? Undoubtedly to foreigners. When we hear an American gentleman, in the hall of an hotel, with delicate irony asking one of the girls why she 'don't stand on her head' while she is about it, we can hardly blame that girl for not bowing to the next stranger with equal politeness. Once remove the outward respect and with all Eastern Nations deterioration in manners sets in." The confluence and contact of different civilizations cannot fail to affect, as it has affected in this case, the manners and even the morals of different nations. In India itself this change is perceptible both in the life of Indians and in the life of Europeans. The Englishman in India is not generally like his brother at home. Nor is the modern educated Indian the exact prototype of his ancestors. Some call this change deterioration; others call it progress. Whatever it may be, there is no doubt that it is the inevitable result of diverse influences acting in opposite directions, and however much we may regret, there is hardly a way to successfully prevent it.

The life of the Japanese is, however, essentially Japanese still. Their temples, their theatres, and even their inns remain the same; and their etiquette and manners and their arrangements within these remain the same. The traveller has much to do with the rickshaw and the inn. The rickshaw is not, as is generally supposed, an indigenous product, but a part of the new civilization; and was invented and introduced by an American Missionary. It is the universal vehicle

throughout the land. But the inn is entirely Japanese. The average inn is a small structure of paper rooms, fifteen feet square and seven feet high, faced inwards from the road towards the diminutive Japanese garden which is generally about ten yards square with a complete park and demesne, a lake, summer houses, temples, trees, all complete, and all in keeping with the dimensions available. Every thing is complete down to the fish in the lake, a sheet of water only a few inches square, and the foot bridges over the water cuts. Tea houses there are, and numerous trees of various kinds, each about six inches high, never growing bigger.

In a Japanese inn one sits on the floor, eats and sleeps on the floor. The floors are laid with deep soft mats, marvels of neatness and cleanness. No one could be kinder and more hospitable than the hosts. There is the common bath at the main entrance surrounded by glass windows by way of seclusion. Here the men, women and children and travellers all take their bath in turn in the course of the evening. The beds in the inn are comfortable and luxurious; piles of wadded quilts are laid on the floor, then the sheets and pillows, then a blanket for early morning use. A huge mosquito-net, nearly as large as the room, is then rigged up, supported by cords from the four corners of the room. The cost for two people per day including two meals, beer, arated waters, and ficksshaw to the station, is only 3 dollars or less than Rs. 6.

Now when increasing interest is felt in Japan, and many are desirous to visit the country, it may be useful to have some idea of the expenses of travel and so forth. From India the cheapest route is from Calcutta *via* Singapore and Hong Kong. A return ticket costs Rs. 580. In Japan there is every grade and class of hotel and inn. The Grand Hotel at Yokohama and the Imperial Hotel at Tokyo are as good as any that can be found in England, and the cost for a good room is 5 dollars a day. Generally, however, the cost does not exceed 3½ dollars. In purely Japanese inns, where no foreign comforts in the shape of chairs and tables are provided, or anything but Japanese food supplied, the charge varies between 1 and 1½ dollars a head. For an attendant one will have to pay about 20 cents a day. Another 20 cents may have to be paid to the man who carries up one's luggage and often assists with the bath, cleansing boots, &c. With some servants, it appears, a little present in kind is often

more appreciated than a money present. A guide can be secured easily; but his fee is a dollar a day; his hotel and railway fares have to be paid; and he wants also a rickshaw for himself. The guide possesses a smattering of English. Every article purchased with his assistance costs more than if purchased direct, for instead of helping his master he sides with his countrymen. Nevertheless the guide is useful in arranging routes, arranging rickshaws, settling hotel bills, &c. If the Japanese are a very polite people, they expect strangers also to be polite. It is the experience of the foreigner who has visited Japan that if one is perfectly civil and patient, he will have no trouble of any kind with the custom-house officials either on landing or embarking. No delay of any kind will be caused. But the slightest incivility or impatience may cause one infinite delay and trouble.

No foreigner is permitted to travel inland beyond the twenty-four mile radius of the treaty ports without a passport which can be obtained through the consul of the traveller's country at a charge of one dollar. The coin most convenient to possess is the English sovereign which can be cashed at any bank into the coin of the country. Letters of credit or circular notes representing sovereigns can also be similarly cashed. The current coin in Japan is the *yen* which is the same as the silver dollar; and the decimal parts of a *yen* are circulated in small silver and nickel coins. Silver, however, fluctuates in Japan as it did in India before the closing of the mints to the free coinage of silver.

The season best suited for travel in Japan is the autumn when the days are bright and clear and the climate delightful. For purposes of travel it is not difficult to get a smattering of the Japanese language. This can be learned from Murray's *Guide* or from little vocabularies that can be purchased. It seems, however, wise to warn the learner that little knowledge is a dangerous thing, for it may lead to misunderstandings to the great disadvantage and annoyance of the foreigner. But in the absence of any other easy means the risk must be run.

E. H. D.

THE ELEGY—IN MEMORIAM.

A fool at forty, 'says Young, 'is a fool indeed.' Far in the early years of life the human mind is plastic and recipient and, as years advance, it begins to work more upon the materials already stored up than be inquisitive after fresh fields. If in the summer of youth no grains are laid by, in the winter of old age there can be no supply. If a man makes no progress when his spirits are buoyant and gay, fresh and vigorous, it is hope against hope that he will do so when his powers decline and other thoughts and cares prey on him. Imagination, which is strong and powerful in youth, and which fuses old and new, probable and improbable, into a charming romance, gradually abdicates its throne to Reason, whose sway continues longer and more useful. It is only in full manhood that thoughts and feelings take permanent abodes in the human mind and individuality rears its head slow and sure. Milton wrote his *Lycidas* and Shelley his *Adonais* when they were twenty-nine, Gray his elegy when he was thirty-four, and Tennyson his *In Memoriam* when he was forty. The difference between youthful play of fancy and manly vigor and seriousness is plainly perceptible in them. *Lycidas* and *Adonais* are rich with the glow of imagination, though the former is a little subdued in tone and tint on account of Milton's inherited Puritanism. The *Churchyard* and *In Memoriam* teem with moral and philosophical reflections on human life and its darker problems and solutions, and display the author's power of ratiocination and argument.

Arthur, a promising son of the philosophic historian Hallam, was born in 1811 and was about a year junior to Tennyson. While still a boy, he is said to have contributed to the *Eton Miscellany*. Tennyson and Arthur studied at the same Cambridge university (reminiscences of which occur in the poem) and were dear friends.

"Dear as the mother to the son
More than my brothers are to me."

"The soul of Shakespeare love thee more.
... Nor can

Arthur was passionately fond of the Tuscan poets, artists and philosophers, and his knowledge of the humane letters was as good as his knowledge of English. He was keen

"In intellect with force and skill
To strive, to fashion, to fulfil"

and Tennyson credits him with wonderful powers of conversation which

"drew us with delight
The men of rather and riper years,"

which raised the feeble, lowered the proud, tamed the stern, and schooled the flippant. He wooed one of Tennyson's sisters whose

"First love, first friendship, equal powers
That marry with the virgin heart"

and informed the matter of his courtship to Tennyson who, not a little pleased with the joyful tidings, began to build hopes on hopes of a glorious solemnisation.

"Since first he told me that he loved
A daughter of our house
Now the day was drawing on
When thou shouldst link thy life with one
Of mine own house and boys of thine
Had babbled 'uncle' on my knee."

But before the day came on for the consummation of this devoutly wished-for marriage of two genial lovers,

"In Vienna's fatal walls
God's finger touched him and he slept"

and
"That remorseless iron hour
Made cypress of her orange flower."

Hence his furious outburst on Vienna in lyric 97. Arthur died in 1833 when he was just twenty-three years of age, leaving as his legacies of thought, his translation of the sonnets of Dantes *Vita Nuova*, a drama on the life of Raphael and the memoirs of Petrarch, Voltaire, and Burke.

In memory of his friend, Arthur Henry Hallam, Tennyson published in 1850 his *In Memoriam* consisting of one hundred and thirty-one short swallow flights of song composed in a hymnal measure, the transposed quatrain, the measure of Ben Jonson's *Underwoods*, written full seventeen years after Arthur's

death. *In Memoriam* does not preserve the true details of Arthur's life, and it is nothing but natural that, in the mist of years, clear memories of old departed friends appear hazy, inaccurate, indistinct, only 'in outline and no more.' Hence Tennyson's apology:

"Forgive these wild and wandering cries
Confusions of a wasted youth;
Forgive them where they fail in truth;
And in thy wisdom make me wise."

Written full seventeen years after Arthur's death, *In Memoriam* is full of ideal, dispassionate sorrow; for 'with long use the tears are dry.' Hence M. Taines remarks:

"He (Tennyson) goes into mourning; but like a correct gentleman, with brand-new gloves wipes away his tears with a cambric handkerchief, and displays, throughout the religious service which ends the ceremony, all the compunction of a respectful and well-trained layman."

The same charge of artificiality is explained by Mr. Waugh in these words: When sorrow tries to fix its record upon paper it becomes analytic, introspective: directly the attempt is made, the emotion passes into self-analysis. This is a misfortune which *In Memoriam* must share even with *Lycidas* and *Adonais*: pure motion of the strongest and most human elements can never be recorded. It spends itself in the abandonment to the passion of the moment: when it begins to record its sensation, it has lost the keenness and sting of its agony. It becomes, then, the luxury of a mind living in the past, it has ceased to live in the present. And being reflective and analytic, it is the result of an effort, the exercise of an energy: in other words, an artificial product. The more beautiful its finish, the more obvious its artificiality: and every step it takes towards Art is a step further from Nature. The more we borrow from the brain the less we owe to the heart.

In Memoriam, like *Adonais*, has for its prototype the idylls of Theocritus, Bion and Moschus, the three great Greek idyllists.

Contemporaneous with Tennyson, Swinburne wrote the dirge for *Baudelaire*, marvellous for its metrical affluence, and Edwin Arnold, the *Thyrsis*, lamenting Arthur Hugh Clough noted for its classicism. These English *chef-d'œuvres* in elegy borrowed from the Greek models only the mould of their verse while the landscape, scenery and imagery were their own or of their land. Milton combined in his elegy classical and English

landscapes and scenery while Shelley's were purely classical, and Tennyson's purely British.

It is a peculiarity of Tennyson's art that the opening lines of his poems strike the key note. Accordingly, the prefatory hymn to God in *In Memoriam* as the author of life, death and immortality, whom we can apprehend only through faith and not by knowledge, covertly suggests the chief problems discussed in the poem. Then the poet proceeds to deal with its subject. Arthur is dead. Wordsworth has taught us that death is only the vestibule to the place of the Holy One. Our purblind nature cannot grasp this truth easily. Therefore our proper business is to lament the loss of our dead friends. Arthur's loss fills Tennyson's brain all night with feelings of gloom and sadness, and every morning his waking consciousness chides him for his folly. The depth of his sorrow, words fail to describe. Nevertheless, he finds a nepenthis in the sad mechanic exercise. Though death occurs every day, his affection for Arthur makes him feel his loss more and more. Arthur's father and mother, poor souls, are left alone and their house in Bedford Place looks dreary and solitary. The ship from the Italian shore, laden with Arthur's remains, arrives at the quay and Tennyson hastens to meet it. All nature—wood, plain, air, ocean—is calm and peaceful, after the storm. He sees the remains and sheds tears. He feels a doubt as to the mortality of Arthur and casts about to find whether he 'sleeps or wears the mask of sleep.' The doubt is resolved, and Arthur is laid by the pleasant shore of the Severn. Lighter and more serious sorrows afflict his soul. Critics charge him with 'making weakness weak and parading pain.' He makes light of those remarks as his critics are unaware of the depth of his love to Arthur and becalms his mind with the thought of the nobility and the indestructibility of true love.

"It is better to have loved and lost
Than never to have loved at all."

Christmas draws near ringing peace and good-will to all mankind. He feels no joy but makes one wreath for custom. The story of Lazarus is reviewed along with its associated mystic teachings as contained in the word of god,

"Which he may read that binds the sheaf
Or builds the house or digs the grave."

Melancholy comes over him and, with it, come the thoughts of Arthur's death. He desires to commune with him, but falls a

victim to the spectral doubt of the identity of sleep and death. Plato's theory of Reminiscences, which has found a poetic embodiment in Wordsworth's famous ode on the *Immortality of the Soul*, and the theory of Final Absorption are described and thrown away as chaff. He therefore wishes to resolve the grave doubts "from art, from nature, from the schools." The spirit of love replies:

"Abide, thy wealth is gathered in
When time hath sundered shell from pearl."

The scholastic philosophy teaches him to hold to the good, to love optimism:

"Somehow good
Will be the final goal of ill
And every winter change to spring."

The idea of immortality is derived from the 'likest God within the Soul.' Then the problem whether Nature cares for the type or for the single life is discussed. If Nature does not care for the latter, then life is weak and worthless, and to sing about it is wrong and madness. Urania replies that, through sorrow, man gets a higher life. Then Tennyson wishes sorrow to be his wife (and no casual mistress) and thinks of Arthur in his 'second state sublime' and doubts if in that state he will remember his old friend and treat him as his equal. He comforts his tempest-tost soul with

"Love is too precious to be lost
A little grain shall not be spilt"

and feels glad that his deep distress has humanized his soul. He falls asleep and sees a vision of the night. He learns that 'nothing is that errs from law,' and that men must work and wait. Arthur's greatness (in the empyrean) is beyond his praise. Then follows a complaint that these 'mortal lullabies of pain' or stanzas of consolation are not appreciated as they deserve. Once more the Christmas season comes on apace and, with the whirl-gig of time, the old ideas of love, sorrow, death, bliss recur to his mind. The morning breaks from underground. The changes of the season and the thoughts engendered by them followed by a vision of the dead cross his mind, and he hears the command 'Enter likewise ye and go with us.' Once more the yuletide. Nature once overspread with melancholy appears now in holiday attire, breathes perfume, glitters as for the frolic of the nymphs;

for Nature always wears the colors of the spirit. The celebration of this third Christmas is associated with Arthur's powers and personality and with the hopes of the radiant future for him had his life lasted. The distinction made between knowledge 'earthly of the mind' and wisdom 'heavenly of the soul' is too true to be forgotten. The law of evolution, the law of progress, and the inability of the iconoclasts to substitute a creed for that they break down, coupled with the dream of a political and social millennium, wind up the poem.

George MacDonald has characterised *In Memoriam* as the poem of the hoping doubters, 'the poem of our age.' Our age is one of enquiry and adventure in all departments of knowledge. Scepticism, which is the prevailing sentiment of our era, is not *felo de se*, but constructive. 'Prove all things; hold fast that which is good' is its motto. It takes nothing on trust, relies very little on authority, but doubts everything until and unless Reason gives the fiat in its favour. The spirit of enquiry enters all old standing edifices, examines each and every one of them with a critical eye, pulls down those that do not suit the fashion of the times, adds to and decorates such as are strong and useful—always with an eye to progress, not out of vanity.

"There lives more faith in honest doubt
Believe me, than in half the creeds."

Our age doubts the existence of God as the Maker and moral Governor of the Universe, not with the object of making all men sceptics and abandoning the world to the spectres of vanity, not with a wish to repudiate all notions of Him as a supreme Judge or disprove His right and might over us, but with sincere hope of strengthening our faith and conviction in Him in such a manner as we may not yield to or be shaken by any future storms of doubt and unbelief. The wonderful revelations of the lens and the laboratory are imagined by unthinking men to convert men of science into iconoclasts. Scarcely so is the case. The ardent pursuers of Chemistry and Astronomy try to discover the Great Secret, to explain all the phenomena of nature, and to solve the riddles of life and death. Tennyson made great inroads into the domain of Science, clutched these truths hitherto unsung, and wedded them to his own exquisite music. But those living Scientific truths did not make him adjure his faith-in-God: only they strengthened it.

"I trust I have not wasted breath,
I think we are not wholly brain,
Magnetic mockeries not in vain
Like Paul with beasts, I fought with Death."

The winter of 1833 saw Tennyson in a spirit of blank desolation. In the spring of 1836 he was full of hope and trust and faith.

"Not only cunning casts in clay
Let Science prove, and then
What matters, Science unto men
At least to me? I would not stay!
Let him the wiser man who springs
Hereafter, up from childhood shape.
His action like the greater ape
But I was born to other things."

In Memoriam is thoroughly English in its pictures of life, society, manners, religion, scenery and landscape. The merry merry bells of Yule and the vicissitudes of the succeeding seasons are brought to bear upon and elucidate the single theme of regret for the dead Arthur. English homes during Christmas, the social chat, the political talk of our age find full expression in the poem. The story of Lazarus enlivens the drooping spirits with the hope that Arthur like the beggar will find his rest in Abraham's bosom. The ambition of Englishmen to attain perfection in art, science, and letters despite 'the red fool fury of the Seine' runs like a woof through the web of this elegy. Tennyson's attempt at the reconciliation of poetry and metaphysics is not much successful. 'At the close,' says Stedman, 'Nature's eternal miracle is made symbolic of the soul's palingenesis and the tender and beautiful marriage lay tranquillised the reader with the thought of the dear common joys which are the heritage of every living kind.'

M. S. PURNALINGAM PILLAI.

THE WAY TO SUCCESS.

If an enterprising Indian were to publish a book on "Secret of Success," I am sure there would be hundreds of men to purchase it; for every one wishes to succeed and to be acquainted with the shortest road to success. The lawyer, the doctor, the merchant no less than the official and the student struggles for success. Every one starts with great hopes for the future; but it is not every one that succeeds. Success has secrets; but they are not unknown to those who are endowed with certain essential qualities. It is a common error to suppose that success always attends intellectual eminence and distinction. The student who passes highest in the list often conceives himself to be the favourite of coming fortune, and has greater faith in his success than those below him. But in actual life the initial intellectual success is of little help in a good many cases as against those whom he considered his inferiors, for the very good reason that it is not intellectual success alone that conduces to success in after career. Even in the public service and in the professions a man succeeds wonderfully sometimes, but his success is not steady or permanent. From the humblest to the highest sphere qualities other than intellectual are essential for success and distinction. Ability is no doubt a passport to success, but ability without character, fails to achieve any enduring distinction. Indeed, a man is said to succeed so long as he gets a good salary or income; but this is not success in the higher sense. It is not success which elevates a man in the estimation of his countrymen and enhances his influences and usefulness among them and ensures his power for good. Ability commands respect, but without character it fails even in this. Besides ability and character, a man must possess those qualities which make him generally liked by others and which inspire general confidence. Manners count for a great deal; and with the spread of education and enlightenment the necessity for good and pleasing manners has become more imperative. No man in these days can live for himself unless he prefers to be neglected by the world. The good opinion of others is a valuable asset for any man; and for men occupying high and responsible positions

this good opinion is of inestimable value. In official and public life, in offices of trust and confidence, in statesmen who have to deal with varied classes of people, personal popularity is of very great value. This popularity is not achieved by mere ability or even by ability combined with character. It depends a great deal upon those personal amnesties of life which, in these days, one individual expects from another, upon kindness, charity, courtesy. It is in the power of any man to make himself obnoxious to others. The student in the class room may make himself disliked by his fellows. The teacher may be detested by his pupils, the Government servant by his brethren in office, the lawyer by his brethren in the profession. But men who make themselves obnoxious to others and who consequently lose all influence with them leave only for themselves. They secure their salary or income, and think that they are the best men in the world. They do not recognise their obligations to society or consult their own interests. Man is essentially a social being; but if he is repellant in his attitude and ways, he cannot be said to possess much power or influence for good.

It must be the ambition of every one to be a gentleman; but it is not enough if one possesses the qualities of a gentleman; he must be active enough to practise them. The passive gentleman will be regarded as an inoffensive creature; for success in every sphere the gentlemanly qualities must be active. Indeed, to refrain from giving offence to another is a passive quality. But to impress one with your good qualities you must exercise them in your conduct. Few men care for what you are; but every man takes note of what you are to him. The element of vanity lurks in every man and woman; and the consummate flatterer can tickle it with varying degrees of success. But the man of common sense and self-restraint has a way of meeting flattery. He will impress you with his superiority while disclaiming the virtues which you attribute to him. The air of superiority is fatal to popularity whether in boy or man. To sink one's personality is a virtue which can be cultivated only by patient discipline of self. It is well to talk as little as possible of oneself. It is better to ungrudgingly acknowledge what is due to others, of virtue or merit.

The youth well trained at home need not be told that he should respect his parents and elders, or that when he goes into the school he should obey his teachers. Obedience is the first law

of discipline. One must recognise his own position above everything else. The boy who obeys his parents can never be unhappy at home. He who obeys his teachers is bound to succeed to the best of his industry and intellectual capacity. He who devotes himself to the performance of his duty in whatever situation he may be placed cannot fail to give satisfaction to his superior. It is by first obeying that you learn to command. This early discipline makes you respect law and authority, show reverence to your superiors, and consideration and courtesy to your inferiors. The leader in public life, the statesman at the head of public affairs, cannot afford to neglect the acts which conduce to his influences and popularity. He has to command his following and to lead them in the direction he desires, not merely by the force of authority, but by the force of character and the charm of personal qualities. He has to keep them together in obedience to his authority and to carry them with him in all that he does. High moral and intellectual power would go a great way in this direction, and, added to those personal qualities which strengthen one's relations with others, would ensure personal attachment and loyalty.

In India where the grades of society are larger than in western countries, and where the man who gets a higher salary deems himself superior to those who get a little less, you find it more easy to displease many than to please a few; and men occupying high positions in life are apt to forget the importance of those amnesties of life which act as oil to the wheel.

While ordinary men have only to be careful about what they do, those occupying high positions have to be careful about the conduct of those who surround them. We have known high placed men suffering for the tactlessness and want of courtesy of those surrounding them. There cannot be a greater misfortune for men in high and conspicuous positions than to have around them those who consider themselves greater than their master. The superciliousness and discourtesy of the latter tell on his popularity. He is hated, because they are hated; and the world would rejoice over his fall as much as it would rejoice over the fall of his underlings who derive their importance from him. His merits and achievements are discounted and even denied if he does not enjoy personal popularity, and the wise man would consider it best to surround himself with men on whose judgment, tact and courteous behaviour he can rely.

Apart from these ways of the world, one's success depends upon his capacity for business, his devotion, honesty and fairness in all his dealings. The man who is but moderately successful in school and college succeeds wonderfully in after life both as a man of capacity and as a man of the world. His intellectual qualities improve with patient and steady exercise; and his usefulness increases with his devotion to duty. The man who does his duty and obeys his superior is the man to be eventually placed in a position of authority over others. He makes no fuss, does not desire to delude others into the belief that he does everything, and refuses to court prominence or notoriety. He does not seek to outwit others, but does his duty patiently and carefully. However much he may experience temporary eclipse, he is bound to shine better in the long run, and to establish an enduring name. He will make the minimum number of enemies. He will excite no jealousy or ill-will; but will steadily, if slowly, establish himself in the respect and good will of others. In truth, no man can be considered to be more successful in life than the one who does his duty, however humble, to the best of his ability, and does not look for his laurels by deceiving others, but relies on his own merit and exertion.

Success does not consist in attaining the highest position of honour and emoluments open to man, but in proving equal to the position in which a man is placed and gaining distinction therein. Each man has his sphere of work and duties; and if he is able to discharge his allotted duties in the best possible manner, he must be pronounced to be a success. It is no want of success if the lawyer, doctor or engineer does not become an administrator, or if a journalist does not become a High Court Judge. The Office of Governor or Viceroy may be the highest distinction; but the man who attains to such an office is not necessarily more successful than others who do well in their respective spheres. Each man must be able to perform whatever duties that may fall to him well and satisfactorily, and thus to deserve the reward which is open to him. A clerk on Rs. 30 may not be considered successful if he does not do his work well and does not get his promotion; but he cannot be considered unsuccessful if he does not become a Judge or a Governor. The Engineer who executes a great public work is as successful as the Governor who successfully administers a province. Tennyson was great as a poet; Herbert Spencer

was great as a philosopher. But no one considers them to have been unsuccessful because they did not become great Ministers of State or great Judges. The world has many spheres of activity and usefulness; and each sphere wants the best man that it can get. It is only thus that the harmonious development of the whole is possible. If Sir Madhava Row had been drafted into the Judicial line and had become a Judge of the High Court, we would have lost a great administrator and Statesman. If Sir Muthuswami Iyer had gone into the service of a Native State we would have lost a great Judge. And if Kristo DasPal had not been considered incompetent to be an interpreter of a District Court, Journalism would have lost a distinguished ornament and public life a man of conspicuous ability, wisdom and moderation.

We want the best man in every department of life. There is need in every progressive country for the greatest statesman and soldier as well as the greatest scholar, lawyer, doctor, engineer, actor, painter, and so on. Eminence in any of these departments must be considered success. Hence every man must choose that department of activity which is best suited to his intelligence, ability and inclination and must strive to rise to the top. The man who has done well and distinguished himself in his line is deserving of the honour and respect of his fellow men; and no one need consider himself less successful than another because he did not pursue some more lucrative profession, or did not attain to some highly paid office. Be careful about your duty, be scrupulous about your character. When once you have got a footing, these should help you on to success and distinction. Ability without character is a very uncertain thing to rely upon for success. Many clever men who could have risen to positions of great influence and prestige have ruined themselves by want of character; and character once lost is not regained, even with difficulty.

SCHOOL MASTER.

PICTURES IN GOVERNMENT HOUSE.

VISITORS to the Government House and the Banqueting Hall would see a number of pictures hanging over the walls of these two buildings. They would also understand that many of them are of men who have played a part in the making of British Indian history. Beyond this much was not known about the history of these pictures. Lord Amphill, however, felt exceptional interest in them, in their origin and history; and His Lordship accordingly commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel Love, the Principal of the Engineering College, Madras, to prepare a descriptive list of the pictures ornamenting the walls of the Government House and the Banqueting Hall. The task was a difficult one. It required considerable labour and research. Colonel Love undertook it with zeal and devotion. He sought and gathered information from various sources. The result of his zeal, his enthusiasm, his industry and his interest in the work, is a beautiful volume to whose pages those who desire to know something of the early history of the British in India can turn with profit. It is exceedingly well written and well arranged. The printing is without fault; the binding and general get up are excellent. Colonel Love deserves to be congratulated on the eminent success which has attended his labours; and the public have to be thankful to Lord Amphill not only for having conceived the idea of preparing a descriptive list, but for having entrusted the work to one who has proved himself so eminently fitted for it.

Colonel Love found so few materials and so few sources of information to work upon, that he must have been overwhelmed with the responsibility which he found so little means of discharging. At first the whole subject seemed to him enveloped in darkness. Not even a list of the portraits was on record. Few of the pictures bore signature or date. Of the older canvases all but one had lost or had never possessed these marks of authenticity. No illumination came from the Record Depart-

* Descriptive List of Pictures in Government House and the Banqueting Hall, Madras. Prepared by Lieut.-Col. H. D. Love, R. E. By direction of His Excellency Lord Amphill, G.C.I.E. Governor of Fort St. George and President in Council. Government Press, Madras. Price Rs. 10-8-0.

ment. Put gradually, says Colonel Love, feeble rays from various sources streaked the gloom. The Record Office responded to the stimulus in a quite unexpected manner. It was ascertained that the pictures had been acquired in three ways: by public subscription, by presentation, and by purchase. With this starting point, he has gathered allusions and clues which have enabled him, in several cases, to trace the history of the pictures. Government records and the information supplied by private individuals have furnished further particulars. From all these sources Colonel Love gathered enough information to build up the history of the various pictures; and the volume before us is not only a history of the pictures, but a history of Madras itself from the earliest days of British influence in this city. A short description is given of each picture including the dimensions of the visible canvas, the name of the painter, the pose of the figure and the nature of the accessories followed by a brief biographical notice of the subject of the portraits. The pictures include those of royal personages, Governor-General, Governors, wives of Governors, Nawabs of the Carnatic and other distinguished personages. Photographs are given in the book of several of the pictures. The first photograph which forms the frontispiece is that of Stinger Lawrence and Nawab Walajah. Then there are photos of Lord Harris, Marquis of Tweeddale, Sir Thomas Munro, Sir George Barlow, Lord William Bentinck, Lord Cornwallis, Marquis Wellesley, Sir Eyre Coote, Lord Napier, Lord Clive, Sir Arthur Wellesley, Lady Munro, Sir Thomas Strange, Sir Samuel Auchmuty and General Meadows.

The book contains much of the early history of Madras. The original grant of land for the building of Fort St. George was made by the Poligar of Kalahasti in North Arcot. The grant was confirmed by the Rajah of Chandragiri; but when this prince was driven from his throne by the Mahomedan sovereigns of Golconda, the lease was renewed by the latter on payment of an annual rental of Rs. 1,200 pagodas. In 1688 the King of Golconda was defeated by Aurangzeeb in person, and Madras was thus brought under the paramount power of the great Moghal. In 1690 Zulfikar Khan, the Moghal Commander-in-Chief in the Carnatic, laid siege to Gingi which was then in the possession of the Mahrattas, but failed to reduce it till eight years later. In 1692 he was created Nawab of the Carnatic by

Aurangzeeb, being made subject to the Subhadar of the Deccan, the Nizam. Governor Yale assisted Zulfikar with war material, and the latter, for the consideration of 10,000 pagodas, secured the villages of Egmore, Pursewalkam and Royapuram to the East India Company. In 1744 the Carnatic became the theatre of the struggle between the English and the French for the supremacy of India; and though Fort St. George capitulated to the fleet under Labourdonnais in 1746, the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle restored it in 1746. The French power was finally broken, and Nawab Walajah built the palace at Chepauk and lived there from 1767. The treaty of Paris of 1763 provided that the Nawab should be recognised as an independent prince, the ally of the King of Great Britain. But the cost of the wars with the French and Hyder Ali had rendered the Nawab heavily indebted to the Company, and districts were assigned to the latter as security. In 1795 Nawab Walajah died after a reign of 46 years and was succeeded by his son-in-law who died in 1801. By the treaty concluded with one of her successors the Carnatic was practically annexed, the Nawab being paid one-fifth of the net revenue or 144,000 star pagodas annually, whichever was the greater. The title of Nawab of the Carnatic continued for a time. In 1867 the title of "Prince of Arcot" was conferred on Prince Azim Jah and his descendants. The Chepauk Palace having in the meantime been converted into Government Offices, the Amir Mahal, the present residence of the Prince of Arcot, was built by the Government.

The historical sketch, though it has no direct bearing on the pictures themselves, is interesting and valuable, and evidences considerable labour and research on the part of the author. The reader will find an interesting history of the origin, growth and development of the British Settlement in Madras, of its old and new buildings, of its social life and State-functions in the early days of the English community in this city. Hence, even regarded merely as a historical sketch, the book is of great usefulness and value.

Coming to the history of the pictures themselves we find, besides that of Stinger Lawrence and Nawab Walajah, there is one remarkable one representing the installation of the last Nawab of the Carnatic, which contains between sixty and seventy small size portraits. Then there are the pictures of King George III. and Charlotte of the Nawabs of Oudh and the Carna-

tic. Five pictures were obtained by public subscription—those of Lord Cornwallis, General Meadows, Sir Eyre Coote, Marquis Wellesley and Sir Arthur Wellesley. Then there are the pictures of Lord Clive who was Governor of Madras from 1798 to 1803; of Sir Samuel Auchmuty, Commander-in-Chief from 1810 to 1813; of Sir Thomas Strange, first Chief Justice of Madras from 1801 to 1817. The last two were painted out of public subscriptions raised in 1811 and 1817 respectively. The next pictures to be acquired were those of Sir Thomas and Lady Munro. In 1826 Lady Munro sailed for England owing to the sickness of one of her little sons; and at a meeting of the principal inhabitants of Madras a portrait in full length was voted. One of the speakers at the meeting thus gave expression to the general feeling which prompted the public of Madras at the time towards the departing lady:—

"The entertainment you have already voted for the acceptance of our Lady Governess is indeed an appropriate testimony of the sense we entertain of the becoming, the dignified and the gratifying mode in which it has been her pleasure to give grace and currency to the public and private Society of this Presidency; yet permit me to observe that the testimony, however appropriate, will be as transitory as the breeze which is about to waft her from her Indian shores. You would not, I am convinced, be satisfied with a perishable proof of a lasting recollection; you would not have the record of an hour for the benefits of able consistency, and in this belief I now propose, in addition to the resolution already adopted:—That the deputation already named to wait upon Lady Munro be also instructed to interest her ladyship to gratify the society of which she has been the kind patroness by sitting for her portrait in full-length to the first artist of England; the same to be placed in the first room which may be built as Public Assembly Rooms of Madras, in permanent testimony of the grateful esteem in which her ladyship is held by the Members constituting the Society of the Presidency of Fort St. George."

Lady Munro in a graceful speech, while declining the entertainment, agreed to the permanent Memorial. The portrait was accordingly executed in 1827 by Sir Thomas Lawrence. In the same year, Sir Thomas Munro died of cholera in the Ceded Districts; and on the 21st July a meeting of the inhabitants of Madras was held in the Banqueting Hall when it was decided to erect a statue to the memory of the "Father of the People." A separate subscription was raised by his more intimate personal friends with the view of obtaining a full-length painting of the illustrious deceased. In 1831 this portrait was completed; and

was presented to the Governor in Council for its being placed in the College Hall opposite the portrait of Lady Munro. Sixteen years later, the painting was found to be getting spoiled. It was therefore removed to the Banqueting Hall, having been repaired, cleaned and varnished. It does not appear that Indian citizens of Madras took any prominent part in raising these memorials. This may have been due to the fact that the English community in those days was more exclusive than now or to the fact that Indians quietly co-operated with the Englishmen without courting prominence. The reference to the "Father of the People," however, suggests that the appreciation of the Governor was more Indian than European.

The next picture mentioned is that of Lord William Bentinck who was first Governor of Madras and then Governor-General of India from 1827 to 1835. But it was in the latter year that the inhabitants of Madras assembled in public meeting at the College Hall to institute a "lasting memorial" of His Lordship; and the picture that is now in the Banqueting Hall was obtained by public subscription.

The portraits of the Marquis and Marchioness of Tweeddale are said to have been obtained by public subscriptions "raised by the European and Native inhabitants of Madras." They were painted in 1848, and are now placed in the Banqueting Hall and Government House respectively.

Next came a series of pictures which were the old possessions of the Nawabs of the Carnatic. After the demise of Nawab Ghulam Muhammad Ghaus Khan without issue in 1855 and the abolition of the Carnatic Musnud, the palace property was placed in the hands of a Receiver. Among the objects of historical interest found in the palace were the following eight pictures:—

- (1) A full-length portrait of Nawab Walajah and Sir Eyre Coote at the time of the battle of Wandiwash.
- (2) A full-length portrait of Azeem-Ood-Dowlah, Nawab of Carnatic in 1801, in company with his eldest son Asam Jah.
- (3) A full-length portrait of Nawab Asam Jah.
- (4) An oil painting of the Installation of the Nawab in 1842.
- (5) } Two full-length portraits of Prince Azeem Jah.
- (6) }

- (7) A full-length portrait of Nawab Mahomed Ghouse, taken in 1842.
- (8) A full-length portrait of George Augustus Frederick, Prince of Wales, presented by His Highness the Prince of Wales on 1st January 1797 to Nawab Dondut-Ool-Omrah.

"The Government acquired these pictures by purchase at Rs. 3,000 each, except the Installation picture for which Rs. 2,000 was paid. Although a list of these pictures is on record, all of them are not identified or traced. Of the first picture it is surmised that there was a mistaken identity of the General and that the picture is really that of Nawab Walajah with General Sringer Lawrence. Other pictures of Lawrence are referred to in this connection. One painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds for Sir Robert Palk, Governor of Madras, from 1763 to 1767, having remained in the Palk family for a hundred and twenty years, fell to a dealer for the insignificant sum of ten guineas, and is now in the collection of Mr. Rodman Wamaker in Philadelphia. A third picture of the same person is in the possession of the Oriental Club. In this connection Colonel Love tells an interesting story. The picture was presented to the Club on its foundation by Mr. Thomas Snodgrass, an old Madras Civilian who entered the Company's service in 1777 and who was pensioned in 1805. At the end of the eighteenth century Mr. Snodgrass was Collector of Ganjam. He built himself a magnificent residence at Rambha at the south end of the Chilka lake. His extravagant mode of living became so notorious that the Court of Directors ordered him to return to England and render an account of his stewardship. Mr. Snodgrass averred that his accounts had accidentally gone to the bottom of the Chilka lake. The Court regarded the explanation as not wholly satisfactory, and struck Mr. Snodgrass out of the service. He promptly took a Leadenhall Street crossing, and swept in front of the India Office. The Company's apparent neglect of its old servant caused such a scandal that the Court entreated Mr. Snodgrass to accept a pension. He obligingly consented, and drove up to the India Office in a coach-and-four to express his acknowledgment and explain that his income had thus been made up to £5,000 a year. His house at Rambha now belongs to the Rajah of Kallikota.

The second and the third of the Chepauk pictures in the above list hang in the Upper Hall of Government House. When

Lord Clive left Madras in 1803 he took with him a full-length portrait of Azim-ud-daula which was presented to him by the Nawab. In 1820, at the request of Nawab Azim Jah, a copy of this portrait was made in England by Mr. Thomas Day at the direction of the Court of Directors. A year later it was despatched to Madras and presented to the Nawab. The latter acknowledged it in a letter to Sir Thomas Munro as follows:—

"The portrait of my revered father, His Highness Nawab Azim-ud-daula, peace be to him, which the Honourable the Court of Directors were kind enough to send on my request, is a very pleasant one, and much resembles the face and features of my late father. As there was no portrait of His late Highness in the country, I was greatly obliged both to them and yourself for its arrival. Both the pen and the tongue are incapable of expressing my sense of gratitude for the same."

The picture of Nawab Azim Jah was painted in 1842, and it is of interest to note that its cost was only Rs. 1,710 as shown by the following statement of the painter Frederick Christian Lewis:—

	Rs.
"Portrait of the late Nawab Azam Jah ordered by His Highness ...	1,300
Carved Mahogany frame for the same	260
Canopy and curtain for the same	150

The installation picture also was painted by Lewis in 1842 and 1843; and though it contains a crowd of figures, of which between sixty and seventy are portraits, and the sittings extended over some eighteen months, the Nawab paid for the canvas only Rs. 5,515. Probably, owing to the higher value of the rupee, the cost at the time would have represented a much higher figure in English money. The picture contains many notable figures; for the installation ceremony was attended by Lord Elphinstone, the Governor, the Commander-in-Chief, the Members of Council, the Judges of the Supreme Court, and the various heads of departments, Lord Elphinstone leading the young Nawab to the Musnud.

The last four pictures of the Chepauk series are not now in Government House or the Banqueting Hall, and Colonel Love says that no documents later than 1859 have been traced on the subject of the disposal of them. The last picture, that of the Prince of Wales, originally intended as a gift to Nawab Walajah, was in 1798 presented by the Prince of Wales to Nawab Umdat-ul-Umra.

The picture was presented with great pomp and ceremony to the Nawab. But it has disappeared mysteriously ; and no trace of it is now found. The Nawab of that time was on terms of friendship with the King and the Prince of Wales. The *Madras Gazette*, dated 27th. February 1796 records that "Admiral Sir George Keith Elphinstone waited on His Highness the Nawab at his Palace at Chepauk and introduced Lieutenant-Colonel Murray who had been charged by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales with a letter and a picture of the Princess." Twenty-eight years earlier, in 1798, King George III in sending the pictures of himself and the Queen with a live lion, wrote as follows :—

"George the Third, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Christian Faith, Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburg, Arch-Treasurer and Prince Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, and Sovereign of the Seas, &c. To Nawab Omdul-ul-Mulk, Serajil Doula, Asaverdin Cawn Bahadur, Delayer Jung, Nawab of Arcot and the Carnatic, Greeting :

"We accept with Satisfaction the White Stone which You have sent Us, as a Mark of Your Attachment. We shall wear it Ourselves, and deliver it down to Our Successors in Remembrance of You. And in order that You may have before Your eyes a Memorial of Our Regard and affection, We send You Our Picture, and that of Our Queen." Moreover, hearing that You are desirous of procuring a Lion, We have directed one from Our Own Collection to be sent to You, which We desire You to keep for Our sake as a Public Proof to the Powers of Indostan of the particular regard with which we have been pleased to distinguish You."

Now we come to the large portrait of Queen Victoria hanging above the dais in the Banqueting Hall. This is one of the portraits of Her Majesty ordered by the Secretary of State in 1859 for the Government Houses of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. For each of the pictures the painter was paid 200 guineas ; and the Madras picture which arrived in 1862 cost in all, including frame and freight, close on £300. The picture represents the Queen in Coronation Robes, seated on the Thorne in the House of Lords.

Then there are three pictures, of Lord Harris, Sir Charles Trevelyan, and Mr. Morehead who were Governors of Madras between 1859 and 1861. The picture of Lord Harris was obtained by public subscription, and that of Sir Charles Trevelyan was subscribed for by "European and Native friends of the Government." Sir Charles Trevelyan was recalled from Madras in 1860

for his open protest against the Income Tax ; and on his appointment as Finance Minister in 1862, a large Public Meeting was held in the People's Park. The subscription is presumed to have been inaugurated on that occasion. The picture of Mr. Morehead was also obtained by subscription, among his friends "including many natives." Mr. Morehead was a Member of the Madras Civil Service and twice officiated as Governor of Madras for short periods.

Of the pictures subsequently added one is of Lord Napier and Ettrick which was painted in 1874 out of public subscription. In 1880 the full length portrait of the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos was painted by subscription ; and this was the first picture of the collection painted by the famous Indian artist, Mr. Ravi Varma. Colonel Love describes this as "a well executed picture and an excellent likeness." The portrait of the Right Honourable W. P. Adam, Governor of Madras in 1880 and 1881, was presented by Lady Adam in 1884. Sir M. E. Grant-Duff presented a three-quarters length portrait of himself in 1890. The full length portrait of Lord Connemara was acquired in 1891. It was originally painted for His Lordship who designed it as a gift to the Connemara Public Library. But it was proposed on the eve of his departure from Madras that the portrait should be purchased for the Banqueting Hall. Lord Connemara assenting, the sum of Rs. 2,900 was raised by public subscription. In the same year four medallion prints of Her Majesty Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort and of the Prince and Princess of Wales were presented by the Officers of the 4th P.W.O., Madras Light Cavalry, on the disbandment of the Regiment. The picture was given to the Regiment in 1875, the first pair by Her Majesty ; and the second by the Prince of Wales. They now hang in the entrance Hall of the Government House. The portrait of Lady Wenlock was painted by a lady artist (Miss E. Merrick) who visited Madras in 1892 ; and the cost of it was met from the contract allowance for the upkeep of the Government House.

The latest pictures which have been added are those of Lord Wenlock and Sir Arthur Havelock. The former was presented by Lord Wenlock himself, in 1892. The latter was painted only a few months ago by Mr. Ravi Varma assisted by his brother, Mr. Raja Raja Varma, out of private subscription among a few prominent members of the Indian Community. Colonel Love mentions many illustrious personages whose pictures should have

been added to the collection; but this can hereafter be done only by Government.

Colonel Love adds to the interest of his book by giving biographical notes of many of the famous artists who painted the pictures, and by descriptions of the pose and nature of the pictures themselves, and by brief, but interesting biographical sketches of the persons themselves. Space does not permit us even to refer to all the biographical sketches contained in the book; but we may give Colonel Love's estimate of the more recent Governors who ruled Madras.

There is no Governor of Madras of recent times who is better remembered for various reasons, than Sir M. E. Grant-Duff who filled the office for five years from 1882. Colonel Love's estimate of him is briefly this: His health was not robust, yet he travelled much about the country. He made erudite speeches and wrote masterly minutes. He called many educational experts to Madras. Biology, Botany, Geology and Mineralogy, Archaeology and Epigraphy and even Dentistry were all represented. His rule was contemporaneous with educational progress: the College of Engineering was remodelled, the School of Arts reorganised, and that of Agriculture developed. Minor Irrigation Works Department and placed under the control of Collectors. He also created the magnificent Marina which is, of course, the most conspicuous of his works in Madras.

He was succeeded in 1877 by the Hon'ble Robert Bourke, afterwards Lord Connemara, who, though a conservative in politics, encouraged the extension of local self-Government. He urged the construction of the East Coast Railway with success, and he inaugurated the Public Library which bears his name. He was personally popular with all classes of society. His bright and cheery manner and unaffected kindness of disposition made him a general favourite. He had a surprising memory for faces and names, and a judgment and common senses which rendered his rule one of conspicuous benefit.

His successor, Lord Wenlock, came to Madras in 1891. He took sympathetic measures to relieve famine, relaxed the stringency of the Forest Laws, promoted education, and developed the Students' Hostel. He "proved himself upright, straightforward and honest in all his actions. His manner was always courteous,

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and the part which he and Lady Wenlock played in the life of Madras made their popularity quite exceptional.

Sir Arthur Havelock had early connections. His father was Military Secretary to Lord Elphinstone. He lived with his family in Ootacamund where he attended the school of Mr. Frederic Nash. He obtained a distinction in 1862 when he was 18, the examination papers to India. In 1873 while serving in the Army in Madras, he became Private Secretary to the Government Administrator of that Island. Resigning the Army as Captain, he joined the Colonial Service, and after holding various offices, Captain Havelock received the C.M.G. in 1879, and in 1881 he was raised to the position of the Governor of West African Settlements; becoming Governor of Trinidad in 1884 when he was created K.C.M.G. Then for four years he was Governor of Natal, and for five years Governor of Ceylon. In 1896 he became Governor of Madras. So that during the greater part of his career he was Governor. He had climbed from bottom to top and had consequently a wide experience of men and affairs. Colonel Love says: "His administration was not marked by individuality, but he manifested practical sympathy with the ryot, mitigated the severity of the Forest Rules, and supported lenient measures in regard to taxation. . .

. Sir Arthur maintained the usual hospitalities and more than usual pomp of Government House. He was urbane in manner and remarkably neat and alert in appearance."

With this somewhat lengthened notice, we must here take leave of the book which, we have no doubt, the reader will find an interesting and very useful addition to his library. We contragulate Lieutenant-Colonel on the opportunity that was afforded him for showing his talents in a direction quite unconnected with his line, and on the success which has attended his labours.

