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THE GOVERNMENT OF NATIVE STATES.

THE Governments of Native States are bound to receive increasing attention from the outside public. While on the one hand those outside the States take deeper interest in their affairs, those within them are animated more and more by the examples and influences of British India. Thirty years ago, few beyond the limits of a State cared to know anything of its affairs. In the first place, public spirit and interest in public affairs had not developed to the same extent as they have done since; and when men did not know what was passing around them, it was hardly to be expected that they would direct their attention to what was passing in a Native State. But now when the whole of educated India is animated by the same spirit, is moved by the same impulse, is striving for the same object of national welfare and distinction, and when it is also animated by the desire to emphasise the success of Native administration and Native statesmanship, and to base thereon a greater claim for political rights and privileges, it is no wonder that every progress, every item of reform, every great achievement in Native States is watched and scrutinised, and if acceptable, presented to the Rulers of British India as examples of the possibilities of Indian statesmanship.

It is thus that the Governments of Native States have begun to command an attention which they did not before, and there are unmistakable signs in the Native States themselves, that the people will not be satisfied with the old system of patriarchal Government in which certain favoured classes had the best of everything, while the millions that toil and sustain the life of the country had to be content with absolute dependence and poverty, a life of

161104
political and social degradation. The theory of the divine right of kings is fast losing its force even in the most backward Native States when it is no longer held in reverence in British India where the modern spirit of democracy, without its concomitant rights, is destroying reverence for things ancient as well as for things sacred, and where authority is perpetually questioned as regards its acts and measurers. On the other hand, the theory that the king rules for the people, and that good Government is the end of the State, is asserting itself more and more among the educated as well as the illiterate. Enlightenment and knowledge are filtering down from the higher to the lower stratum of society, and it is no longer possible to keep out one section of the community from the other, or to prevent knowledge or ideas spreading among all classes of people. The old-world conservatism of Native States is too strong for the assaults of the modern theories, and consequently we find in these States the greatest struggle between the old and the new forces. It is at this time that statesmanship of the highest order is required at the helm of every Native State. When the masses of the people were ignorant and were willing to submit to authority, it was enough if those who were ruling the country possessed the ability to exercise that authority; for in those days there was only one interest to be conciliated, and that was the interest of the ruling class. But this is no longer the case. The old ruling class is no longer the only intelligent or educated class. The lower orders have come to the front, and are making progress. Hitherto-despised castes and creeds have also begun to assert themselves for equality of rights and privileges, and the statesman that is required at the head of all these castes and sects must be one who possesses the ability, the sagacity and prudence to reconcile their conflicting interests, to create harmony among them, to train and fit them for common co-operation in the interests of the State. No class of people will hereafter be content to be left in cold neglect; all must have their opportunities; all must have their merits recognised; all must have the right to participate in whatever advantages that are available. Every man is entitled by virtue of merit to rise to eminence, and no man can be kept out or kept down for his inferiority in social scale or the low estimation in which his class is held. If this principle is fully recognised and acted upon, there will be less of the differences which keep the populations of Native States divided among themselves, not only divided but mutually hostile to each other. This can be done only by the higher in-

fluence of superior statesmanship, prompted by great foresight and political wisdom. But unfortunately neither Native States nor British India seems to be rearing up any considerable number of this class of men. Capacity of the highest order is found in Native States, where there is abundant scope for its development; but for broad and liberal-minded statesmanship, inspired by the ideal of nationality, Native States do not afford the field nor British Service the scope. A certain breadth of view is essential to enable a person to view the interests of the State as distinguished from the interest of a class or sect, and the present day influences are not favourable to the broad conception of a State, receiving not only its sustenance but its solidarity from a combined and cosmopolitan community. Exclusiveness of caste, sect or creed is no longer possible wherever modern influences are spreading; it is fast ceasing to be advantageous except to individuals. In the broad interests of a State or of a people, the harmonious co-ordination of different forces is indispensable, and the head of a State ought to be able to inspire confidence and hope in all castes and sections of the community which owes allegiance to it.

Indeed, it is necessary, for certain backward sections of the community, to work separately for self-improvement. Since they are not able to keep pace with the progress attained by the more advanced sections, it is necessary for them to work on their own lines in certain respects. The Muhammadans and the Native Christians, for example, have, as backward sections of the community, to advance a great deal before they can become efficient units of the great community of India. For such people it is desirable to work separately for their material, social and intellectual advancement, but even for them it is inexpedient to act separately as mere political units. The exclusiveness which some of them maintain at present in regard to political matters is unwise except in the interests of individual advancement. As a community, they would lose, rather than gain, by such exclusiveness. This is a truth to be recognised both by the people themselves as well as by the statesmen at the head of affairs; and in Native States, where they are at liberty to introduce changes and experiments on a limited scale, it is far easier to induce different sections of the people to co-operate for the common good, to make them regard the interests of the State as identical with their own interests, to forget caste and sectional differences for the promotion of the common good, and to claim the achievements of one section of the

people as the achievements of all. The clash of interests arises from the predominant feelings of caste and sectional exclusiveness, from the appropriation by particular classes of office and emoluments, from the denial to others of what they regard as their legitimate rights, and from the desire to push one's interests in disregard of those of others. In our opinion, more harm has been done in Native States than in British India by the scramble for places in the public service, for patronage and reward. The more favoured classes are not regarded with love or admiration by the rest, and there is engendered in the latter a sense of injury, of denial of legitimate rights, and of a complete disregard of their interests. The only remedy for this state of things is the admission of all classes of people to the enjoyment of equal rights, privileges and opportunities according to their merit and character, and not according to the accident of their birth. Appointments in the public service are in the gift of those who control the affairs of the State. Opportunities for distinction they alone can open; and no man who has regard for the permanent interests of the State, for its security and progress, can overlook the importance of attaching all classes of people to the State by ties of common interest, common rights and common privileges. Above and beyond these is the necessity to create an interest among all in the public affairs of the country by allowing them to participate in them so far as circumstances will permit. In this view we regard with hope the germs of representative government that are being slowly introduced in such States as Mysore, Travancore and Puddukottah. We regard these both as a means of popular education and as a means of inducing people to take an intelligent interest in the more serious affairs of the State.

By bringing together representatives of all classes of people to ventilate popular grievances and to criticise the acts and measures of Government, the latter will be slowly paving the way for the gradual union of the various sections of the community in defence of their rights and interests; and when the object of the people is to watch and to criticise those who are in authority and to compel the latter to perform their duties to the satisfaction of the people, the two parties in the State will necessarily be those who represent authority on the one hand, and those who uphold popular interests on the other. The sovereign will be regarded as above criticism, since his ministers and officers will be responsible for the actual administration of the State and since it will be the interest of both the sovereign and

the people to keep them alive to their responsibilities. A sort of popular opposition will have immense advantages, and such an opposition will have the happy result of those, who actually manage the affairs of the country, being regarded, not as the representatives of a caste or a class, but as the servants and agents of the entire community acting under the supreme authority of the king, but subject to the control and the criticism of the people. Thus the Dewan and his associates in the State, instead of being regarded as the representatives of a party as in Mysore, or as the representatives of a caste as in Travancore, will be treated as merely the representatives of sovereign power and authority, liable to account for their acts and measures to the sovereign as well as to the people. A State torn to pieces by factions and cliques cannot, in the present state of things, have an enduring existence; for it will eventually be discredited in the eyes of the British Government, and the people themselves will not have sufficient inducement to desire its continued existence. A people must feel a pride in their king and in his government in order that they may be zealous for the permanence of both. But if nothing but a sense of degradation and the absence of opportunities for every kind of distinction be the portion of an entire people or of a large majority of them, we cannot justly expect them to cherish that kind of affection and attachment which every patriotic person feels for his country and State. We fear that Indian statesmanship has failed to rise to this high conception, and unless it is realised, there is not much hope for the future of the Native States of India.

The tendency of the civilized world is towards the extended enjoyment of power by the people themselves as distinguished from the classes. The strength of a State should eventually lie in the will of the people, and not in British bayonets. That alone will lead to future permanence; and in order to enlist the will of the people on the side of their State, it is necessary to create in them a consciousness of interests and associations such as impels every free people who are left to have a voice in the management of their own affairs and are thus treated as citizens and not as slaves. In other words, it will no longer be expedient to identify the interests of a State with the interests of particular classes or creeds. All must have equal privileges and equal opportunities of distinction, and no section of the people should be made to remain under a sense of perpetual oppression or wrong, or of the denial of just right as subjects of the State. Representative assemblies are a

means of educating the people, of raising their character, of interesting them in public affairs, and of developing in them the sense of responsibility and of patriotism. But the question is whether assemblies such as have been established in Mysore and Travancore are really regarded as the seeds of future representative government. Having regard to the period of time that the Mysore Assembly has been in existence, we should have expected it to have reached a higher stage of development; we should have expected its constitution to be more popular, its powers more extensive and its control over the affairs of the State more real. But what do we find in its stead? We find the same Assembly which was called into existence by Dewan Ranga Charlu without much life or cohesion. Its constitution has not been materially modified; and as for its powers, it is nothing more than a petitioning body existing, so to say, on the sufferance of the ruler or the Dewan rather than on any intelligent popular basis. Indeed it is possible to broaden its foundation and to extend its scope and usefulness; but the fact that so little has been done during so long a time in these respects leaves in us little hope of much good coming out of it. That even Dewan Seshadri Aiyer, who was justly reputed to be one of the ablest statesmen of the time, should have been indifferent to this aspect of the matter, shows clearly that our vision, the vision of those who are at the helm of the Native State, has to be broadened a good deal before it can be expected to take within its range the cause of popular liberty and popular power as a means of ensuring the permanence of Native States on the broad and secure basis of popular attachment and freedom. To talk of these assemblies as a means of obtaining first hand information about the wants and wishes of the people and to elicit their opinion about the acts and measures of Government is, in our humble opinion, to misapprehend the genesis of these institutions. A Government like that of Mysore or Travancore should hesitate to confess that it knows so little of the wants and wishes of the people and their opinion about the measures of government as to be compelled to obtain them by the means of an assembly. Of course it may not have knowledge of individual grievances, but in matters affecting the interests of a whole people, it should certainly be less helpless to get at the truth than the British Government in India. We cannot conceive what gulf there is to separate the officials of Native States from their people. Both belong to the same country, both have been reared more or less under the same traditions, and both have

facilities to understand each other. Hence, as a mere means of gauging popular feeling and popular opinion, an assembly such as this is not indispensable; and if it is not intended for any other purpose, it is not very necessary. To our mind, the only justification for creating it lies in the hope of making it a means of political education to the people, of enlarging their conception of the rights of the people as regards the Government under which they live, and of training them to assume duties and responsibilities which have been in Eastern countries particularly, appropriated by individuals. It is only by such education and training that, as we have suggested, an enduring basis can be furnished for the governments of Native States; that people can be made to take an abiding interest in the State and its affairs; that they can be made to feel a permanent attachment towards it; that they can be persuaded to regard the destiny of their State as their own destiny, the sovereign as their head, his ministers as responsible to him and to themselves, the glory of the State as their own glory, its permanence and security as their own permanence and security. A State having so broad a foundation should recognise no distinction between castes, classes or creeds. It ought not to regard a Hindu or a Mahomedan as distinguished from a Christian. It ought to utilise the talent and capacity found in any one of these creeds, and any one of these classes. It should have a common attraction and common bonds of attachment for all. It should have nothing to do with the bickerings of castes and sects. All must be units of the body politic, and none should have privileges not based upon interests or merits. Such is the ideal which enlightened Native Governments which aspire for endurance and prosperity should keep before their minds. By such an ideal alone a feeling of brotherhood, of common interests, and of a common nationality will be possible. The attainment of such an ideal must, as a matter of course, lead to the attainment of the broader national existence which the educated classes in British India are, at present, aiming at; for if the peoples of Native States are unified, the unification of the diverse races and creeds of India will also become possible; and those who have the interests of nationality at heart, those who view with sympathy and consideration the efforts that are being made in the interests of national union and efficiency cannot do better than assist the growth of that national feeling to the best of their ability and opportunities. We expect Indian statesmen, not only to be equal to the administrative duties with which they are entrusted, but also to so direct their energy and statesmanship, their wisdom and

foresight as to achieve the higher and nobler ideals of national solidarity and strength which we have indicated. Their merit will lie no less in these directions than in good government for which they are directly responsible, than in the attainment of the national ideal towards which the different parts of the civilised world are slowly but steadily converging. The task that lies before them in this respect is a great one, and it cannot be executed without great breadth of vision, sympathy and foresight. It requires all the forbearance, all the magnanimity and all the wisdom that man is capable of. Littleness of mind and the play of narrow prejudices are opposed to the attainment of this end, and what is necessary is that we should have at the head of Native States statesmen and not mere administrators, men capable of bold initiative and breadth of view rather than men versed in administrative routine.

In Western countries, and particularly in England, where there is a public life, young men of genius have opportunities of being trained early to undertake the duties of administration. In the turmoil of party politics there is no room for the development of narrow notions of public duty and public well-being; the mind is chastened and broadened; and there is no occasion to regard one's critics and opponents as other than men bent upon securing public welfare according to their lights. In large Empires, with colonial possessions and dependencies, there is abundant scope for the exercise of their talents and energies; and all parts of the Empire require their services as administrators, statesmen and soldiers. There a man can become the Governor of a province without passing a competitive examination; ability to pass examinations counts for little; the ability to manage public affairs is everything. And early training in public life is a preparation for the higher duties which they may be called upon to undertake later in life according as circumstances necessitate. Here in India there is very little of what in the West is called public life, and there is consequently no school for training men to undertake the duties of administration except in the Government service, which with its traditions of routine and red-tape has not allowed free scope for the development of the kind of character and talent which is essential in a ruler of men in modern times. Of course within recent years, as the result of the Indian National Congress, and the re-constitution of the Legislative Councils, there has come into existence a sort of public life in which it is open to Indians of talent and capacity to distinguish themselves. Men so distinguished are available in small numbers for service in Native

States as ministers and officials. But the idea of utilising the services of such men has not yet occurred to those who are most interested in the government of Native States. In most states the appointment of a minister, though it is vested in the ruling prince, is actually subject to the approval and sanction of the British Government. And men who are engaged in criticising the measures and policies of that Government and perpetually standing in opposition to it are not likely to be regarded as the most acceptable persons to be selected to govern Native States. But from our point of view, from the point of view of those who regard native administration as the best means of not only illustrating native capacity for government, but also for gradually evolving, by experimental stages, a form of administration in which all classes of people can have a share according to their merits, the appointment of the class of men we have described at the head of native administrations is essential. We have no lack of clever Government officials among us, but we want not officials but statesmen at the head of native administrations. Most Native States are, no doubt, well administered; but the spirit has to be changed a good deal before we can discover in them anything like a national ideal or national tendency. This spirit can be imparted, in our opinion, only by men who have been accustomed to look upon public affairs in a broad spirit, by men who can view public affairs from the point of view of the people and not that of the authorities only. If, in British India, the Viceroy and the Governors of the presidencies have to be Englishmen trained in the public life of their own country, there is no reason why Indians similarly trained in public life in India should not be preferred, at least occasionally, to men trained in the service of Government. The example set by His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda in appointing Mr. Romesh Chundar Dutt as his Revenue Minister is bound to be followed by other rulers of Native States. Mr. Dutt, though he was an official for many years, has, since his retirement, been a public man. Unlike most other Indian officials, he had an English training in early life; and even as an official his popular sympathies seemed to have been maintained in their full vigour, and after his retirement from service the bent of his mind has been essentially national. He has been all along seized with an enthusiasm for the national progress of his people, and for the material prosperity of the country as a whole. As an official he was accustomed to look at administrative affairs from the standpoint of the Government. As a public man he has been accus-

tomed to look at them from the standpoint of the people. Men inspired with an enthusiasm for the national cause may be expected to rise above sectional prejudices, to bring together and harmonise all the various forces available to them for the common good. Faction and intrigue are the bane of many Native States, and they thrive under men who cannot rise above their environments. If there is a public opinion which has an effective voice in the councils of the state, and if that opinion is capable of reflecting the sentiments and wishes, not of one class or section, but of the entire people, it is bound to operate as a wholesome restraining influence upon men who wield authority and power. Towards the creation of this public opinion, and towards the exercise of this influence, popular assemblies can be made to contribute much if they are constituted on the right basis and are invested with powers and privileges which can be exercised for the common good.

As we have said, assemblies such as have been established in Mysore and Travancore have in them the germs of popular government. And the future will greatly depend on how they are constituted and how they are developed. In the first place, members of these bodies must be appointed on some intelligent principle, and when they are allowed to be elected, the same principle must be followed. No man should be appointed or elected merely because he belongs to a particular caste or because he is a Hindu or a Muhammadan. His nomination or election must entirely depend upon the interest which he is able to represent. A Hindu or a Muhammadan as such can have absolutely no claim to a seat in a representative assembly; he must find a place there because he is a subject of the state, a tax-payer, a man who has a stake in the country, and not because he professes a particular faith or belongs to a particular caste. In addition to interest, it may be permissible, and even desirable, that certain educational qualifications should also be recognised. A graduate of a University for example, even though he may not own property, may be expected to exercise the franchise, in case he is a voter, with an intelligent appreciation of merit. But apart from property interests and educational qualifications, it may not be wise to recognise any other merit as a condition for enfranchisement. If each section of the community is to be represented separately, there cannot be a common national consciousness or that cohesion of different forces which is necessary for solidarity and strength. In British India much mischief has been done by recognising communal and sectional claims for special representation, not only in the

legislature but also in the public service of the country. We should not like the same element of discord to be introduced into Native States.

Another thing to be borne in mind is that the proceedings of the assembly should be carried on in the vernacular of the country. To introduce the English Language in a popular assembly in an Indian State is, to our mind, anomalous. In British India, where the rulers are foreigners and speak a foreign language, we have, in order to make ourselves intelligible to them, to adopt their language; but in doing so we do ourselves considerable harm in as much as the masses of the people know very little of what we do or say. The object of popular assemblies is no less to educate the people than to represent their wants. And popular education being our chief aim, and national efficiency our chief end, it is next to useless to attempt to manage public affairs entirely through the medium of a foreign language which a majority of those most interested cannot understand. In order to make people at large take an interest in public affairs, it is necessary they should be afforded opportunities both to understand things for themselves and to take a part in them. Without a general spread of enlightenment and knowledge, it is hopeless to expect the growth of an organisation on a national basis, and it is not the right way to promote national intelligence and add to national knowledge to introduce a foreign language for the communication of a people's thoughts. It has to be recognised that the mass of the people must remain ignorant of the English Language. And unless you enable them to study in their own language everything connected with the government of the country, it will not be possible to raise them to that level of intellectual efficiency and knowledge which will enable them to be valuable units of the state. Without the general spread of knowledge and enlightenment among the people a nationality, such as is found in the European countries, is out of the question. Popular government in the sense in which it is found at the present time was impossible in Europe before the Crusades. It was the spread of knowledge and enlightenment which followed that fanatic adventure that led to the rise of the people in intelligence, knowledge and refinement. The people of India, taken as a whole, are far behind the races of Europe in public spirit and interest in public affairs. Some system of education, such as representative institutions alone can give, is essential for their general advancement. In this view the establishment of popular assemblies is a happy consummation; but they

would lose much of their value and usefulness if they were confined to the English educated classes alone. English language will be useful, and even necessary, for communication with other states, and with the British Rulers; but within the limits of the respective states the language used, if not for the transaction of official business, at least for the conduct of public business in representative assemblies, should be that of the people.

Another important fact to be borne in mind is that the vernacular used should be that of the majority of the people. It is not expedient to introduce diverse languages in a common assembly. There ought to be but one language, and that should be the one used by the large majority of the people. By allowing the use of more than one language, you will be paving the way for the division of a people who are to be united, for perpetuating the existing distinctions, and thus creating a diversity of interests. In the present days when sections of people migrate from one part of the country to another, they naturally carry their language with them; and although its original purity is not long maintained, people have an instinctive love for what they regard as their own. But in a state which has to be actuated by a national aim, it will not do to recognise the languages of minor sections of the people; and since those sections necessarily learn the language of the country of their adoption, it cannot cause any inconvenience or hardship to them if they are made to adapt themselves to the requirements of their new country.

Further, in order that popular institutions of this sort may take root and become permanent, the interests of the people must be so intertwined with them that they may not be detached from, but feel an abiding interest in them; they must be taught to regard them as an essential agency to secure good government and general welfare. They must look upon them as a means of national existence and national prosperity; they must be attached to them as they are attached to their king or to their most cherished institutions. In order that they may feel such permanent interest, they must be invested with such rights and privileges as will enable them to have an effective voice in the management of the country's affairs. It is only the enjoyment of rights and privileges that can engender in them a sense of responsibility. What powers can be conferred on a popular assembly constituted of the representatives of the people must depend a great deal upon the circumstances of each state, upon the general advancement of the people in education, intel-

ligence and refinement. For all Native States have not attained the same degree of enlightenment; all have not been equally influenced by western civilization and culture. It is out of the question, for example, to confer on a mass of ignorant and illiterate people such as you find in a state like Pudukota any power or authority, the exercise of which ensures good government in modern states.

It must be clearly understood that these assemblies are intended no less for popular education than for securing good government; and in order that any institution may serve the cause of popular education, it must arouse sufficient interest in the people. Nobody can regard even a Representative Assembly seriously unless it has some definite object and purpose and some definite functions. To hold an assembly, merely for the sake of holding it, cannot have the effect of rousing any enthusiasm in those who are concerned with, or take part in it. But if, on the other hand, they have certain powers and privileges, and if they feel their responsibility, they are bound to take a living interest in its constitution, its working and its continuance. If you are content to regard it as merely an annual *tamasha*, and as an occasion for show, it is bound to be lifeless as the Mysore Assembly was in the latter part of Sir Seshadri Aiyer's regime, and as useless for practical purposes as a District Board. So, as a beginning, you must be prepared to confer certain powers, however small, on these assemblies. The representatives cannot be long content with merely listening to the annual address of the Dewan, or with playing the role of a petitioning body. They must have a voice in the management of State affairs, on questions of taxation, legislation and expenditure of public funds. The annual budget statement must be presented to them, and they must be invited to approve or disapprove the budget as a whole or in parts. They must also be permitted to have their say on questions of legislation; and they must further be allowed to return a certain number of representatives to the legislative council where there is one, or to the council of the Maharajah or some other body which may have a higher status than the popular assembly. A popular assembly consisting of the representatives of all classes of people cannot be expected to transact all that kind of business which could be more properly done by a smaller body. And following the example of modern democratic countries, an Upper Chamber may be created which, being a more select body, may be trusted to deal with public affairs with greater care and

with greater regard for the permanent interests of the state—a body consisting of the high officials of the State, a certain number of the nobility selected by the sovereign, and the representatives returned by the lower Assembly. The latter itself must be constituted on an elective basis so that it may come with the confidence of the entire people, and may give to their voice the authority of popular will. In Travancore, we are glad to find Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, with his well-known sympathy with modern aspirations and tendencies, has resolved to introduce the elective system on a broad and comprehensive basis, and this itself will afford a valuable education even to the common people; and with the addition of power and responsibility such as we have suggested, a membership of the assembly is bound to be regarded as a means of power, influence and distinction. More men will be forthcoming to contest seats in the popular assembly, and in course of time those who are distinguished by their ability and acquirements are bound to come to the front as the accredited representatives of the people, and thus in due time fit themselves to assume even greater responsibilities than those which devolve upon the assembly. Municipal government, trial by jury, and things of that kind are intended in British India for the training of men to assume the higher responsibilities of administration, to accustom them to the management of public affairs, and generally to raise the standard of their capacity and character. Worked with greater sympathy these experiments may prove fruitful of much happier results; and in Native States there is no obstacle to be faced from the step-motherly spirit of the bureaucracy. There, these infant institutions should be reared up with sympathy and with patience; this much we have a right to expect from Indian statesmen and administrators. In British India local bodies have come to be regarded as intended to impose taxes; the District Boards serve absolutely no other purpose; Municipalities are only a bit better; and in the present spirit of Anglo-Indian administration, we do not expect anything better; but we shall be seriously disappointed if Native States also follow the same course. There Municipalities and Local Boards need not be created for the purpose of imposing taxation. The Town Improvement Committees in Travancore serve an excellent purpose without being made the means of squeezing money out of the people. They can be developed on an elective basis. Their strength may be raised in accordance with the population of each town, and the members themselves may be allowed

to be elected by tax-payers and by men who have obtained a certain standard of education; and these bodies must also have their powers and functions enlarged, so that, like similar bodies in the West, they may appoint their own magistrates and other public functionaries of a township. Local bodies so constituted must necessarily have a more representative character, and may be expected to return representatives to the popular assembly who will command more general confidence and possess greater weight and authority. In these and other directions, it is possible for Native Governments to do a great deal, and in their efforts in this direction they will have the full sympathy and support of the public opinion of entire educated India.

As we have said above, all states are not equally fitted for this kind of experiment. Without a general spread of education, enlightenment, and refinement of feeling and manners, it would not be desirable—it may even be mischievous—to introduce novelties which involve perfect equality of powers and privileges for all classes of people irrespective of their education, history and traditions. The backward classes have to advance a great deal before they can be made to realise their responsibilities either to the state or to themselves. Without a long preparation by school and collegiate education, and without the courtesy and refinement which that education imparts, certain backward classes are not fit to be associated in the management of serious public affairs where the qualities of tolerance and broad-mindedness and the capacity to look at matters from a point of view other than that of one's own are essential; and, in our opinion, it will be well for Native Indian statesmen to be careful, in introducing the elective principle and the system of representative Government, to so devise their scheme as to bring within it men who are qualified, by the possession of accomplishments and merits which we have mentioned, to assume the responsibilities which their new position would impose upon them. Otherwise the way may be paved for mob government which will be a government of mere brute force, and not of law and order; and in order to free the more peaceful people from the sway of the mob it will be necessary to resort to methods which will be inconsistent with the civilized methods of modern governments.

It must be a noble object of any government to raise people who are ignorant or oppressed; but it is one thing to raise them from that position, and it is quite another to arm them with powers and privileges before they are capable of exercising them

with advantage to themselves or to the common well-being of the state. Even statesmen are apt to go astray in their generous enthusiasm for the cause of the low and neglected. The best thing to elevate a class is indeed to encourage its individual members when they deserve encouragement; and this must be done by utilising the services of those among backward classes who, by education and training, rise above the level of their class, and show themselves capable of discharging higher duties. Service in the government of a state is bound to have an elevating influence on the intelligence and character of a class, though it may be only solitary individuals belonging to that class that may be favoured with positions of trust and responsibility. But before they have risen to a higher level of intelligence, knowledge and character, it will not be expedient to make them participate in the management of affairs for which they are not fitted either by training or by tradition. In the meantime the experiment ought to proceed with the more advanced and more intelligent classes who have shown themselves worthy of higher responsibilities, and who, by birth, training and association, have reached a higher standard of efficiency, character and the amenities of life.

MALABAR IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

(concluded from our last number.)



THE writings of the Portuguese writers contain abundant materials to show that the people of Malabar were a civilised race. They knew the arts of Government and of war. They had reared great towns and splendid palaces. They were punctiliously faithful in the discharge of their promise. They were, however, a superstitious and priest-ridden class. The influence of the Brahmin was everywhere in India great and mischievous. In Malabar they were practically treated as Gods. Everything which a Non-Brahmin may possess was at the disposal of these earth Gods. It is not too much to say that the laws of succession and of marriage owe their origin to the pernicious influence of the *Nambudris*. The people were rude and uneducated; and this general ignorance must again be attributed to the *Nambudri* who was extremely jealous of spreading education among other classes than his own. What strikes a foreigner as being most peculiar in Malabar is the scantiness of clothing. This peculiarity has been noted by the earliest of travellers.

Dress.

The dress of a people usually must depend on the climatic condition of their country. But the climate of Malabar is certainly not hotter than that of other parts of this Presidency; and the people there, especially the female portion, cannot be blamed for paucity of their dress. Whatever the reason may be, the people of Malabar from the King to the peasant, from the Brahmin to the Cheruman, go about practically naked. That the condition was worse in the 16th century admits of no doubt.

"All, save where nature whispers modest care
Naked they blacken in the sultry air."—*Lusiad*.

The marriage customs were anything but wholesome. The peculiarity of the prevailing form of inheritance and the facility of divorce were and are blemishes in the social usages of Malabar.

The people of Malabar were and are made of a variety of races, but the Hindus formed politically and numerically the most pre-dominant class.

Like their brethren in other parts of India, they were split up into different castes and sects. "Each of these castes are so distinguished from the others in so great a degree that the one will not touch the others under pain of death or dishonour or loss of property, and each of them has separate customs in their idol worship."

"Vile were the stain and deep the foul disgrace
Should other touch one of noble race
A thousand rites and washings o'er and o'er
Can scarce his tainted purity restore."

So wrote the Portuguese writers in the beginning of the 16th century, and matters have not much improved in 1905 A.D. According to these writers there were 18 sects of Hindus whom they name and describe with a minuteness and accuracy of information which is above all praise. The *Nambudri*, the *Kshathriya*, the *Nair*, *Veluthaden* (washerman), *Velakathalavan* (barber), the oil-monger, the palanquin-bearer, the carpenter, the *Tiya*, the *Mukuvan*, the *Cheruman*, and *Polaya* are some of the castes which we find described in their works.

Among the Hindus the foremost place was and is assigned to the *Nambudri* Brahmins. They were and are the priests of the high caste Hindus. Every ceremony in a Hindu household from the birth of a man to his death—ceremonies are many and various—requires the presence and guidance of a Brahmin. To ward off the ills of life while living, and to propitiate manes after death, the favour of these earth gods was believed to be essential by a credulous and superstitious people. The *Nambudris* were the guardians and expositors of the popular religion. They were the medium of communication not only with gods and goddesses, but also with demons and ghosts. They were, compared with the rest of the nation—a learned class—their elaborate ceremonials and sonorous mantras must have been viewed with awe and terror by rude and ignorant chieftains, and must have contributed not a little to secure that commanding influence which they obtained over the popular mind. The cardinal principle of their religious teaching consisted in their favourite aphorism that the earth and all it contained were created for the special enjoyment of the Brahmins and that gifts to Brahmins formed the only road to salvation. It is not necessary to discuss the question how any rational set of human beings could believe in the truth of these doctrines and much less act upon this belief; but the people of

Malabar from the king downwards regulated their actions upon the faith of these doctrines. The immense influence which the *Nambudris* exercised has left its indelible mark on many of the unwholesome customs and usages of Malabar.

Next to the *Nambudri* came the *Nair*. It is difficult to say to what Hindu caste they should be assigned. They are, no doubt, sometimes spoken of as Sudras. But their hereditary occupation, their intimate connection with the Brahmins lead us to think that they occupy a higher place in the hierarchy of caste. Be that as it may, they were in the 16th century the hereditary soldiers of the country so much so that the term *Nair* was used as an equivalent for a *Soldier*. These Nairs held their lands on strictly Military tenure. It was the custom among these people that when a man of the Nair caste attained a certain age he had to appear before the Military Chief and to make him certain presents and to receive his weapons of war from the Chief. The superior castes alone, however, enjoyed in those days the privilege of carrying arms, and they had this privilege down to a comparatively recent period. Dr. Buchanan, writing in 1800 A.D. says "that a Nair always carried a firelock or sword and should he consider himself a valiant man he armed himself with two."

"Nairs," writes a Portuguese historian, "lived in detached houses surrounded by gardens. These (houses) are raised off the ground and have whitewashed laterite or mud walls generally forming the sides of a square. The entrance to this compound is at some little distance from the house and consisted of a strong gateway. These domiciles were frequently like little fortresses, a necessary precaution when violence and assassination were rife in every direction."

These Nairs were a proud race of people. "Should a *Tiyan* *Mukuvan*, or any of the lower caste dare pollute a Nair by approaching nearer than the prescribed distance, the Nair was at liberty to cut down the offender." The low caste people had to shout as they walked along the public ways. They were and are not prohibited from eating animal food or indulging in spirituous liquors.

They are followers of the Marumakkatayam Law of succession. It is not necessary to enlarge here on this subject.

The administration of justice in Malabar has been the theme of general admiration from the earliest times. Marco Polo and other ancient travellers have eulogised it, and subsequent writers have confirmed this favourable

testimony. According to one writer, "Justice is of a natural instinct among the people and they hold nothing in equal estimation." *Abder Razzak* speaking of Calicut says: "Justice and security are so firmly established in this city that the most wealthy merchants bring hither from maritime countries cargoes which they unload and unhesitatingly send into the market and bazzars, without thinking in the meantime of any necessity of checking the account or keeping watch over the goods."

Ancient laws respecting judicial cases are interesting—
 Law. Hindus were tried according to the laws laid down in the Sastras, the Muhammadans by those of the Koran, and Christians by those of the Bible. The rules in these sacred books were, like the laws of Medes and Persians, unchangeable, as no earthly being had power to change them. *Custom* or *Mariyada* is the law known or recognised in the settlements of disputes and in the Government of the country. *Justice* was administered according to the caste and social position of the accused.

Minor offences were inquired into and punishment was inflicted on the spot by local Magistrates. Crimes of a more heinous character were tried by the Magistrates assisted by assessors who were invariably Brahmins—Torture was freely resorted to to induce suspected persons to confess the truth. If the offender was a low caste man and if he was convicted of the offences of theft, robbery or murder, he was hanged and his body was exposed on a pole. Impalement was, according to some of the historians, also common. If the culprit were a *Mussalman* he was killed by stabbing. In the case of a Nair convict his head was cut off and by one of his own castemen. Brahmin culprits were exiled. If a Nair killed a low caste-man he was only fined for the first offence. All matters of caste were determined by Brahmin Judges, and disputes in Civil Cases were adjusted by chief men of the Desom. In cases of doubt the parties were submitted to the test of ordeals. The mode of executing a decree for debt was peculiar. The Judge sends an officer of the Court with the decree-holder to execute the decree against the person of the debtor. As soon as the debtor was arrested a circle was drawn round him with a stick, and he was charged not to stir out of it till the creditor was satisfied either by payment or by giving a surety, and it was no less than death for the debtor to break the prison by stepping out of the circle. There is no indication that the property of the debtor was ever sold for the satisfac-

tion of debt. Trial by ordeal was an important feature in the administration of justice in ancient days, and our authors give a full and accurate account of the proceedings.

If a suspected person was arrested and brought before the Magistrates and if he denied the commission of the offence he was remanded for 8 days; and if at the end of that period he persisted in his denial and if the complainant so required, he was made to take the oath, as the ceremony was called, on a certain day in a certain temple. After bathing he was made to swear before the idol in a temple asserting his innocence. He was then to put his two fingers in the oil which was boiling upon the fire. If his fingers were burned the accused was held guilty and was punished. If not, he was set at liberty, and the complainant was made to pay a fine to the Governor and in some cases was more severely punished.

The nobles enjoyed great privileges. All complaints against nobles were tried by the King. If the accused did not appear on the day appointed for the trial he was found guilty and was executed. If however he appeared and denied, his guilt or innocence depended on the result of the *ghee ordeal*. If the accused was found innocent, the accuser was executed.

No woman ever died by sentence of law in those ancient days. If any woman of Nair family should offend against the law of her sect she was killed by her relatives.

Incorrect Brahmins were punished with the loss of caste, so also were the Brahmins for committing theft or eating with those of inferior caste.

Drunkards and vendors of arrack, opium or bhang, were condemned to lose their property. Smugglers, especially of pepper, were punished by the loss of their noses and ears.

The Government was based more or less on principles resembling somewhat those of the feudal system of Europe in the middle ages. Each kingdom was divided into a number of *Nads*, ruled by a Chieftain styled the *Naduvazhi*. *Nads* were again divided into *Desoms* presided over by *Desavazhis* and this process of sub-division was carried to such an extent as to justify the proverb that though two steps might be made in one territory, a third must pass the boundary. The rulers of important *Nads* like Walluvanad, Palghat, &c., possessed the power of life and death over their subjects while minor chiefs had jurisdiction only in minor offences. These chiefs were bound to maintain a number of men at arms fixed according to

their wealth and importance and to attend the King in his wars. The faults and virtues of a system like this are self-evident. Internal warfare among these commanders and rebellions against the King must necessarily have been of frequent occurrences in the country.

That the Zamorin claimed a kind of supremacy over the Rajahs of Malabar seems clear from the historical records of the time. That he claimed and enjoyed the kingly privilege of coining money and that it was customary to require his confirmation to the succession of the various Princes in Malabar to their ancestral thrones are facts which can hardly be disputed. The secret of the conduct of the Kings of Cochin and Cannanore in welcoming the Portuguese to their dominions lay in their desire to throw off, with the help of these foreigners, their galling yoke.

This supremacy depended for its exercise, no doubt, on the personal character of the Zamorin for the time being.

The Government of the Kings was conducted through ministers, the chief of whom was called *Kottuvai* according to the Portuguese writers. We find that another minister was styled *Talsammar*. A third minister as known was *Kotturakkal Karnavar* who was certainly the head of the judicial establishment and was vested with the power of making laws.

The *Naduvashies* and *Desavashies*, i.e., hereditary Governors of *Nads* and *Desoms*, were ex-officio Judges and Officers. Magistrates in their own districts, but only the highest among them had power of deciding cases involving the punishment of death. There were in addition salaried Judges appointed by the King. All these Judges and Magistrates were under the direct control and superintendence of a high official styled *Kotturakkal Karnavar* who had his office in the capital. He had however no control over the administration of justice in Calicut, which was presided over by an officer called *Talsammar* appointed by the King and who had under him, presumably to enforce his decrees, 5000 Nairs paid from public revenue.

We shall now give some account of the land and maritime forces of Malabar. The *Nairs* were the hereditary militia of the country, and they alone enjoyed the privilege of carrying arms. But the term *Nair* is not to be understood in the sense it bears in modern days. The word *Nair* denoted a community rather than a caste. The high caste *Nairs* alone were entitled to serve as soldiers, while the rest of the community followed all sorts of professions. Oil-mongers, tile-

makers, washermen, barbers, &c., are now a days classed as *Nairs*. The high caste *Nairs* then were hereditary soldiers, and *Stanis* were their captains. Each soldier was entitled to be maintained all his life at the expense of his hereditary chief. The dress of the soldier consisted of "a cloth of vermilion colour bound round the head and the arms consisted of swords, shields, lances and bows." Fire-arms, though not unknown, were little used in war before the arrival of the Portuguese. Two deserters from the Portuguese Camp were of great service to the Zamorin in the making of powder and in the casting of cannon in his numerous wars with that nation. Though the dexterity of the Nair soldiery in the use of their swords was above all praise, it was useless in their wars "with European nations skilled in the use of fire-arms." The Kings used to take the field in person and seated on richly caparisoned elephants directed the battle. We have historical evidence that in his battles with the Portuguese in Cochin, the then Zamorin exposed his person to the greater danger and was sometimes sprinkled with the blood of his retainers. There were no Cavalry.

Navigation was not popular with the indigenous inhabitants of Malabar. There were however vessels of war manned entirely by Muhammadans. "The vessels of the Zamorin were large barges rowed with oars and crowded with men who fought with darts and other missile weapons."

The revenue of the Rajas consisted mainly of duties on import and export as well as fines from offenders.

Revenue. The monopolies consisting of tobacco, cardamoms, pepper and salt formed the largest source of revenue. There was however no regular land-tax though the vassals of the Rajas were called upon for contributions on extraordinary occasions. The Rajas had however crown lands to meet the expenses of their household. All precious stones or metals which might be discovered, as well as elephants, teak, &c., were claimed as royalties. In the territories of the Zamorin, a certain share of the estate of all who died were forfeited to the crown.

B. GOVINDA NAMBIAR.

INDIAN ECONOMICS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF ECONOMIC INDIA.

THE great importance of India in the world's history :—

If any country in the world can be said to have excited a very keen interest from the earliest dawn of human civilization, and to have enjoyed a high degree of celebrity at all times, I think that India deserves to be given that dignified distinction. No other country on the face of the earth has played a more important part in shaping and colouring the world's history. Once the land of religion, then the cherished home of philosophy, India became the envied and admired region of arts and manufactures that have been the wonder of the world. Then came the period when all Europe and Asia sought and competed for her goods and gold—thereby making her the land of trade. This was not all. It was not only her philosophy, her religion, her art and her trade that shed a magnificent lustre of philanthropical ideal in the midst of the then world around, steeped in darkness and ignorance; but it was her riches and resources that allured and invited numberless foes and conquerors. Her wealth gave her prosperity, and ultimately gave her ruin—in the form of subjection to foreigners. For the fact that lies at the root of all the warlike expeditions from the time of Alexander to the time of Lord Clive and Hastings, is nothing but a grand conception, in the Western world, of India as being adorned with whatever is most splendid and gorgeous. It was this reputation of being the land of wealth—and in those times the reputation justified the fact—together with her civilization and achievements in all branches of life that made India one of the foremost contributors to the historical evolution of the world.

It seems therefore a very interesting work to examine how it is that this country which once formed the sole nucleus of the world's interests and which was far known in classical antiquity as the abode of wealth and civilized life—is now become one of “the most degraded, impoverished, and backward” countries of the world. How strange and awful is the contrast between the Indias of the centuries

before and after Christ! From what great height has it fallen and to what a terribly low depth!

The first reason for the prosperity of ancient India must be assigned to the impetus given by the varied grandeur of its scenery, and the richness of its lands. It was this liberality of nature that made the rude and half-civilized Aryan invaders settle themselves definitely for the first time in agricultural operations and in course of time thus evolve for themselves a civilization of their own. While the Aryan races that migrated to the West and North-West remained in ignorance and barbarism, the Hindu Aryans, roused by a healthy climate, beautiful country and rich soil, soon emerged themselves out of the pastoral stage and settled in the peaceful cultivation of their lands. As agriculture is an occupation which gives a conservative tendency and character to its votaries, it is no wonder that the Hindus, in spite of their vast conquests, improvements and progressive achievements in civilization during the Epic, Rationalistic and Buddhistic ages,—had, from the beginning, a conservative tinge of character in them, which only crystallised and strengthened itself with the advance of time and of a civilization in which sacerdotalism formed a main factor. A reverence for past men and past history has always been a noble and praiseworthy trait of character among the Hindus. This regard

Rigid conservatism.

for the past reduced itself ultimately to a rigid conservatism, unknown in any other country. Naturally, therefore, when all the other countries of the world discovered the secret of early civilized life, viz., agricultural employment, and when they devoted themselves with all the force of youthful enthusiasm and a hopeful future to their economical improvement, they easily beat India in the course of 15 or 16 centuries in the economical sphere of life. Thus we understand that the intense conservatism which forms one of the most predominant characteristics of our civilization has been the reason of our overthrow from our superiority in the world.

A second reason for the economical prosperity of ancient times in strange contrast with the modern condition of the country. The beginnings of the decline of India both politically and economically might be traced to the times of the Greek expeditions of Alexander and his generals. It is true that Chandragupta drove the Greeks back and established a Hindu empire for the first time in India; and it is also true that the Andra dynasty continued to do full

justice to the prestige and power of the Mauryans. But the unhealthy seeds of destruction which were already sown in the times of Alexander's expedition pointed out and paved the way for more invaders on the frontier. Hence the continuous troubles of Bactrians, Scythians and Turks which all ultimately ended in the bondage of India to the Islamite sovereignty. From this time India gradually deteriorated in consequence of illegal oppression, heavy taxation, and mutual and continuous feuds among the princes and so-called feudatories under the Delhi emperor. This state of matters continued and thus carried to the logical conclusion the economical de-

Plunders of early generation of the country—which was made European companies. even more effective by the disgusting plunders of the early European adventurers and companies. It is to the ever-beneficent British rule which, though alien in name, is not so in real sympathy and good government, that the country humbly looks for a better position and happiness in future.

A third reason for the exceptional prosperity of ancient India lies in the extreme liberality with which the princes and nobles of

Patronage of art and manufactures.

the land treated the artists, artisans, manufacturers and other classes who really form the backbone of the nation. But for the kind encouragements and the gratifying rewards presented by the Rajas and Chiefs of special localities, it would have been almost impossible for India to have attained that state of pre-eminence in respect of artistic manufacture which it has been long famous for. Now-a-days, on the other hand, the introduction of machine-made articles has driven away millions of souls out of employment—employment which had perhaps for more than 50 generations been pursued in their family. The disturbance and dislocation caused by the cheap production of Western

Industrial dislocation and uncertainty. manufacture has reached such a great extent, that the application of art to manufacture

may be said to have passed away altogether. Weaving, spinning and many a traditional industry have had to go to the wall; and in place of the old industrial security, we are now in a stage of industrial uncertainty, consequent on the advent of numerous industries worked on the Western lines and the extermination of the old methods of labour. And the 'so-called advantages' that have been pointed out by the official world as having arisen from the present condition are, in the eyes of the thoughtful section of the native community, "mere mistaken and illusory statements." The number of hands employed in new industries for example, they say, can scarcely be

one-hundredth of the number employed by the Native Princes and Rajas in the building of temples, in the erection of edifices and monuments of public utility.

We have now seen in what manner ancient India gained economically a high status in the world. A keen appreciation of the value and endowments of nature when the other parts of the world were occupied by barbarous tribes who had not yet passed the nomadic or pastoral stage; the freedom from alien rule which was continuously maintained by the warlike kings and rulers of the past; the noble encouragement which they gave to works of industry, architecture and other sources of material prosperity; the extensive and daily employment of hundreds of millions of labourers in building temples, palaces and monasteries, in cutting canals and rivers and digging tanks and wells for purposes of public irrigation and utility; and lastly, the security of person and property even in the midst of many wars and disturbances in the land;—these were all naturally conducive to the efficiency of the labourer and the satisfaction of the employer. But when these circumstances were replaced by the Islamite invasions, conquests and oppressions, and when a revolution took place in almost all Hindu national activities, the economic condition of the country too underwent a thoroughly radical transformation. But that was almost nothing when compared with the great changes that have been taking place in the past two or three centuries as the result of the introduction of the Western civilization in the midst of a civilization that has characteristics diametrically opposed to the former in views, ideals and practices.

It is no wonder then that the modern Indian peasant and manufacturer and artisan present peculiar characteristics—all being the inevitable result of their singular experience in the past and their unique condition of the present.

PECULIARITIES OF ECONOMIC INDIA.

In surveying the characteristic peculiarities of Economic India, the fact that is found to be most salient and remarkable is the extreme poverty of the country. Authorities without number might be quoted to support the fact of the hopeless poverty of India. Sir William Hunter, Sir Charles Elliott and many other officials who have served Government and got experience for years, bear witness to the fact. Sir William Hunter says that "forty millions go

through life on insufficient food." Sir Charles Elliott does not hesitate to say that "half of our agricultural population never know from year's end to year's end what it is to have their hunger fully satisfied." While the Agricultural Department in Madras is well aware of what one of its own heads once spoke: "The condition of the agricultural labourer in India is a disgrace to any country calling itself civilized." Even the Govern-

Authorities to prove it. ment of India had to own: "There is evidence to shew that in all parts of India there is a numerous population which lives from hand to mouth, is always in debt, does not save and has little or nothing to fall back upon in bad seasons." Says the Famine Commission of 1898: "The poorer professional classes suffered severely from rise of prices, but do not come on famine-relief. Beyond these classes there has always existed, and there still does exist, a lower section of the community living a hand-to-mouth existence, with a low standard of comfort and abnormally sensitive to the effects of inferior harvests and calamities of the season. This section is very large, and includes the great class of day-labourers and the least skilled of artisans."

The best proof of Indian poverty, however, is the frequent occurrence of famine. It is well-known that the most shocking and rapid death-rate the world has ever seen, has taken and is taking place in this famine-stricken country; and all the silly boast made of a regime of peace seems to be the outcome of a false pride, and, what is worse, an inexcusable coldness and apathy towards the masses. William Digby, in his "Prosperous British India," points out that the total mortality in the last 47 years of the 19th century was 28,825,000. Again, while the famine-deaths in India between 1891 and 1900 amounted to the enormous number of 19 millions, the war-deaths throughout the world in the last 100 years (1793-1900) were only 5 millions!

An analysis of the many causes that go to explain this curious and serious condition shows that the disease has been a longstanding one and consequently the way to cure has not been easily understood; and, even if understood, has not been easily successful in its application.

The most striking fact that stares at the investigator, perhaps, is the wide indebtedness of the Indian peasantry. More than 50 % of them are at the mercy of usurers who, taking advantage of the helpless state of their victims, drive

them to give up their lands for any low price they bid for. The Government, very sensitive to the needs of the people, has already done something in the form of an Agricultural Loans Act, for the emancipation, as it were, of the peasants. At the same time local legislative measures have been passed, which greatly modify the rigour of the law of debt. But considering the poverty of the peasants and their utter inability to bring about improvements in their lands, it seems absolutely necessary, that the present attempts of the Government at the establishment of Agricultural Banks and Co-operative Credit Societies should be most vigorously and enthusiastically pursued.

At the same time the attention of the Government has to be directed to an equally important, though a more difficult, channel. The ignorance of the Indian peasant has become almost proverbial. Skillful, industrious and talented, he is yet careless and inefficient in his labour. He does not much know the chemical and artificial manuring which forms such a prominent part of economy in the civilized world. (In Germany, for example, which has made immense strides in commerce and manufactures only within the last 30 years, and which is now one of the competitors for commercial supremacy, the service rendered by the chemical industry—which is the largest in the world—to agriculture in making it more scientific, is simply invaluable). The Indian peasant again does not know how to keep his cattle healthy and robust. It is indeed very sad to see the many deaths that take place among cattle in the two or three months before the harvest-time, in consequence of the scarcity of fodder. Again the Indian peasant's tools and implements are very primitive and insufficient. These sad features can be reformed in only one way; and that is to establish free schools of technical instruction in rural parts, and teach by example to the peasant-class the art of cultivating lands to the best possible profit and return. The importance of this is seen clearer if we remember that, owing to increase of population and of human wants, lands are rapidly reaching, if they have not actually reached, the diminishing point of return.

The establishment of agricultural banks and the imparting of technical instruction are not the only ways of bringing better days to the Indian peasantry. There is another great obstacle to over-

THE MADRAS REVIEW.

come, *viz.*, the apathy of the Government to the system of Permanent Assessment. When we consider the arguments put forth by the Government in favour of the system of periodical settlements and weigh them against the resulting advantages in case of extending, as much as possible, the system of Permanent Settlement, it seems that the latter system is preferable from the stand-point of the peasantry. [The question, however, will be discussed at length later on in a separate chapter.] It is sufficient here to state that Sir Auckland Colvin, Sir Robert Egerton, Lord Lytton, Mr. R. C. Dutt and others are against the current revenue system.

(3) Difficulties under a system of periodical assessment.

A fourth way in which the amelioration of the peasant must be brought about is by the extension of the system of irrigation. A defective system of irrigation is also one of the serious deficiencies that give rise to the destitution of the peasants; and the only way in which the many waste lands that form such a conspicuous feature in the rural parts may be brought under cultivation, is by making them capable of being cheaply irrigated. There is no greater name in the annals of Indian economics than that of Sir Arthur Cotton who perceived, as in glass, the real want of the peasantry and devoted himself with energy to do what lay in his power.

(4) Defective irrigation.

Necessity of its extension.

Lastly, we may notice in this connection the serious want which the country has long felt, *viz.*, capital. The hidden resources of India are almost infinite; and a sufficient application of capital can create wonders in the transformation of poor India into a well-to-do one. Of the three agents of production, India has enough and more than enough of the first two, *viz.*, natural agents and labour; But the third means which is so essential to production and which plays such an all-important part in the Western world, is singularly rare in this country. Hence the country should see itself well-furnished with capital even from foreign countries, at the cost of paying interest to them. The country best fitted to lend capital to India is of course England, owing to many causes which are too plain to be mentioned here.

(5) Want of capital.

Having briefly sketched the agricultural condition of India together with its requirements and prospects in future we shall now

proceed to see what is the industrial state of the country. But even here we have unfortunately to tread on the same ground—of dissatisfaction and complaint.

The "major industries" of cotton, tea, jute, opium, oil-seeds, etc., which have attained a high degree of efficiency and which are produced and exported in large quantities; "the minor industries" of wheat, skin-works, silk-weaving, iron-works, paper, petroleum, etc.—are all without any exception suffering from want of capital. It is possible that on sufficient application of capital, India might become the most commercial country in the East. As the way to political greatness is only through the attainment of economic greatness, it is highly probable that India might by the latter means occupy the position of an honourable member of the British Empire (just as the colonies) and not a burden to it as now.

All industries suffer from want of capital.

Again the many forgotten indigenous industries of perfumes, fibres, glass, brass and metal-works, wood-carving, etc., require exploitation. If only capital is available and these latent resources are thoroughly utilized and made profitable, there is no doubt that a revolution will be effected in the commercial transactions of the world. As Sir Henry Cotton says: "The greatest material boon which could be conferred on India would be the restoration of industries. The greatest material calamity which can befall India is that which has been going on for so many years before our eyes—the continual contraction of her manufactures. The agricultural trade of India has expanded, but the manufactures have diminished. The imports of cotton piece-goods which 40 years ago were valued at 8½ million pounds (sterling), now exceed 20 millions. The ancient weaving industry has been practically extinguished and the cotton manufactures of the country have been crushed out by British competition. The tendency of events for more than a century has been to turn the people more and more to agriculture and less and less to manufactures. While the invention of the steam-engine and development of machinery enormously cheapened the cost of production in England, the operation of transit duties in India amounting to £450,000 per annum, and of heavy and ruinous import duties in England amounting to 67% and more on the value of cotton and silk goods, combined to repress all the exertions of local industry. These duties which were

The restoration of ancient and lost industries: Sir Henry Cotton.

THE MADRAS REVIEW.

deliberately imposed in order to enable English manufacturers to undersell the Indian artisan, have long ago been repealed, but they did their work. The introduction of Manchester goods has been accompanied by the collapse of indigenous industries." [The remedies for this state of things will be pointed out in the chapter on Industrial India.]

The destitution and poverty of India is also often attributed to the constant drain from the country, of more than one-fourth of its annual resources and taxes to England. The Home charges—or tributes as they are justly called—have raised one of the hottest questions and discussions that have happened in the economic world. Considering the acute depression and despair into which the poorer classes of the people are falling, and the amount of help they require, it seems neither unjust nor inadvisable to think that the pensions and other payments to retired English officials might be greatly cut short in amount. Of course the interest for borrowed capital and the expenses of the India Office incurred on behalf of India, must be paid out of the Indian coffers.

The question to be discussed later on.

This question however will much occupy our attention afterwards—when we treat about the Indian fiscal system.

Space does not permit us to more than point out the other causes of Indian poverty. They will be dwelt upon at length in the course of this treatise, as we go on with our review of the various questions of Indian economics. We shall have to deal with the Indian currency question and its influence on Indian trade, finance and the people.

A fourth cause—the Indian currency system.

Fifthly and lastly, we shall have to deal with the peculiarities of Indian society and their effects on Indian economics. The nature of Hindu society presents such different phases of arrangement and composition from the European society, *e.g.*, the presence of almost numberless castes and creeds; the basis of society not on contract, but on status, not on equality but on unity in variety, etc.,—that it seems necessary (as the Statesman-like Ranade said) that there should be a National Political Economy regarding India, based on her peculiar experience and history, and the characteristics of her population and religion. No two societies have been mere

Fifthly, the structure of Indian Society and its resistance to new reforms.

productive of conflicts and antagonisms than the European and Indian ones have done. It is natural that when a civilization which has for its watchwords, Reform and Progress, comes into contact with one which has for its watchwords, Order and Contentment, there must inevitably be results that will satisfy neither the one nor the other party. The keynote of Western civilization is, that with the increase of population human wants increase, and new provisions in the form of reforms have to be made for the satisfaction of those wants. The Hindu civilization on the other hand holds that real advancement lies in the curtailment of wants; and that the preservation of order and peace can be best effected by a grave and reverend regard for past actions and institutions. Hence it is that custom is so potent in India; while in the West competition forms the real cause of almost all human actions. There are other causes too that stand in the way of social intercourse between the rulers and ruled in this country. The interests of the officials are different from those of the people. Sir William Wedderburn in his Congress Speech of 1889 says, it is his duty to point out that "the professional interests of our official administrators are in antagonism with the interests of the Indian tax-payer, whose affairs they administer. The main interests of the Indian tax-payer are peace, economy and reform. But all these are necessarily distasteful to the civil and military classes. A spirited and well-equipped army naturally desires not peace, but active service. And who can expect reasonably officials to love economy, which means reduction of their own salaries; or reform, which means restriction of their authority." Hence Sir William says that this state of matters can be mended only by a more vigilant and efficient control of the Indian Government by the Home authorities.

The inherent principles of the two civilizations.

Such are the singular features of Indian economical condition. We shall now go on to see what effect the deliberate policy of the Government has had upon them. In order to fully appreciate this question, it should be borne in mind that India is in a transitional condition, and that disturbance and dislocation is inevitable on such occasions. On account of this very fact a judgment can never be safely passed, which might hit at the true issue, *i.e.*, whether improvement or deterioration is taking place. Hence it is that there are such divergencies of opinion regarding almost all the questions of Indian economics.

Conflicting interests of the officials and the people.

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To speak broadly, however, the opinions regarding these questions at issue may be generally divided into two classes, *viz.*, official and non-official. It might be also stated that the official views are universally optimistic; they look upon every question as being indicative of real improvement of the country; while the non-official and general public seem to hold that the present condition affords no scope for encomium, but on the contrary is such as to cause despair regarding the future.

My object is to make a brief survey of these vexed questions, summarise the various arguments put forth by various parties in support of their own opinions, and thus come to a conclusion which might impartially specify the definite deficiencies and the essential remedies for their removal.

Official and Non-official views.
The object of the treatise.

V. RANGACHARI.

(To be continued.)

A REVIEW OF AGRICULTURAL PROGRESS IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

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NOW-A-DAYS the attention of the public is only too frequently drawn to the efficacy of Agricultural and Industrial improvement as a sure remedy for India's poverty. But the successful solution of the problem by an Industrial Awakening is only to be sought for in the realm of possibilities.

India is essentially an agricultural country, and the great masses of its people are tillers of the soil. The Indian mind is not adapted by nature to the avocations of Industry and Manufacture; and the trade secrets of Europe are not wide open to Indian aspirants in that direction. Again, the country does not abound in capitalists. Granting that these difficulties would vanish at the touch of the magic wand of will and perseverance, the improvement cannot affect any considerable portion of the population. It seems, therefore, that the real solution of the question lies in the development of the agricultural resources of the country. It would have been unnecessary to enter into even an elementary discussion of its merits, to establish such a truism, but for the fact that there is at present a tendency to look upon technical education and industrial development as the only possible means of India's salvation.

Hitherto Indian Agriculture has been *extensive*, and it will continue to be so for a short time to come; but the increase in population and the wasteful agricultural practices of the Indian ryot will make *intensive* agriculture a necessity. The Government and the educated section of the people have arisen from their torpor and are showing signs that they have realized the gravity of the problem to some extent. The former, prompted by the present energetic Director of Agriculture, Mr. Castle Stuart, have not only been very sympathetic towards any movements of self-help in this direction, but have also been making efforts to effect active improvements, and offer practical advice through the officers of the Agricultural Department. They have determined, as a first step in his direction, that the services of the able and experienced Deputy Director, Mr. Benson, should be fully secured to the department without any diversion; they have permanently engaged the services

of an expert Botanist in the person of Mr. Barber, and it will not be long before Madras will count an Agricultural Chemist in the ranks of her departmental officers. The appointment of an indefatigable and enterprising engineering expert in Mr. Chatterton to be in charge of the Pumping Installations in this Presidency is indeed a welcome announcement, and the staff will thus soon be quite complete, counting upon the recently appointed Imperial Entomologist. In fact, with such an able subordinate officer as Rao Bahadur C. K. Subba Rao, Sub-Assistant Director of Agriculture, whose information on agricultural matters is quite encyclopædic, it would seem that there is nothing left to desire in this direction.

But the best portion of the services of the Deputy Director has been spent outside his real sphere, whither he has been recalled rather late in the day. It is better late than never. The Indian subordinate officers are the products of the Saidapet College of Agriculture, which, to say the least of it, has not been quite what it ought to be. Even experts have pronounced it a failure, and the practical training to students afforded by it has been almost *nil*. The opening, however, of an Imperial Agricultural College at Pusa, within the course of last year, is sure to remedy this crying evil, and supply the country with men trained under the most eminent professors and the best conditions. Here again we meet with another illustration of the Government taking the initiative for the furtherance of the welfare of their subjects. The impetus for the inauguration of Government Experimental Stations was given only three years back, and now four are in full swing and two more are being started. The Veterinary College at Vepery, established a little more than a year ago, is apparently doing good work. Inoculations of cattle against anthrax and rinderpest have grown very popular and widespread in their range, during the last year. Thus the active Agricultural Policy of the Government has almost been synchronous with the popular movement.

Simultaneously with the recognition of their responsibilities by the Government, there has also been a sudden and similar awakening of the people from within. Agricultural Societies brimming with life and vigour have sprung up at Tanjore, Conjeevaram, Penukonda, Vizianagaram and Musulipatam; and the Government themselves have expressed their cordial satisfaction at the starting of a similar movement at Nellore. There has been a quick succession of Cattle Shows and Agricultural Exhibitions in various districts. These events afford ample proof that the popular effort is more than a

merely spasmodic one. In fact, when the proposed Central Agricultural Committee becomes an established fact, the work of the various District Agricultural Associations will be regulated and systematised by a steady and uniform policy.

The District Boards have not lagged behind. The Madura District Board is working two farms, one at Vadagarai and the other at Manamadura. The Kistna District Board has converted a portion of the Technical School at Bezvada into an Agricultural class with a model farm to inculcate practical lessons.

The Court of Wards has been even more enthusiastic. A Demonstration Farm of 90 acres in extent has been opened at Pittapur; small home farms are also being worked in three other estates; and a pumping station is to be opened on the Arni Estate. The Court had its own Agricultural Adviser till some time back, when, by the death of the then incumbent, they had to look out for another, and we may be sure that they will pitch upon a competent person soon. Another indication of their anxiety and earnestness is to be found in the teaching of Agriculture to the Wards at Newington.

The Zemidars too have not been idle. Many of them in the Vizagapatam District have joined the Vizianagaram Agricultural Society. The Zemindar of Ettaiyapuram, a past product of Newington, has always been appreciative in this direction, and has practically manifested his sympathy by opening a small farm at his head-quarters. The Lessees of the Sivaganga Zemindari, at the instance of Mr. A. P. Millar, the manager, are conducting at Uthikolam successful experiments in manuring and saline land reclamation.

The various missionary bodies, with true insight into the real needs of the country, have betaken themselves ardently to the improvement of its agricultural conditions. The Revd. Mr. Andrew of Melrosapuram has done more in the way of improved and practical agriculture in the last few years than what the Madras Agricultural Department has done ever since its existence. The Rev. Mr. Holton is managing a farm at Manamadura; the Rev. Mr. Cowdy of Kamalapuram has been steadily bettering the condition of his flock; the Rev. G. N. Thomssen of Baptala has set to work in the reclamation of a large swamp of many square miles in extent, with Government aid; another reverend gentleman at Kadayampatti near Salem is to work a pumping station there.

In spite of all these active demonstrations, and seemingly consequent approach to the solution of the problem, there are obstacles

in the way, which are by no means contemptible, and which can be surmounted only in the course of time.

India has often been styled with the dignified appellation of "continent," no wonder therefore that the Southern Presidency itself presents such infinite variety of soils, climate, seasons, and other natural conditions. The principles of the Science of Agriculture as propounded in Europe or America can only be adapted to the requirements of this country with such modifications, and after such experiments, as may be essential in order to suit the climatic changes and the incidental peculiarities of local circumstances. It should also be borne in mind that strictly speaking Agriculture is not a "Science" in its limited sense, but only an "art," and greater difficulties are sure to be encountered when conclusions arrived at abroad in a foreign country have to be tested practically on the Indian soil. The Madras Agricultural Department, which is still in its earliest stage of infancy, has thus neither facts nor sound theories of its own. All the laborious task of experimental work lies before it in a vast stretch.

Success in agricultural experiments generally is hard to be attained. A few weeks back, a programme of experimental work was drawn up by the Deputy Director of Agriculture for some members of the Tanjore Agricultural Society. A distinction was drawn therein between "field experiments" and "field demonstrations," and about the former it was remarked, "Great care and a thorough knowledge of Technical Agriculture are needed to properly conduct a field experiment. Uniform land must be selected, the area of each plot accurately determined, and the seeds, manures, and crops carefully weighed. The expenditure on such a work is necessarily high Field experiments are conducted on a plan carefully thought out and arranged by the Department." These remarks emphasise the difficulties attending agricultural experiments in general.

Even after the lapse of two decades and more of the existence of the Saidapet Farm, we are no nearer the truth than before, as to which of the three systems of conserving cattle manure is the best. The Department is still conducting these experiments, and has no definite advice to offer to any landholder seeking it.

Reclamation of saline lands has been going on all over the world, and the results obtained elsewhere cannot unfortunately be applied readily to Indian conditions. The whole ground has to be traversed again, and it may be years before any reliable results can be arrived at.

Thus it would seem that the conclusions of the experts of the West could at best only help us in eliminating certain unnecessary and random experiments, and show us the lines along which we are to pursue our investigations.

Even the little that the Department can offer in the way of advice and information, is unfortunately shut out from the masses.

Week after week, and month after month, a flood of agricultural journals is pouring into the departmental library from all parts of the world. No attempt is apparently made to collate all the useful information from these publications and present it to the public in a shape at once attractive and profitable. At any rate a monthly journal might be published by the Department, and even if there be nothing in it except useful extracts from various records, still it would be of immense value to the educated few in the country, and might gradually reach the ryot by a process of infiltration through the Agricultural Societies.

If journalism is alien to the functions of Government, they might at least appoint a capable librarian, better an Agricultural Diplomat, whose duty it would be to mark out in every journal any important article relevant to South Indian Agriculture, and the public might then profitably be allowed free access to the library.

Vernacular journals and translations of "few and far between" bulletins are not really so helpful to the ryot, as they are imagined to be. A vernacular rendering of a technical word is not seldom a harder nut to crack than the English original. More should therefore be looked out to from the process of infiltration abovementioned.

But what avail is all this information if the final receptacle refuses to receive it? The Indian ryot is notoriously conservative. He would not, he dare not, depart from the practices of his hallowed forefathers. If you speak to him of a new-fangled improvement which might be beneficially tried by him, he would turn round and tell you, that what was good for his father and grandfather would be good enough for him, and would even think that he had completely vanquished you by that argument.

Unfortunately, unlike her sister-provinces which boast of a distinct Director of Land Records and Agriculture, this Presidency is given a Director, who is also burdened with the more or less engrossing duties of a Settlement Commissioner; while the subordinate officers are styled as belonging to the "Settlement Department." The Director who opens on one fine morning an Agricultural Exhibition, with a stirring and ennobling address delivered

to an enthusiastic audience, is obliged the very next day to discuss, not of course to the satisfaction of the public, by what percentage the present assessment is to be enhanced. No mortal can safely assert that he could combine in him, without prejudice to each other, the functions of the "ministering angel" and the dreaded hearth-taxman. Yet that is the conspicuous anomaly in this benighted Presidency.

If an officer of the Agricultural Department visits a village, then the ryot knowingly nods his head, and quietly asserts with an air of self-assurance, not unmingled with sorrow, that the arrival of the magnate bodes no good for him, and that the Government are only sinisterly preparing the way to increase their revenue by an enhancement of taxation.

Turning to minor points, we might point out, that the Agricultural Policy of the Government has been characterised by only such uniformity and steadiness as a civilian Director can possibly infuse into it. It has been a patchwork of all the theories emanating from the brains of those members of the "Heaven-born Service," who happened or happen to have anything to do with the Department, and who, whatever might be said of their general administrative skill and organising capacity, are not fully conversant with the details of a Technical Department,—details which cannot be quite ignored. But the two salutary innovations, *viz.*, the recent appointment of an Inspector-General of Agriculture, and the organisation of a Board of Agriculture, to whom the various Provincial Governments can look up for advice, are sure to mitigate this evil. An era is dawning upon us when the whole of India will work at the problem with one accord on identical lines, and when the whole staff of Imperial and Provincial Agricultural Officers will have ample opportunities of freely exchanging their ideas.

Of late, there seems to be an overlapping of the duties of the various officers of the Agricultural Department. More Agricultural work seems to be delegated to the Government Botanist, as the opening up of three Experimental Stations under his charge, *viz.*, the Sugarcane Station at Samalkot, the Ground-nut Farm near Nellikuppam, and the Pepper Farm at Taliparamba (Chirakkal Taluk) seems to indicate. It may be contended that the work at these stations seems more to partake of the nature of economic botanical study. But the services of Mr. Barber were, it is believed, first engaged to make a systematic botanical survey of South Indian Flora, and the fact cannot be denied that it is to the detriment of this initial and

important work his attention has been diverted. • Even in respect of the two mainly Agricultural Farms, the Government noted in their Review of the half-yearly report for the period ending 30th September 1903, that the experiments conducted there were too discursive to be of any real ultimate value.

Cotton, tobacco, sugarcane, ground-nut, pepper, and indigo, are doubtless very important economic products; but, unfortunately, they are not the staple food crops of the Presidency. A study of paddy, ragi, cumbu, and cholam, is sure to be of greater utility in a province where the majority of the population raise these crops for their own immediate consumption. No doubt some attention has been bestowed upon cholam, but the others have not received the full extent of care, they naturally deserve. The Presidency as a whole, and not merely individual districts, will keenly watch the results of any experiments that may be conducted with food grains.

To sum up, from the general outlook above described, we cannot but come to the conclusion that, in spite of our steady advance towards it, the goal is yet far off.

"AGRICULTURE."

LALITA: A STORY OF SOCIAL REFORM.

(concluded from our last number.)

CHAPTER VII.

IT was after what had transpired in the last chapter that the conversation recorded in the beginning of this story took place. Vasu's head was as full of crotchets as a beehive is full of bees. The youthful ardour to reconstruct society on new lines was consuming his vitals. Inexperienced and unskilled as he was in the ways of the world, he was still fired with the zeal of a Wilberforce or a Paley and truly imagined that his mode of setting to work would even pale them by its most useful results. He was actually pained to see the fallen condition of women in this country. This was the subject which, he thought, ought to engage his immediate attention. He could afford to let other pressing reforms remain in the back ground for at least sometime. He argued within himself that, if he could convince women of their degenerate condition and induce them to throw off their present reserve and to assert their independence in all matters affecting their social life, the millennium was not far distant when the daughters of this noble land would stand on the same platform with their sisters of the West and develop a universal sisterhood whose influence would percolate deep into society and show to an astonished world the latent possibilities of their real worth and indispensable help and usefulness in making society a real source of enjoyment instead of making it a bug-bear to cause needless fright to the timid and the weak. What a field of usefulness lay before him! Should he now give up the opportunity and allow himself to be drifted away and tossed about on a sea of uncertainty and doubt, or buckle himself up for immediate action, however discouraging and distressing might be his initial efforts? Thus he stood for a moment deeply agitated, but a flash of inspiration illuminating the depths of his heart, he cast off all doubts at the failure of his mission, and being fortified by an unusual fund of vitality and courage, he paced to and fro with an unbending resolve to carry out the schemes which he set his heart upon.

The question of female education had long exercised his mind. He could not conceive why girls were educated only for some years and all further education stopped even sometime before they

attained their age of discretion. A little learning was a dangerous thing, and, unless they imbibed a sufficient amount of knowledge, their scrappy information necessarily disqualified them for responsible functions in life and more often led them astray than taught them to steer clear of the ways of the world which were beset with snares and temptations. He would establish colleges for girls to give them the benefits of higher education which would open their eyes to the wonders of the world around them. Why should they be shut out from nature's enjoyment? Masculine selfishness could not go further than to shut out all enlightenment to the fair sex and make them grope in darkness. An enlightened woman was a precious jewel shedding lustre on her surroundings. He perfectly agreed with the ardent reformer who observed that 'in order that woman may rise to the full sublimity of her nature, it is obviously absurd to train her in an elementary and in a thoroughly inefficient and milk and water system of education, which is all that we have in our country and which many people consider good enough. My own opinion is that their education should be as high, as scientific and as invigorating as the education of men.'

With this sublime object in view, he began his work by visiting girl-schools and, if possible, by persuading them with his eloquence and logic about the necessity of their unremitting devotion to study. They were told that knowledge was power and that, being fortified by such a power, they could surmount all difficulties. There was nothing comparable to it. Extensive knowledge alone tended to secure supreme felicity and domestic happiness. Ignorance was degrading and brought in its train endless misery and overwhelming grief. But the cogency of these arguments was too high for the little girls who could not understand their drift. These tyros of feminine wisdom pooh-poohed the ideas and, ridiculing him as a madcap, laughed at him for his bombast and rigmarole. If he had a sister or a daughter, let him go and educate her till her old age. So they said and chuckled at their own wit. After this he reproached himself for this improper move on his part. What was the use of giving these ignorant girls advice which they did not and could not appreciate. A better and more practical way would be to approach their parents, many of whom were themselves educated. They knew the value of education as a civilizing factor. He accordingly tried to persuade them to continue to give them education till their intellect broadened to receive outside impressions with a deep receptivity. But he reckoned unwisely in taking this step also. They

were not prepared to go with him and adopt his views which they ridiculed as impracticable. His methods, they said, were purely fanciful and outlandish. They were unfit to take root in this soil. They attributed them to his fevered imagination. They were sure that ripe age would cool down his silly enthusiasm in this direction. This unexpected turn greatly distressed him. He was not prepared for the buffets of an antagonistic society which could not sympathize with his noble aspirations. The inquisitorial social mill was grinding away to destruction all efforts to raise its present status.

Thus mortified at the little success which had attended his initial endeavours, he sought the repose of his ever faithful wife who greeted him with all the exuberance and wealth of undiminished love and innocent simplicity. She questioned him as to what it was that agitated him. He looked perturbed. His face had not that serene composure which generally characterised it. 'What is the matter, my lord,' asked Lalita, 'you look scared and unhappy. Has anything happened to disturb your peace of mind?' He was too troubled to answer her immediately. He, however, began by rating the world for its extreme apathy and wilful neglect of its most responsible duties—a world which would take shelter behind impossible attitudes and which had not the boldness to take part in life's struggle. 'The modern generation,' he said, 'is a race of humbugs whose public preachings belied their private acts. I cannot imagine greater fools who actually feared the displeasure of their idiotic wives who had no brains in their heads and who were brought up from their infancy on dire ignorance. How they quailed before them! They had not a drop of manliness in them.' Lalita tried to persuade her husband to desist from these undertakings which did not secure the sympathy of society. Why should he single-handed waste his energies by compelling a reluctant attention to a phase of reform for which it was as yet unprepared? Every reform to be successfully carried into practice meant the co-operation of the many. As long as the many were indifferent about their own interests, to preach oneself hoarse about them was an act of folly. His mission was destined to be futile, so long as active opposition was manifested. She begged her husband to devote his time and intellectual efforts to better results.

He was however determined to carry out his reforms in spite of every kind of antagonism. He would never allow himself to be

fooled in this way. He only required the sympathy of his devoted wife, which was a sufficient incentive to his future labours—a thankless task it might prove but still it would continue to be a labour of love with him. Would his beloved wife encourage and assist him in this meritorious work? Was she prepared to set her shoulders to the wheel and thus earn the eternal gratitude of her whole race or lose the splendid opportunity and be damned for ever, branded with shame and ignominy? She could not immediately answer. His outbursts of enthusiasm and temper appalled her and never before did he appear to her in that stern and unbending attitude which made him savage-looking in spite of his accustomed tranquillity and serenity of temperament. She paused and hesitated before she replied. She said she sympathized with him in his endeavours to assert the value of education to girls. Nobody could deny its importance. Knowledge was elevating, while ignorance was debasing. But education was only a means and not an end in itself. It has rectitude of conduct as one of its most important aims. Scrappy bits of information on desultory subjects did not constitute real education which consisted in moulding one's character for right purposes, in making useful women and in refining manners and conduct towards their fellow-beings by breeding qualities of affability, modesty, truthfulness and, above all, virtue. Special stress should be laid on that form of emotional education as contrasted with mere education of the intellect. The former alone would prove most beneficial to society by eliminating discord and vice. Virtuous conduct is worth all that pedantry which airs about impractical theories. 'Our women,' said Lalita, 'though they cannot boast of the intellectual attainments of European ladies, are still fully endowed with a fund of common sense sufficient to regulate their conduct in life. An unblemished life is what our Shastras and Puranas emphasize. Every girl is impressed from her infancy with the noble ideal life of a Sita, a Savitri and a Sakuntala. Tested by her usefulness in society, a Hindu woman leaves nothing to be desired. If it is not your wish to make them pedants, and turn their heads with the latest 'New Woman' rage, which can only unsex her, my humble opinion will be to give them as much education as will develop a conduct of life tending to purify home and its surroundings, instead of making them run after the mirage of unrealizable crazes and useless hobbies.' Vasu was struck with the simple wisdom conveyed in this unaffected admonition and could not but realize that righteous conduct was the end of all education,

and that which alone could make a woman respectable was virtue and virtue only.

CHAPTER VIII.

The gentle advice that was given by his wife could not keep his spirits down. He was inflamed with the zeal for reform. The educational problem was not one that demanded urgent intervention. It needed but an impetus to increase its usefulness. Unlike the rigid days of old, people were now willing to educate their girls, though not to the extent to which it was desirable. Want of higher education was no positive danger to society, although an imparting of it would improve it. But there were other evils which were undermining the very roots of society. The savagery and cruelty of the custom which prohibited women from remarrying were sufficiently appalling. Its tyranny was incomprehensible, and its heartlessness, unworthy of a people who were well-known for their extreme solicitude for even the lowest semblance of insect life. Did any one realize the unhappy lot of a woman who, bereft of her husband at an early age, had to pass the remainder of her life in utter seclusion and sheer despondency without a ray of hope to brighten her future? Widowhood here meant the deprivation of all comforts in life. A widow could not wear jewels nor attire herself in decent dress. She must eschew all flowers and scents and hence forward lead a true ascetic life. She could not speak aloud nor laugh but must dedicate her body and soul to menial service or devotional purposes to which youth could not reconcile itself without a pang. Her charms fade like the fragrance wasted on the desert air and have as little use for them as a resplendent moonshine in a lifeless forest. Subtler men took umbrage under the fact that so long as widows themselves offered the most stubborn resistance to all proposals of a second matrimony, it were impertinent for others to interfere and coerce them. He for his part could not conceive why they, subject as they were to their present wretched and desolate condition, should refuse to be solaced by measures which secured a fresh lease of life pregnant with enjoyment. It was, he was sure, one of the many subterfuges of cowards who feared social odium and shoved the responsibility on the heads of the sufferers themselves. It is a melodramatic tactic which realizes its object by compelling the victims to acknowledge the uselessness of a better life.

His own idea was that they only needed encouragement from

true sympathizers. For his part he would see that all widows remarryed irrespective of their age and position in life. Whether young or old, rich or poor, a widow must have a companion to solace her. He would appeal to the practice of civilized nations of allowing complete freedom in this matter. He saw no reason why such a practice should be totally interdicted here. Again remarriages of widows were quite common among some of the lowest castes in this country. The proposed step would only be an extension to the higher classes of a boon which the former enjoyed without any disabilities attaching to their social life. The injustice of it was patent on the very face of it.

With these ideas he set out to fathom the real nature of the objections raised by the sufferers themselves. Having met a poor widow of not a very advanced age whose abject and helpless condition sent a tremor through his body, he hinted dexterously at her altered circumstances in life, and asked her if she would consent to take a partner who would support her through thick and thin, instead of pining away as she did, being weighed down with troubles and grief for the remainder of her life. In her modesty and shyness, she simply burst with tears at the most unbecoming and insulting suggestion made by this youngster. Who was he to dictate to her who was passing her days in strict privacy and without meaning any harm to anybody and least of all to him? What had she done that she should be subjected to such a humiliation? Fate had willed that this should be her lot in life. Could any one withstand or transgress it? Was there anything that was more inexorable than the draconian law of *Karma* which punished the offender in this birth for what he had done in a past life? 'I must have been instrumental,' she said, 'in bringing about separation between some husband and wife in a previous birth of mine. I am now punished for such an offence by being doomed to this life-long misery. How can I escape the punishment? Suppose that I give my consent to remarry another and that he also dies, what is to be my fate? If I am destined to suffer in this world, I must atone for my sins by actually undergoing the punishment that my *Karma* inflicts on me. How can you, a Hindu by birth, entertain such silly ideas which are contrary to the established usages of the land and which are so repugnant to me, an ignorant woman? May God inspire you with better thoughts and lead you in the path of righteousness! Try to earn by your good actions a good name which would redound to the credit of yourself, your parents and your

ancestors. Be rid of these notions of reform which will bear no fruit, as long as those for whom they are intended are unprepared to follow you, a little child who cannot yet see beyond the four walls of your house.'

Here was another rebuff which almost staggered him. He wanted to do her good, but she made him a merest tyro unfit to handle weighty problems of life without bringing on himself the contempt and scorn of even ignorant women! Was there any fatality in his actions which were doomed to failure and disappointment?

As he was moving away from the place, with these thoughts agitating his mind, he met an old friend who had a widowed sister and who, he thought, only stood in need of the help of an enlightened few to restore his poor sister to a marital state of happiness. He cautiously broached the subject and spoke to him about the imperative necessity of raising the condition of women and elevating them from their social disabilities. Coming nearer home, he referred to the miserable lot of his sister. Was there no hope of saving her? Was she to remain in that ignoble condition till humane death released her from all earthly bondage? Would he not, as a brother, raise his finger of protest against the diabolical system and secure for her a place worthy of her age and comeliness? Was she to languish in the very presence of other more fortunate women whom a benign Providence placed above all wants? How long should she thus smoulder away before the slowly consuming fire of enforced widowhood? As long as Vasu was talking in a general way, he was listened to with an apparent indifference; but when the case of his unfortunate sister was mentioned, his friend flew into a rage and was about to thrash him for his impudent behaviour. He wondered as to how he should account for Vasu's rigmarole and impertinent high-falutin. Was he subject to occasional mental aberrations? He asked Vasu to mind his own business and not thrust his nonsense upon others. His silly quixotic views could better characterise a raving lunatic who was dead to all self-respect, sense of shame and decency. He was an educated fool, devoid of all discrimination and practical experience. He was thus lectured upon as to his duties towards the very society which he was trying to reconstruct. He was thus left to chew the end of disappointment and discontent. He pondered within himself as to why his sincere efforts were not appreciated. After all Pope was right when he wrote, 'Where ignorance is bliss, it is folly to be wise.' There seemed to be no use in pressing for a reform which the very

persons to be benefited by it resented. What could have been the object of early legislators in prohibiting remarriage of widows? This at once reminded him of the bug-bear of modern legislation which disallowed marriage with the deceased wife's sister. What amount of opposition this had invoked from the Church? What were the difficulties to be encountered here? He could find none. He could not see the wisdom of the conservative bias which prevented this, although such a practice was quite common in India. When there was opposition to such a simple reform as this in a civilised country like England which involved no serious changes, he could now conceive the obstacles thrown in the way of useful reforms by ignorant men who tamely and unquestioningly followed what was prescribed for them by more intellectual heads. The futility of going against the current was now apparent to him. Society was an impregnable rock which could not be shattered by the feeble batteries of unpractical harangues which made no impression on anybody.

CHAPTER IX.

Even after these reverses, he did not give up hopes of success regarding his pet schemes. Though he found the world too tough for him, he had no mind to give in without trying all possible experiments. He felt it keenly that he was made a plaything. There was a time when he thought that they were fools. But now everyone turned against him and rated him as a silly fool. He had determined at last to narrow his sphere of action. He would test his influence over his family. He assured himself that his words would command a great deal of respect. His merits were recognised by them and he would find no difficulty in compelling their attention to his ways of thought and action. If he did not succeed with the dearest members of his own family, where else could he expect to succeed?

He would take up the much debated question of caste. The history of caste in this country was a history of human degradation from the days of the Vedas and the Puranas when there were no castes excepting those which were the result of the acts of men which differentiated them to the modern days when priestly influence predominated and destroyed all sense of that catholic sympathy which knits man and man together. The exclusiveness of the present day was one of the consequences of the caste supremacy, and was incapable of fostering that sense of nation-

ality which would present a united front to an aggressive nation. It had been eating into the very vitals of society by permeating its strata from the highest to the lowest. Its force had already undermined the race intellectually, physically and morally. Its tyranny had become most unreasonable, when it presumed to dictate unwholesome dogmas, and when it became a source of oppression within its own ranks. By tolerating hereditary ignorance, and conniving at impudent foppery, it had spread disunion and is believed to be the source of "the two great defects in the Indian character—a want of reliance on one's self and a want of confidence in others." In no other country had it so degraded mankind and disintegrated society. The country which boasted of a Buddha who aimed at Universal Love and Universal Brotherhood became the prey of internecine feuds brought about by racial hatreds and caste prejudices. Unity was destroyed by it and discord became its key-note. How could a country thrive under such circumstances? The altered conditions of society necessitated reform here also. Though it might be impossible to drive it out of this country or for the matter of that, any country, could it not be so reformed as to minimize its hardships? He had therefore determined to introduce the thin end of the wedge by reforming the unit of his family by eliminating caste from it. The foolish barrier which prevented one another from dining together seemed to him the first and the easiest to deal with. All were equal on the face of the earth.

With this object in view, Vasu, though himself belonging to a high caste, invited a select number of his friends who belonged to different castes, and promised to dine with them on equal footing. He accordingly informed his parents of his resolve and took it for granted that his wife, as a matter of course, would comply with his desire. But no sooner did they hear of his intention than they felt shocked at the audacity of the proposal which would easily bring them under the social ban. He asked them, "where is the difficulty? They are all men like ourselves. They are more civilized and more cleanly in habits, than their own cooks. Why should they be subjected to this invidious difference? Common sense can teach them that it involves no heroic sacrifice!" But his parents were inexorable. They absolutely declined to carry out the proposal. Neither he nor his friends would get food on the proposed conditions. A more preposterous proposal never emanated from the brain of a sane man. What could he do now? He was placed in an awkward position. Here was a worse treatment than what he

had experienced anywhere else in his life-time. In his own house, he would not be listened to. He was thoroughly chagrined at the unexpected turn of affairs. He could not bring round his own parents, much less his wife, to gratify a whim, even if they considered it as such, to save him from his ridiculous plight. What would his friends think of him? He was ashamed to confess to them the failure of his mission. But the redoubtable champions of reform merely laughed at him. They said they knew the difficulties themselves and were simply laughing in their sleeves when he foolishly imagined that his theories could be carried into practice with impunity. How he was amazed at this attitude of his friends! Were these the men who so loudly denounced the existing customs so long as they were confined within doors; but whose courage oozed out at the mere sight of a sturdy orthodox rustic? Were these the self-styled benefactors of the world who shrank at the sight of a nautch-girl, advocated remarriage of widows with a rare persistency, and who mercilessly pleaded for the total abolition of all caste barriers? How easily could they be spirited away by the orthodox wand, and with what ready submission had they become a part and parcel of the very system which they were secretly inveighing against! They feared social ostracism like scalded dogs and dreaded to disturb the nest of the orthodox hornets whose pugnacious sting was enough to remind them of their folly for ever. To them prudence was the better part of valour. How he had been totally deserted by the very men on whose help he had so surely counted but who had now proved cowards whose theories were perfectly worthless and whose acts were much more unreliable! Alas, had the modern degenerate world produced only these scare-crow specimens of humanity who merely danced to the tune of wire-pullers and who had no individuality of their own! How he hated them now for their hypocrisy and cunning! Despair was now staring him in the face. He became thoroughly dejected and unhinged in mind.

CHAPTER X.

Vasu was utterly demoralized at the frustration of his well-meaning endeavours. Not a ray of hope was left to him for the realization of his youthful dreams. He was thoroughly paralyzed in mind. He tried to forget the past which was so full of painful reminiscences. But it took hold of him the more tenaciously, the more he tried to dissociate himself from it. How vainly had he

wandered after the Will-o-the wisp of his useless hobbies which did nobody any good! Society hated him for his unripe views which he had attempted to thrust with a presumption characteristic of green youth. How fondly he had imagined that he was capable of achieving success in a matter which defied the intelligence of the greatest men! The battle of old usage and accommodation to new facts had been going on from time immemorial, and what appeared as new in one country had already existed in another. Vasu remembered that passage in Emerson, which refers to reformers. "Moreover so deep is the foundation of the existing social system, that it leaves no one out of it. We may be partial, but Fate is not. All men have their root in it. You who quarrel with the arrangements of society, and are willing to embroil all, and risk the indisputable good that exists, for the chance of better, live, move, and have your being in this, and your deeds contradict words every-day. For as you cannot jump from the ground without using the resistance of the ground, nor put out the boat to sea, without shoving from the shore, nor attain liberty without rejecting obligation, so you are under the necessity of using the actual order of things, in order to disuse it; to live by it, whilst you wish to take away its life. The past has baked your loaf, and in the strength of its bread you would break up the oven. But you are betrayed by your own nature. You also are conservatives. However men may please to style themselves, I see no other than a conservative party. You are not only identical with us in your needs, but also in your methods and aims. You quarrel with my conservatism, but it is to build up one of your own; it will have a new beginning, but the same course and end, the same trials, the same passions; among the lovers of the new I observe that there is a jealousy of the newest, and that the seceder from the seceder is as damnable as the pope himself." What a wisdom was contained in these pregnant words which put the whole question of reform in a nut-shell!

But this wisdom came too late. The frightful apparitions of the past fled before his mind's eye with continued persistence, till he became a victim to hallucinations and illusions. The reaction was inevitable. A complete prostration of his body and mind immediately followed. He was confined to bed for a long time. Abnormal febrile symptoms set in, and he was unconsciously raving about his future hopes of reform. His present was merged in the past. His early life came vividly before his mind. He dreamed that he was a youth taking lessons from his great masters. His

wranglings with his professors about obscure questions of metaphysics now presented themselves graphically. He distinctly remembered the days when he turned his attention from philosophical speculations to more practical methods of raising humanity. He dreamed that the secrets of sociology were whispered into his ears by an angel descending from above and bidding him to rouse himself from his lethargy. He was commanded to propagate those secret doctrines which were hidden hitherto from unceremonious criticism. Now the time was ripe for their reception and their fruition. He was the messenger who was charged with the work of boldly stepping out of the arena and compelling the reluctant crowd to listen to his words of counsel. He dreamed that he was preaching a sermon on the mount to his scattered sheep, beckoning the waifs and strays into his fold offering redemption.

The congested state of his feverish brain helped in fostering illusions. For a long time, he was hovering on the borders of the fairyland of his own creation. The anxious and soothing care of his wife slowly but gradually turned the scale, and he was pronounced to be out of danger by the modern sons of Galen and Hippocrates. The period of his convalescence extended however over some months. When his recovery was complete, the past was a blank. He was only moving in the present which had new interests for him. He was having a quiet life with nothing to disturb his serenity or composure. He was sailing calmly on the unruffled waters of life. The company of his wife was everything to him now. He drank deep every syllable that fell from her precious mouth. She was a divinity on whose altar he once for all sacrificed his foolish hobbies. She was shaping the future conduct for him. Looking to her as his guiding angel, he renounced himself into her hands. But to her, he was the self-same loving husband who was only betrayed into thorny paths by an unwholesome education whose academic character could not instil principles of right conduct, while it crammed into the raw brain of the unwary student scraps of undigested theories, more deleterious in their effects than absence of education. His eccentric behaviour did not diminish her respect for him. His present predicament called forth all the pity that she was capable of. While his friends who indulged in blatant talk without attempting to give it a practical shape and who merely wished to make a cat's paw of him, deserted him one by one during the most stormy period of his life, and while the outside world was denouncing him for his vagaries and condemning

his actions, his devoted wife was the only friend who stood by, and had a kind word for him. Though considerably differing from him in the inculcation of his progressive ideas, she still sympathized with his aspirations. Unlike his friends who changed as often as the seasons, she steadily kept to her view and was only looking for an opportunity for bringing him entirely under her influence. Once within her reach, she satisfied herself that her husband would not be unamenable to reason and would yield to her pleadings. She was thus preparing herself for a final *coup-de-grace* which would secure him to her for ever. Once separated from his not very disinterested associates, she was sure he could be persuaded to divert his energies into more useful channels.

Vasu had, by this time, realized that "we are reformers in spring and summer, in autumn and winter we stand by the old ; reformers in the morning, conservers at night." The lip-reforms preached by hot-headed youths had always disastrous results. It is said that misfortune is the touchstone of friendship. Similarly it might be said that practice and example are the touchstone of reform. Many simply talked like philosophers but lived like fools. His friends with whom any amount of mere prattle without practice constituted their idea of reform, behaved most shamefully in deserting him at a time when he most needed their sympathy and co-operation. He could not forget their irreverent attitude when they wanted to make a scape goat of him by exposing him to public censure and ridicule, while they placed themselves at a safe distance only to join the successful party, whichever it might be. He had now learnt that "Reform in its antagonism inclines to asinine resistance, to kick with hoofs ; it runs to egotism and bloated self-conceit ; it runs to a bodiless pretension, to unnatural refining and elevation, which ends in hypocrisy and sensual re-action." He had enough of the past which was so pregnant with mishaps. His experience had outgrown the milksop theories which proved to be unpractical. He determined henceforward to be a passive on-looker watching the world's progress with interest.

He was blest with a son who created new interests in the parents. Cares of domesticity had now absorbed much of his time and attention. The centripetality of his existence became more and more marked than ever. He lived a thoroughly exclusive life. His chief diversions were now reading and music. The sweet-toned voice of Lalita was his constant solatium. What can better divert a man from his gloomy and sombre thoughts than music which is

nothing, if not a faithful expression of feelings? The shepherd tending his flock, the soldier on his march, and the labourer in the field are beguiled by the rustic music of a village orphan whose heart's emotions overflow and find expression in musical cadences. How much more should its influence be over men of some education and discrimination? Vasu who had the fortune of listening to his wife, was deeply impressed by it and concluded that it was a higher revelation than all wisdom and philosophy. It was the best amusement for a troubled mind and the best antidote to sore disappointments which were the result of one's own indiscretion. A complete change of scenery was thought desirable, and he was accordingly advised to remove to a quiet sea-side village whose novelty of situation could obliterate all painful reminiscences of the past and take off that sting which still reminded him of his youthful follies.

CHAPTER XI.

Taking his little family with him, he made a temporary stay in a sea-side village which was a well-known health-resort. It was a place which no habitual traveller missed on account of its archaeological interest and which no pious pilgrim failed to visit at least once in his life, on account of the historic temple which was supposed to have been built by Devatas in commemoration of the victory between them and a race of extinct Rakshasas who were always bent upon molesting the former. A small range of hills amphitheatrically situated added a peculiar charm to the place. The beautiful carvings on these hills which represented the historic scenes as depicted in the national epics were full of interest and were one of its many attractions. There the stately banyan of many centuries old gave shelter to the huge-uddered cows that sought them during the fierce heat of the mid-day sun. The pure limpid water of the big village tank was the quiet resort of the early-rising birds who bathed in them and then began their melodious strains which resounded in the adjoining forest till they woke up the lazy kite and the heavy owl. The deep murmurs of the sea beating against the solitary shore with a sprinkling here and there of fishermen's huts were heard from a distance. Its rough waves which washed the incomplete monolithic columns studding the shore for a long distance seemed to threaten to swallow the place by their fierce beatings. Many such carved pillars had already been submerged under it. The havoc thus caused would have long ago effaced all vestiges

of creation, but for the divine dispensation (such was the local tradition) which made one of its earliest heroic Kings the local guardian and custodian. A royal image, carved out with all the skill which ancient art was capable of, could be even now seen lying horizontally in a small but crumbling temple, which was washed on three of its sides by the mighty waves which beat mercilessly as in revenge and whose foam was scattered far and wide. Generations of sea-gulls made this their ancient home and feared no human beings. The fish-bones found scattered on the beach pointed to their spoliation. The scene for some distance was an awe-inspiring one. The situation was one eminently fitted to cure all human vanity and egotism which perhaps breed more in cities than in these out of the way places where man is surrounded by a majestic-ocean and mighty hills which seem to mock his assumption of superiority.

Vasu stayed to take that long rest which he so much needed after his serious illness. What with Lalita, his most charming companion, and what with his little son enlivening his life with sweet cares for him, his days rapidly went by. The place was a treasury of ancient curiosities in whose exploration much of his time was spent. It abounded in most interesting legends, many of which contained kernels of historical truths, but which were passed over as ancient myth based on superstition. But no student of history could have found more instructive materials which would supply him with a thread of genuine local history and which would fill many a gap which still lay unfilled, between ancient and modern history. The historic temple showed the artistic excellence of later Buddhist workmanship which perfected architecture and sculpture in India. In fact the splendid ruins which still adorned the place were supposed to be the work of the best artisans of Southern India who incurred the displeasure of a reigning prince and who were consequently confined in this solitude. It struck them that their only hope of salvation and release was in the exhibition of their best artistic skill. The small hills all round afforded to them the best avenue. Their knowledge of the Puranas and Itihisas, they presented in concrete shape by their carvings which were more graphic and realistic in effect than a bare record in verse or prose. But before they could actually finish the huge work they undertook, the king was pleased to order them back to their homes, being fully satisfied with their gratuitous work which turned an arid desert into a historical place of interest. It was thus that huge columns of stone lay without receiving that final finish which marks

the perfection of art. The very imperfections invested them with a halo of glory on account of the mastery of skill displayed.

The sandy beach with the resplendent moonshine, the distant hills which appeared as shadows of ghosts dreading to face the moonlight, solitary crows mistaking the light of the moon for the early dawn and cawing continuously till it settled on the top of a tree ~~only~~ to be molested by screeching owls, and the smooth and unruffled ebb and flow on the shore, were scenes which made a deep and indelible impression. In his rambles with his wife on this sea-shore, Vasu could not but feel his utter insignificance, as he stopped to glance at the heavens studded with starry worlds, each of which was a thousand times bigger than the earth. What was he in that mighty presence wherein he was a speck and moved like a worm to which both the past and the future were alike hidden! Was he not like many others before and after him hurried along by an unseen force, being hardly allowed breathing time! What were his thoughts and actions worth when the hands on the dial of the universal clock were pointing to ravages of time which no intelligence can stop and which no prudence can mend! Here was a lesson which nature taught and which could be learnt in no school of human making. The deep roar of the sea gave rise in him to strange thoughts and the weird light of the moon helped to foster them. The stillness of the night and the solitude of the place brought before his mind's eye a similar occasion when he, in his green youth, argued with Lalita about the urgency of reforms which should organise society on better lines. He was curious to learn the course of thoughts which might be at that moment running in her mind. But nothing disturbed her peace of mind. She was enjoying her present with an unmixed pleasure. With her husband by her side, she was the happiest woman with little more to be desired. Her devotion to him was her life-long purpose. In his faithful service she could pass her days without a shadow. 'My dear Lalita,' said Vasu, 'this weird scene around us has a strange fascination for me so much so that I forget my own individuality in the presence of the multitudinous forces which seem to be constantly and actively working to compass the needs of the Universe. In my youthful inexperience, I fondly imagined that I was myself the centre of great attraction and that I could control the world by mere words—words which now convey no meaning to me. What a change has come over me! How I regard the world with calm resignation and leave everything to its own course! My stormy

past has taught me one practical lesson, and that is to help nature and never to go against it on any account. As the courses of mighty rivers cannot be changed at one's will, so the course of human action cannot be altered by the puerile freaks of the pigmies of the present day. The powerful organisation of our society is a growth of the far past which has gathered strength from age to age. No change can be sudden, and the most obvious reforms have taken ages to bear fruit. The Great Reformation of the sixteenth century which brought about the permanent separation of the Protestants from the Romanists could not root out Romanism itself, which still includes in its fold the greatest thinkers of the day and perhaps counts upon more adherents than the other. The Buddhism of our own land with its most rational and humane principles, although it is the first religion of the major portion of the world's population, was obliged to leave the land of its birth, while its ramifications still reach far and wide outside it. The mockery of all haste in reform is nowhere better seen than in the strange holloosings of the ignorant few whose voice cannot reach the outergates of their house, but who would preach themselves hoarse to a distant age which they hope to tincture with their precious views! Dear wife, how I admire your moderation and patience which you have so meekly preached to me, when my uncontrollable thoughts wandered to find a haven of rest. Your gentle persuasion has impressed me more than the inconsiderate wranglings which naturally failed of their purpose. Your honeyed words carry with them more soothing effects. After all the Poet was right who said that woman is the best counsellor. An intelligent woman with discrimination is more precious than the fabled wealth of a Cræsus! So remarked Vasu in the exuberance of gratitude for her skilful piloting of him. Lalita inwardly rejoiced at the happy transformation of her husband, whose sober views well fitted his native tranquil temperament. She replied, 'I have listened with rapt attention to the pearls of wisdom that have fallen from your mouth. Experience brings in its train ripe judgment. I am extremely happy to imbibe great truths at your hands. Your high intelligence is destined to achieve success in a different direction altogether. The superfluity of your energy first found vent in outbursts of reforms which unripe theories foster. You have passed beyond the stage of unpractical theorizations and have at last alighted on the solid ground of ripe experience. The question of the emancipation of women must be considered with certain limitations, Woman's lot is cast in narrower circles. My lord, I

beseech you to direct your energies to useful works which will take root without offending the community. Reforms to be practically carried out must receive the support of the community in general. And again no reforms can fructify in a day. Ages of incessant labour are necessary for institutions to be recognised and for practices to be adopted. When, therefore, enthusiasm takes the place of sober conduct, all actions which take source from it are doomed to failure. Let me therefore implore you to cast away all dejection at your previous failures and to start afresh in life with new interests and new lines of pursuit which, without shocking society, will endear you to it by reasonable methods and convincing arguments. Society will then hug you for your considerateness and enlist you on its rolls as one of its benefactors.'

Vasu returned home quite a different man. His early superciliousness now gave place to sobriety of conduct, his youthful presumption, to considerate judgment; and his intellectual flippancy, to mental reserve and sober reason. His gentleness of behaviour pleased every one. His opinions based on sound thinking were frequently courted and his counsels thus given with hesitation but characterised by mature wisdom were never regretted. He had now greater opportunities to measure the strong and the weak points of society. With leaders of society on his side, he slowly pushed himself in their esteem. He was thus enabled to convince them by gentle persuasion of the necessity of certain changes which would draw the bonds of society closer. Thus did he rise from being an antagonist to society to a position of its chief adviser. But never did he miss the wise suggestions of his wife who had thus helped him to build a future which was so full of pleasant memories and which filled him with joy.

C. TIRUMALAYYA NAIDU.

LORD CURZON AT DERBY AND WARREN HASTINGS.

LORD Curzon's Convocation Speech has attracted the greatest attention in India. While he was in England he made a speech at Derby—a speech of far reaching consequences and of the utmost importance to India, a speech that requires the closest study by all interested in this Empire. Lord Curzon would not have made his, now, famous Convocation Speech, had he not some assurance that, during his recent holiday of six months, he had won the confidence of the two great parties in England. A careful study of Lord Curzon's Derby Speech is now most desirable, and the following remarks will not therefore be out of place here. In his Derby Speech Lord Curzon wished to impress upon the English people that Party had nothing to do with India, and that India stood outside Party. No doubt, India has been greatly benefited by the British rule, but all the benefits, which now India possesses, were mostly attained when the Indian Government had received the closest attention from the two great political parties in England. A stationary, and, at times, a retrogressive policy has been pursued by the Indian Government, since the two great political parties ceased to take an active interest in India. The closure of the Indian Mints, the amendment of the Law of Sedition, the passing of the Indian Universities and Official Secrets Acts, the abolition of the Competitive Test for appointment in Public Service, interference with, and deposition of, ruling Indian princes, curtailment of privileges enjoyed by Local Self-Government Institutions, and the adoption of numerous other reactionary measures would have been unknown in India, if the English political parties had continued to exercise the closest vigilance, which they had once exercised, over the destinies of the people entrusted to them by Providence. The latter day politicians forgot their duty to India. The Unionists and the Liberals, bitter opponents as they are to each other, solemnly agreed that the wealth of India should be exploited for the benefit of Englishmen, and that Indian industries should be stifled or annihilated for the successful introduction of English machine-turned goods into India. The accession of Sir Henry Fowler to the responsible post of Secretary of State for India will ever be remembered as the period from which the Liberal party forgot the policy that had actuated

Burke, Macaulay, Bright, Fawcett and Bradlaugh. The last Secretary of State who proposed to do justice to India was Lord Kimberly. In 1893 Lord Kimberly requested the Indian Government to inform him how it intended to carry out the resolution of the House of Commons that all open competitions for appointments to the Civil Service of India should be held simultaneously both in India and England. The Indian Government was opposed to the resolution of the House of Commons, and Sir (then, Mr.) Henry Fowler, in recording his adverse decision, concluded his despatch to the Indian Government as follows:—

“Her Majesty's Government are most anxious that the natives of the country *should enjoy every facility, compatible with the maintenance of the efficiency of the administration and safety of British Rule*, to enter the public service of India, and they have reconsidered the whole subject with a sincere desire to give full weight to the arguments in favour of a system of simultaneous examinations: but they have arrived at the conclusion that *there are unsuperable objections to the establishment of that system*” (the italics are mine). The Liberal Party stood aghast when its accredited Minister metamorphosed himself into an uncompromising Tory so far as the Indian administration was concerned. Thenceforward prominent members of the Liberal Party ceased to take an active interest in Indian affairs. The day of India's Salvation will come, only when both the parties evince the closest interest in India, or when India becomes a party question. The efforts of all our Indian politicians should be to induce prominent statesmen like Mr. John Morley, Mr. Asquith and Sir Charles Dilke to evince a great interest in the administration of this Empire. The annual Session of the Indian National Congress will not prove a great success unless it is supplemented by constant agitation in England.

2. Lord Curzon spoke of Burke, Macaulay and Bright as “the three most powerful intellects in the sphere of British politics that had ever seriously devoted themselves to the study of Indian problems,” and “had all been wrong in their verdicts,” and said that “Bright had described the Civil Service as arrogant and tyrannous, the military as clamorous and insatiable for expenditure, the people as crushed and downtrodden, education as trampled upon, crime as rampant, trade as stifled and communication as non-existent.” Lord Curzon “believed that was not a true picture of Bright's time, and it was certainly not a true picture now.” Every intelligent person will be constrained to

remark that Bright's description is, almost, as true a picture now, as it was in 1858. The indispensable preliminary to the good Government of India is, as Bright said, the abolition of the post of Governor-General of India. The abolition of this post will be followed by the disappearance of the despotic element from Government. "The only way by which good government could be secured in India was," as Bright said, "to split up that country into a number of separate presidencies or provinces each with a separate and almost independent government and with a separate army of its own." If Bright's advice is only acted upon, the resources of each presidency or province will not be frittered away on Durbars, Missions, and Expeditions, but will be utilized for the benefit of its own people.

3. In the course of his speech, Lord Curzon said as follows:— "That great and ill-used man, Warren Hastings, one of the most eminent, although the most suffering public servant ever known, had been prosecuted, not for what he had done or what he had not done in India—for most of the charges against him were false—but in order to do injury to the political party that had appointed and supported him at home."

That Burke who, in the words of Mr. Gladstone "holds an undisputed primacy among all the writers upon politics in our language," and Macaulay, who, in the words of another English Premier, Lord Rosebery, "has had the singular pre-eminence to shine in no less than four of the walks of intellectual fame"—orator, poet, historian and essayist, and whose opinion was formed after his sojourn in India, had not been wrong in their verdicts will be evident from the historical pronouncement of the greatest living English prose-writer, and one of the foremost statesmen, Mr. John Morley:

"For years Burke had been watching India. With rising wonder, amazement, and indignation, he had steadily followed that long train of intrigue and crime which had ended in the consolidation of a new empire. With the return of Hastings he felt that the time had come for striking a severe blow, and making a signal example. He gave notice (June 1785) that he would, at a future day, make a motion respecting the conduct of a gentleman just returned from India."

"Neither the scornful neglect of his opponents, nor the dissuasions of some who sat on his own side, could check the ardour

with which Burke pressed on, as he said, to the relief of afflicted nations."

"The side that is defeated on a particular issue is often victorious in the wide and general outcome. Looking back across the ninety years that divide us from that memorable scene in Westminster Hall, we may see that Burke had more success than at first appeared. If he did not convict the man, he overthrew a system, and stamped its principles with lasting censure and shame."

"The whole drift of opinion has changed, and it is since the trial of Hastings that the change has taken place. The question in Burke's time was whether oppression and corruption were to continue to be the guiding maxims of English policy. The personal disinterestedness of the ruler who had been the chief founder of this policy, and had most openly set aside all pretence of righteous principle, was dust in the balance. It was impossible to suppress the policy without striking a deadly blow at its most eminent and powerful instrument. That Hastings was acquitted, was immaterial. The lesson of his impeachment had been taught with sufficiently impressive force—the great lesson that Asiatics have rights, and that Europeans have obligations; that a superior race is bound to observe the highest current morality of the time in all its dealings with the subject race. Burke is entitled to our lasting reverence as the first apostle and great upholder of integrity, mercy, and honour in the relation between his countrymen and their humble dependents."

It also requires mention that Warren Hastings had not been prosecuted in order to do injury to the political party that had appointed and supported him at home. It is true that Burke gave notice that he would make a motion respecting the conduct of Hastings who had returned from India. But it should also be admitted that the motion would never have been adopted by the House of Commons had it not been supported by Pitt, the leader of the political party that had uniformly supported Warren Hastings at home. That Pitt had a higher sense of his duty will be understood from what Lord Rosebery says of him.

"The operations with regard to Hastings..... may be dismissed in a sentence. After the most famous of all English orations had been delivered by Sheridan, Pitt had spoken in support of the Begum charge. This made the impeachment inevitable. A formal

resolution to this effect was unanimously carried, and taken up to the House of Lords by Burke. The episode illustrates in the highest degree the power and probity of Pitt. He had held Hastings in the hollow of his hand. He, and he alone, had pronounced judgment, and pronounced against his own interest. All the forces of politics, with the exception of a small opposition, were in favour of the great Governor. There can be little doubt that had Pitt given his vote for Hastings, he would have done what many men, as honest as he, were able conscientiously to do, and would have gratified the Court, the Company, and the mass of the Commons. But his amazing authority was not more conspicuous than the purity of his rectitude. He declined to associate himself with those who held that the end could justify the means, even for the construction of an empire or in the atmosphere of the East. He gave his decision as calmly as a judge in chambers; while Britain and India abided meekly by the decree of this young gentleman of twenty-eight."

Comment is needless. Who "had all been wrong in their verdicts—" Burke, Macaulay, Bright, John Morley, Rosebery, on the one side, or Lord Curzon on the other?

C.

MATTHEW ARNOLD'S VIEW OF NATURE.

“EVER since man woke on this Earth,” Nature has been his poetic theme of adoration. To the unreflecting ancients, the externals of Nature were her chief attractions. They glorified the seasons, and their changes, the songs of birds, and the “Zephyrus with his swete breathe.” With a sure hand and an unerring eye, Chaucer could give us a finished and graphic picture of April and her showers; but, only this and nothing more. The inner life of Nature and its various manifestations escaped his scrutiny, and remained to him and to his contemporaries a sealed book. But to the later generation of bards, Nature possessed not only a body but also a soul. To me the meanest flower that blows, can give thoughts that lie too deep for human tears—said Wordsworth; and this sentiment was echoed far and wide, though in ever changing and different tones.

To this class of poets belongs Matthew Arnold. To him Nature was an intensely living being whose form can be described and whose moods can be studied. In his descriptions of Nature no second-hand finery either of language or thought obtrudes on the gaze of the fastidious critic. His humble homage to the “Mighty Mother” was paid with an earnest assiduousness and attention, that in all his attempts at portraiture, there is an astonishing “exactness of observation which makes his touches of local colouring so vivid and true.” This is the secret of that rare and exquisite pleasure that we experience in reading his descriptions of the Thames Valley, or the *Kensington gardens*, or the Alps. Of *Thyrsis*, he says himself, “the images are all from actual observation;” and this, we may well believe, applies to most of the descriptions of other poems. “That sweet city with her dreaming spires,” (Oxford) and the gentle river rolling along by her side have found in him an ardent admirer and a skilful delineator, whose truly poetic eyes cannot view without enthusiasm,

...The girl, who by the boatman's door,
About the locks, above the boating throng,
Unmoved our skiff.....
.....and the.....
.....Movers, who, as the tiny swell
Of our boat passing heaved the river grass,
Stood with suspended Scythe to see us pass.

Thyrsis abounds with many descriptions so tender and true which always haunt the grateful memory. The same can be said of that touching poem "*The Forsaken Merman*," and also of *Obermann* and the "*Scholar Gipsy*," in whose melodious lines are embedded gems of faultless description whose grace is so winning and whose charm is so captivating. "*Dover Beach*" commences with a description which for its sweet delicacy of touch, the subdued splendour that pervades it, and its general suggestiveness, stands alone and unrivalled.

The sea is calm to-night.

The tide is full, the moon lies fair

Upon the straits;—on the French Coast the light

Gleams and is gone; the cliffs of England stand,

Glimmering and vast, out in the tranquil Bay.

Come to the window, sweet is the night air!

It is needless to multiply examples. In all his poems, wherever he has Nature for his theme, his master hand strikes a chord whose notes are invariably pleasing, and whose fading echoes leave us with the thought;—Here is a poet to whom Nature is not a sealed book.

Matthew Arnold understood Nature thoroughly enough. Like an ardent lover he had also studied her various moods and fitting fancies. Her angry moods were not unknown to him; and he could readily describe her in her moments of gloom. "*Shorab and Rustum*"—the son and father—meet in unnatural combat. Then

.....A cloud
Grew suddenly in heaven and dark'd the sun
Over the fighter's heads; and a wind rose
Under their feet, and moaning swept the plain,
And in a sandy whirlwind wrapped the pair.
In gloom they twain were wrapped,

The combat deepens.

.....Then the gloom
Grew blacker and thunder rumbled in the air,
And lightnings rent the cloud; and Ruksh the horse,
Who stood at hand uttered a dreadful cry;

Observe also the metaphorical description of the hard things which humanity has to experience, in the course of its Journey of Life.

A long, steep journey, through sunk
Gorges, o'er mountains in snow.

.....Comes the storm

Thunder crashes from rock

To rock, the cataracts reply,
Lightnings dazzle our eyes.

In these examples we have Arnold's attempts at the delineation of the dark aspect of Nature's ever changing face. Evidently, this is not the mood in which Nature's charms appeal to him most; for even a casual reader will note that he does not often dwell with love on the rugged beauty and the wild grandeur of mountains, or the destructive energy of hurricanes or storms. We may safely say that Matthew Arnold as a poet had a deep rooted aversion towards manifestations of violence in any shape or form, especially so, in his attitude towards Nature. Even in his serious endeavours to portray Nature in her terrific and threatening mood, we are always haunted by the ever recurring thought that the hand of the master, though true, and correct enough, displays a nervousness and hesitation, with the result that the finished picture is more often characterised by a subdued and mellow splendour than by its darkness and gloom. It is with a feminine delicacy of touch that Matthew Arnold draws the rough side of Nature.

If this is to be considered a limitation in Arnold's powers then his keen delight in portraying the calmness of Nature must be pronounced as one of his everlasting glories. In his eyes the prominent element of Nature's life consists in her philosophic calmness and unruffled majesty. To him, that type of beauty which with persuasive and inviting attraction lulls our senses, is more an object of thought and fondness than that which compels our admiration by its dazzling and scorching splendour. "Subdued objects are his favourites, mist rather than brightness, moonlight rather than sunlight." *Shorab and Rustum* opens with a misty morn:

And the first grey of morning fill'd the East,
And the fog rose out of the Oxus stream.

In *Dover Beach*, "the moon lies fair on the straits" and an indescribable calmness pervades the whole scene. The dying man with his life ebbing away fast expresses his Last 'wish.'

.....Let me be
While all around in silence lies,
Moved to the window near, and see
Once more, before my dying eyes,

* * * * *
Bathed in the sacred dews of morn
The wide aerial Lands cape spread—
* * * * *

The princely pair in the 'Church of Brow' are supposed to wake up in the soft moonlight; and the poet hears the echo of his own feet

"In the deserted moon-blanchèd street.

Looking at the "soft Mediterranean" by the shores of which his brother met his death, the thought comes to him,

Ah! such a night, so soft, so lone
So moonlit saw me once of yore.

It is in the moonlight also that the poet thinks to begin his quest of "*Scholar Gipsy*;" and the human wife of the '*Forsaken Merman*,' listens to the far off bells in

"Sand strewn caverns," cool and deep,
Where the winds are all asleep;
Where the *spent-lights* quiver and gleam,

Many examples of this kind can be gleaned from his poems. "The night in her silence,"—"the stars in her calm,"—"the eternal moonlit snow"—"the slow sinking sun"—"the moon-blanchèd green"—"the moon-silvered inlets,"—"Lakes swimming "in the sheen of the moon"—these had a characteristic and peculiar fascination for Matthew Arnold. And so also of sounds:—The "tremulous cadence slow" of the retreating tide, and the "quiet murmur of the midland deep" are to him more picturesque than the crashing thunder and the roaring tempest. The quick river thundering along its course might enchant the eyes of other poets, but to Matthew Arnold, a river is beautiful, because

Still glides the stream, slow drops the boat
Under the rustling poplar's shade;
Silent the swans beside us float—
None speaks, None heeds;

Quite significant is the concluding stanza of his poem on the *Rhine*.

Ah Quiet, all things feel thy balm!
Those blue hills too, this river's flow,
Were restless once, but long ago,
Tamed is their turbulent youthful glow;
Their joy is in their calm.

Indeed Arnold is the apostle of 'Philosophic Calm.'

Not satisfied with observing the balmy quietness of Nature, he goes a step further and tells us that this essential attribute becomes all the more striking when contrasted with man's eternal haste and

hurry. '*Quiet work*' has for its main theme the calmness and silence with which Nature's agents perfect their work as contrasted with

Man's fitful uproar mingling with his toil, the peace and comparative permanence of Nature in bold opposition to the ceaseless change of human things is a valuable lesson which, with repeated efforts, he enjoins us to learn. The opening stanza of '*Thyrsis*' containing, in many ways, perhaps the finest lines of the best poem that Arnold ever wrote, strikes the key-note at once.

How changed is here each spot man makes or fills!
In the two Hinkseys nothing keeps the same;
The village street its haunted mansion lacks,
And from the sign is gone Sibylla's name,
And from the roofs the twisted chimneys' tacks—
Are ye too changed, ye hills?

This fundamental thought is ever uppermost in his mind. Years roll on, yet Nature wears the same face; it is man who is never the same; it is he who is a prey to the disease of change. "*Obermann once more*," like '*Thyrsis*,' opens with the same favourite idea of Arnold. Glion after twenty years has sadly changed,

And yet I know not! all unchanged
The turf, the pines, the sky!
The hills in their old order ranged;
The lake, with Chillon by;

Thus far we have discovered that Arnold can paint Nature with a convincing vividness, that his hand is more partial to the calm and quiet aspect of her existence, and that he is profoundly impressed with her comparative permanence, which is in striking contrast to the haste, hurry and changeableness of things human. We ask, is this all? Has Arnold nothing more to teach us about the internal life of Nature, of things unseen but by a seer, secrets

Like stars on the deep of the sky,
Which arise on the glass of the sage,
But are lost, when their watcher is gone.

The answer to this question will illustrate the peculiar position which Arnold holds in the gallery of the 'English poets of Nature.' In his poem in '*Harmony with Nature*,' there is the pregnant expression,

"Nature and man can never be fast friends.
and also the wholesome advice

"Fool, if thou can'st not pass her, rest her slave.

This sums up Arnold's position ; there can be no conscious fellowship between Nature and man. She

Never was friend of one,
Nor promised love she could not give.

Therefore, Man's attempts to "render the gleam of her skies,"—"to echo the moan of her seas,"—"to utter the voice of her Hills,"—are impertinent, vain and futile. How can they be but so? Nature asks,

You and your fellows ye know not,
The mateless, the one, will ye know?

We all remember the cry of Tennyson's *Brook*

"Man may come and man may go
But I go on for ever."

This is also the chorus of Nature's protestations.

The *youth of Nature* concludes with the thought,

Race after Race, man after man,
Have thought my secret was theirs,
Have dream'd that I live but for them,
They are dust and they are changed, they are gone—
I remain.

Thus apparently Nature awoke in his mind neither Wordsworth's feelings of fervid glowing and joyous fellowship, nor Tennyson's inexplicable, but implicit, pantheistic belief that in a sense Nature was God, but that Man, owing to limitations of his powers, could not read her aright, nor hear her well.

"And the ear of man cannot hear,
"And the eye of man cannot see,
"But if we could see and hear
"This vision—were it not He?"

The intensely living panorama of Nature—her hills and valleys and oceans innumerable—these, like man, have a conscious existence ; but towards him, they show an apathetic and inexplicable indifference. They stand on planes widely separated from one another by an "unlit gulf," whose mysterious depths it is almost impossible for man to measure. This utter alienness can to a certain extent be explained ; for, says the poet—

"Man covets all which Nature has but more" and this 'more' is conscience and moral sense. Again, Nature is described in '*Moral-ity*' as a perfect stranger to man's 'strife or struggle.' It is cer-

tainly a 'strife divine'—she knows it, she has seen it, and felt it once ; but now it is not hers ;—

Ah child ! she cries, "that strife divine
Where was it, for it is not mine

There is no effort on *my* brow
I do not strive I do not weep :

It is a gift not from Nature but from God.

Thus Man has intellect, conscience and moral sense ; besides, he has also the faculty of aspiration the chief sign of which is his earnest and strenuous effort. Nature candidly disclaims the possession of any of these valuable qualities. Hence she takes her stand alone, and apart from Man, separated from him for all eternity, by an inevitable charm.

Yet, says Matthew Arnold, Nature can be of some use to man :—if not æsthetically, at least from a didactic point of view. Let not man trouble himself with the question,

"What am I and what I ought to be."

These never can have satisfactory answers. Let him not demand that

..... The things without *him*
Yield *him* love, amusement and sympathy.

This is rank selfishness and will result only in restlessness and dissatisfaction. Let him therefore seek refuge from human troubles in the example of Nature. Sings the poet

"Would'st thou be as these are, live as they"

that is,—Live a life of contended '*Self-Dependence*,

And with joy the stars perform their shining,
And the sea its long moon silver'd roll,
For self-poised they live, nor pine with noting
All the fever of some differing soul.

But a 'self-poised' existence by itself is not entirely sufficient for the attainment of the "Mighty Life,"

"In the sounding labour house vast."

Man must perform his share of work without murmur. Observe Nature, her forces are incessantly at work and in that work they are entirely concentrated,—

Bounded by themselves, and unregardful
In what state God's other works may be,

*In their own tasks all their powers pouring,
These attain the mighty life you see.*

Thus life is no more a mystery; its riddle is solved. Self-Dependence and ungrudging work—these must be the watchwords of Life. Nature may be supposed to say of these, as Keats said of Beauty and Truth,

..... "That is all
Ye know on Earth, and all ye need to know."

C. MADHAVAN NAIR.

OUR PRESENT OUTLOOK—SOCIAL AND POLITICAL.

1

In discussing social questions one is often influenced by bias. While there are some who would advocate no interference with our social institutions, there are others who would destroy all institutions and replace them by new ones. That both the above views are faulty is quite apparent. Social institutions are relative and not absolute. It could not have been intended by those who reorganised the institutions that they should be unchanging. A study of ancient History shows that Social Institutions have changed from time to time, but it must not be forgotten at the same time that social rules cannot be made to order. They are a slow growth representing the development of society. It is therefore wrong to suppose that such rules may be abolished entirely. Care must be taken in advocating reforms in society, for their consequences are likely to be far-reaching. It is this difference of standpoint that has been the cause till now of mutual misunderstanding. Again there are some who think that Social Reform must succeed Religious Reform or at any rate that it must be based on Religion. There are others who think that Social Reform must have nothing to do with Religion. Discussion is also carried on as to whether at present Social Reform or Political Agitation should have the precedence. A rational study of human development shows that Sociology, Politics and Religion go together. The tendency of modern thought is to unify the various departments of human activity. Their dissociation has been the fruitful cause of much mischief in the past. Political agitation suffers chiefly, or at any rate partly, because of social difficulties. It has been the prevalent notion that Hinduism is unfavourable to any sustained activity either in Politics or Social Reform, for it is said that Hinduism teaches asceticism and is opposed to active life. If this view is correct, it is likely to affect the question under consideration. But a careful study of Hinduism shows that far from being opposed to active life, the highest teaching of Hinduism is that real religion consists in active life, helpful to society. If one realises the unity of all beings which is the highest teaching of Hinduism, it will be seen that the practice of such a doctrine will conduce to the real welfare of society. It is because the real spirit of religion is forgotten and even misunderstood, that sustained activity has not been

possible. We have now disposed of some of the preliminary misconceptions with reference to Social Reform. We have now shown that Social Reform cannot be dissociated from Religion. Let us next consider what the line of action must be with reference to social questions.

The chief items of Social Reform relate to the improvement of the status of women and to the improvement of the nation. Under the former come Female Education, postponement of marriage, and Remarriage. Under the latter come Foreign Travel and the Unification of the different communities. Taking Female Education first, our past history shows that our women were cultured. The question now is what is the education that must be given to women. Women have their own functions in life, and their education must be consonant to their functions. Some plead that the system of education should be the same to both the sexes. This is on its very face undesirable and impracticable. Some think that the education should be only in the vernacular. No doubt it is not the language that is important in education. The real value of education depends upon the knowledge that it imparts. It must be admitted on all hands that real culture involves a knowledge of the Universe and of the different peoples of the world. This can be imparted only if the medium of education is English. If the available useful literature is translated into the vernacular, education in the vernacular will be preferable. But it is a well-known fact that the spirit of a particular literature suffers when it is put in a foreign language, as will be clear from the difficulty experienced in putting into English Sanskrit literature. Therefore combined education adapted to the needs of women must be given. The question of Female Education is connected with the age of marriage. Early marriage affects education appreciably. If marriage is put off, it will help education apart from its advantages on the physical side. No objection can be taken from the religious point of view to Female Education, but opinions are divided on the question of late marriages. But it seems to be conceded now that the Shastras do not prohibit late marriages. There is hope therefore of this reform being accomplished sooner than certain other reforms. Not only late marriages will help Female Education, but it will also solve the remarriage question to a great extent. The question of remarriage, which affects the status and happiness of women vitally, is the hardest nut to crack. There is a misapprehension on this question which must be removed. Nobody wishes to lower the ideal of single marriage, but the only

point for consideration is whether it is desirable to force either man or woman to be celibate against their inclinations. The ideal is better preserved by allowing persons who cannot reach it, freedom of action. Of course this does not mean that in matters which involve a moral issue such a latitude should be allowed. In other matters, however, the former will be the better course. The questions that have just been considered relate to the status of women, the raising of which affects the general social welfare. The other group of reforms which relate directly to national betterment include Foreign Travel and the fusion of the different communities. The importance of Foreign Travel in relation to industrial and political advancement is accepted by all. The only difficulty here is the question of restrictions on the diet and habits of the person who goes out. The question of diet has largely to do with spiritual development, and all rules with reference to diet are made with an eye to the spiritual effects thereof. Here the reformer has to proceed cautiously. He will be committing a blunder and doing positive mischief to the nation if he disregards this side of the question. This difficulty is enhanced when we come to the question of the fusion of castes. Caste is related to spiritual evolution according to Hinduism. The reformer's difficulty in this matter is very great. Even the most orthodox defenders of castes do not advocate the mutual exclusiveness and intolerance of castes. While all are agreed that better feelings should subsist between different communities, and that such a state alone is conducive to national solidarity, the danger that lies in the advocacy of wholesale fusion is the spiritual one. It is idle to contend that in such a matter like this Religion should be excluded from our consideration. We are advocating the reform of a whole nation which has been well-described as a nation of religious men as opposed to nations of shop-keepers and others. Modern investigations go to show the probability of a surviving soul, and if once it is accepted, it must be subject to the general law of evolution which is exactly what Hinduism teaches. To say that other religions have no caste is no argument, for they do not accept the soul's transmigration which is the distinctly rational view of Hinduism. The Vedanta Philosophy of India lays special stress on the preservation of caste for spiritual reasons while it does not mention the other items of reform. This itself shows the vital part that caste plays in the spiritual conception of the nation. The reformer must therefore take very great care, and it will be disastrous if he goes against the

national feeling in this matter. To say that the existence of caste is likely to prevent the growth of the national spirit is as logical as to say that a college which has different classes can have no *esprit de corps*! The whole mischief is due to the people having forgotten the real spirit of religion. Such are a few of the principles that must guide reform in this country. A better understanding of them is sure to help the cause. It is hoped that reformers will consider them deeply and deal with the momentous questions at issue in a better spirit than what has been the case till now.

II.

While our social problem depends for its solution on ourselves, our political situation cannot be improved except by our rulers. In countries which are self-governed this difference does not arise. This has consequently given occasion to two antagonistic opinions as to our present condition. The official apologists assert that we have improved in our material condition, while the people think that the opposite is the case. We shall first see how far the rosy picture drawn of our present condition, is true, and then consider the real situation, which will be seen to be bad as poverty, the unmistakable index of material deterioration, points.

The first sign of progress is said to be the increase of population. Increase of population is not a necessary indication of progress. The poorer the people are, the more rapid is their multiplication. The wealthiest countries in the world, England, France, Germany, &c., are very slow in the growth of population, whereas, in Ireland, the increase of population is more rapid.

The second sign of progress is considered to be the increase of cultivation. Increase of cultivation is not the result of prosperity. With the increase of population, fresh lands are brought under cultivation. The decline of old occupation leads also to increase of agricultural population.

The third sign of progress is alleged to be the non-increase of prices. It is thought that the cheapening of the cost of carriage has been so great as to neutralize almost wholly the rise in prices. This view is entirely opposed to actual experience. Far from the prices having fallen, they have steadily risen, the chief reason being the higher prices of foreign markets, where the Indian products are in demand. Whether railways or ordinary roads are the best means of diffusing exchange is entirely a question of the economic condition of the country at a given time. Because in former times there

were no railways and the exchange of commodities took place within small circles, it does not show that the people were not as well off then as they are at present, with the use of railways. It is not necessary for the happiness of the people that large quantities should be sent from one place to another at a time. Each locality supplied its own wants from its local produce. There are various causes, bringing about the rise or fall in prices. It is therefore unsafe to draw any conclusion from the operation of a single cause on either side. The prices in India will rise, for instance, if the foreign demand for Indian goods increases, and when that demand is slack, prices will fall. Therefore to argue that cheap transport by railways has tended to keep down the price, is fallacious. As a fact, it has been repeatedly admitted 'that railways have the invariable tendency of levelling up instead of levelling down the prices. They even aggravate scarcity to famine.'

Fourthly, it is argued in favor of progress that trade has developed. There has been, it is said, greater development of inland trade, as land-carriage in former years, owing to want of communication, was more expensive than sea-carriage, and all this development of traffic has been of benefit to the country. In regard to inland trade, it is difficult to avoid recalculations of the same articles circulating along the line of trade, and practically therefore the exact value of internal traffic is as a rule regarded as unreliable. That the growth of sea-borne and inland traffic is of benefit to the country cannot be denied. But the value of the inference consists in differentiating between the foreign and the indigenous portion of this traffic.

In this connection we hear official apologists speak of the advantages of foreign trade and the non-interference of European exploitation with the economic progress of India and of the necessity of the decay of handlooms and the set off for the disadvantage to the indigenous industries.

The argument with reference to free foreign trade is that the Indian producer has been doubly benefited by the higher value realized by him for his productions and by the lower value paid by him for the imported commodities, which he obtains at far less cost, measured not merely by money value but by actual sacrifice of time and labour, than would have been incurred if he had produced them himself. Further, the larger quantities of imports of gold and silver unquestionably shows that India is not losing but gaining by international trade. The complaint that European exploitation has had the effect of driving out natives from their legitimate fields of indus-

trial enterprise is not true. The chief undertakings in which Europeans are engaged are the cultivation of coffee, tea and cinchona, and gold mining; and these are fields which were previously unoccupied and which would not be occupied if it were not for the importation of European capital and enterprise. It is also argued that purely agricultural countries are generally found to be in a low economic condition, but the only way in which such countries can be economically raised is by giving an opening for and increasing foreign trade; and protective duties, by diminishing that trade, would burden and not help their progress, the object of protective duties being to diminish imports and consequently exports also, as all imports must in the long run be paid for by exports.

Nobody will deny that increase of traffic is a benefit, but when the increase is unnatural, it ceases to be such. If India exports manufactured articles as England does, and imports other manufactured articles which she cannot, under any circumstances, manufacture within her own borders, then the foreign trade will be beneficial to India; but now by the superior material advantages of British merchants and the higher political status they enjoy, they are able to keep Indians under economic subjection, so to speak, and exploit all her latent resources. The competition between Britain and India in this matter is not natural or free. Many articles which India cannot and does not manufacture now she will be able to manufacture in course of time under proper guidance and help from the State; and though by doing so, the contemporary generation may make some sacrifice for posterity, still within a short time the country will become independent of her foreign competition, manufacturing her own raw materials into finished articles, will stem the tide of foreign imports, and keep within her own border all the wages and profits, &c., which foreigners now enjoy. This is exactly what every country in the world except England is doing. By the accident of England having to import her food and raw materials from other countries, in exchange of her manufactured articles, free trade is a convenient system to her. But even her faith in free trade, in view of the competition of Germany and America, is being shaken. As regards the benefits to the Indian producer, it is not a fact that India, if she were able to manufacture her own articles, would not have to pay less for them than she now pays for her imported articles. As for the less sacrifice of time and labor, &c., we do not see how this will be the case if India could employ the same machinery, &c. The so-called higher value which the

Indian producer is said to obtain for his productions is imaginary, because the Indian producer, the village ryot, under the pressure of the Sowcar on the one side and the Circar on the other, sells of his produce at a disadvantage for a comparatively low price, which is compounded with the much higher prices which prevail at the export stations. With reference to the advantage to India by the large import of gold and silver, much of the imported precious metals is re-exported. If this re-export of the quantity of silver used for coinage were deducted from the import and the net quantity distributed among a population of over 300 millions, the share per head would be a trifle. Moreover, it has been admitted officially that one-third of the population at the lowest strata are not in a position to wear gold or silver ornaments and obviously it is the higher classes that hoard precious metals or convert them into ornaments. As regards foreign exploitation, it is true no doubt that the resources exploited now by Europeans could not be exploited by Indians if the former were to retire. But is it not possible that the Indians being properly trained and receiving the required help from the Government, they will be able gradually to exploit the resources of their own country? In the present circumstances Indians are given no chance whatever. They receive no training in the first place; in the second place any small beginning made by the Indians is at once swamped by the crushing resources of English competitors. Everything is being done now to keep the Indians out of such occupations, instead of giving them every facility to enter upon such occupations. It is quite probable that should a time ever come when Indians will be able to work their own mines, &c., they will find them thoroughly exhausted. The theory of free trade is an old discredited one. A vast and populous country like India supplies enough of market for its manufactures, especially at the initial stage. Therefore it is unnecessary to stimulate foreign trade. Foreign trade will come of its own accord, when the country produces more than enough for its own consumption, or when it can manufacture articles for exports for which it may have special facilities. It is at this stage protective duties are necessary. They keep out foreign imports, and although for the time being, they may raise the prices of home manufactures, they will in the long run develop home manufactures and benefit posterity. On the other hand, by the adoption of free trade between a manufacturing and an agricultural country, there is a chance, as there has been in India, of the agricultural condition of the country being perpetuated.

The decay of handloom weavers, it is said, is a necessary stage in industrial development; against the disadvantage to the indigenous industries have to be set off the new industries which foreign trade has created. Three important new industries are mentioned, *viz.*, jute, tea and coal. The establishment of factories is cogent proof of the fact that India is emancipating herself from her chronic sluggishness and entering on a new era of industrial improvement.

It is not altogether true that the decay of handloom weavers is a necessary stage in industrial development, because even in Europe, certain handloom industries thrive. It is impossible for machinery to make certain things, as well as handlooms, and such things being always manufactured by hand-looms, Indian handlooms too have a large scope for good and profitable work, if only Government would render necessary help and avert their complete extinction. That the jute, tea and coal factories established in India prove India's industrial emancipation is no more true than the fact that an Englishman is the Viceroy of India, proves her political emancipation. These factories are mostly European factories, and except that a few Indians are employed as coolies, all profits accrue to British capitalists and none else.

Here it is contended that in determining whether the home charges amount to a drain of the resources of the remitting country or whether they are really a necessary outlay incurred for securing a large net profit, the amount of such payments, together with the increased cost at which the quantity of money to be replaced has to be procured, the two together constituting the maximum sacrifice incurred, will have to be taken into account.

It is not true that home charges should be wholly a drain or wholly a profitable investment by India. As a fact, some of them are a drain, and some of them may be regarded under the present circumstances of India as profitable investment. So far as the salaries of the few English officials whom India must pay and will gladly pay, in order that they may help in the maintenance of the Western spirit in the Government are concerned, these charges may be said to be profitable investments. But when the number of such English officials exceeds the necessary limit, and encroaches on the legitimate expansion of Indian Indigenous Service, these charges cease to be profitable. Moreover the English officials are paid much higher salaries, pensions, &c., than necessary, and there are also salaries paid in cases such as that of the Secretary of State for India, where such salaries are a legitimate charge on British treasury.

Therefore it may be contended that of the official salaries, pensions, &c., a portion is no profitable investment, but a drain. As for the interest paid on loans for public works, it may be granted that there was urgency in the case of some works to be executed from money borrowed in England. But in the case of such works, their administration in India need not and should not be in the hands of Englishmen. The State ought to borrow the money and spend it under its own direction by using indigenous agency, which is exactly what Australia and other countries which borrow money for public works do. Moreover, there is no need for enormous sums being borrowed from England to carry out works which are of no urgent importance; moderate amounts may be borrowed from Indians, and public works can be carried out at a much less speed than at present. If the required money is borrowed from Indians, the interest will go to the pockets of the people and will accumulate with compound interest into large funds available for industrial purposes. And Government too will be able to borrow from year to year larger amounts from the country itself. Even if the State had to pay higher rates of interest, it is better to borrow from the country itself than from the foreign nations. Nor is it admitted that this rapid extension of railway communications is an unmixed good. They operate as a sort of bonus for foreign merchants. They help in drawing away the country's food-stock. It is difficult to see how loans borrowed in England for public works cause influx of money into India. As a fact, when the Secretary of State borrows, he uses the amount borrowed to replace his usual call on the Government of India, and although such a transaction may stimulate export it is not through enhanced prices.

The fifth argument in favour of the country's progress is that the incident of taxation has not much increased. And more taxes are now spent in promoting the public safety, health and convenience and education than formerly. We shall refer only to Land Revenue under this head. It is said that the rise in the Revenue may be due to extension of cultivated area, extension of irrigation and increase in the rates of settlement imposed by the Settlement Department with reference to the increase in prices of agricultural produce. It is argued that the Ryotwar Land Revenue is entirely due to the extension of irrigation and extension of cultivation and not in any degree to the increase of taxation. It is also said that the rise in the price of land is a sure indication of the abundance of circulating capital and of the moderation of the land tax. The official facts

and inferences are themselves in dispute. Side by side with official facts, other facts have been produced by several critics leading to contrary inferences. That the increase in the Ryotwar Land Revenue is not in any degree due to the increase of taxation, we deny. What about the recent increase of assessment in the settlement of the various districts? We deny also the last statement. The rise in the price of land is due to growing population and the absence of non-agricultural occupations. Landed property is in demand only among the professional classes and Government servants. And as regards the masses it is worth consideration whether far from buying new property, the small land-owners are not being absorbed by the larger land-owners in the neighbourhood.

The last argument in favour of the country's progress is the rise of the standard of living and the general condition of the different classes of the population. It is said that with a holding of 8 acres of ordinary dry land, a ryot should be able to support his family, not indeed in luxury, but according to the standard of living which obtains among the ryot population. So far as the non-agricultural class of labourers is concerned, it admits of no question that their condition has greatly improved. With the development of trade the members of the mercantile and professional classes have largely increased, and these are in a prosperous condition. The wages of the artisans in spite of the decline of some native handicrafts have greatly risen and the demand for luxuries, which are provided by the skill of blacksmiths, goldsmiths, carpenters and masons, is increasing directly with the wealth of the country. The standard of living is considered to have risen very considerably during recent years, as must indeed be patent to any impartial observer.

The rise in the standard of living is grossly exaggerated. There is no reason why the case of ryots holding 8 acres should be considered. What is to become of ryots who hold under 8 acres who constitute more than 10 per cent of the land-holding population? Even of those that hold 8 acres, the lot of those who hold inferior soil must be lamentable, and, further, is there any reason why these unfortunate ryots should for ever remain in the same abject state that they are in at present? Have not these poor creatures a right as well as other people to rise in the standard of life? Far from the condition of the non-agricultural class of labourers having improved, their condition has greatly deteriorated. The statements about the mercantile and the professional class and about the wages of artisans are mere assumptions. It is not true that the standard has risen

among the lower classes. Even in the higher middle classes when certain rise in the standard is visible, it has to be ascertained if this has not been made at the sacrifice of other comforts and necessities or by borrowing, and by no means does it follow that because a family uses brass vessels instead of earthen pots and lives in a tiled house instead of a thatched house, it is on the whole more solvent or prosperous.

The following considerations are urged by the official apologist in estimating the value of the economic results achieved under British rule.

The first point is the disordered state of the country, which had to be reduced to order and fitted with the appliances of civilization and regular administration, and the low economic condition from which the great mass had to be elevated. To understand the full significance of the change which has come over the country, we are asked to contrast what we see at present, unsatisfactory as it may appear from some points of view, with the past state of things.

The so-called disordered state of the country at the end of the British conquest is greatly exaggerated. In spite of the revolutions and wars, the bulk of the population remained unaffected, and pursued their even tenor of quiet uneventful life with rude plenty and simple happiness.

The second point urged is that considerable portions of the country are liable to frequent droughts and occasional famines, which no human foresight can prevent, and the results of several decades of good administrations are liable to be suddenly swept away by the occurrence of one of these terrible visitations.

The frequent droughts and occasional famines to which the country is liable are not such as cannot be foreseen and prevented.

The third point urged is that we have to take into account the limitation to the action of Government, imposed by the necessities of the situation, in considering the rate of progress. The Government could not take the people by the hand and by intimate association with them lead them on in the path of progress.

The Government is indeed under an obligation to observe the strictest neutrality in religious matters, but it is notorious that while by its too much interference the Government worked the ruin of some valuable ancient institutions, such as the village community system, it stood aloof unnecessarily and failed to take its legitimate part in the advance of the country's economic well-being.

The fourth argument is that some of the evils which have been

felt under the new regime, the tares, as they are called, which have grown up with the wheat, are either not new or are sacrifices without incurring which the benefits could not be secured. In judging the extent of improvement, it would not be right to confine our attention exclusively to special localities or classes, but the entire industrial field should be taken as a whole.

This argument seems to derive consolation against the inseparable evils of British rule from the progress made in the entire industrial field. But very few will admit that so far as the industrial field is concerned, British rule has taken us to a better condition in the beginning of the twentieth century than we were in the eighteenth.

The next argument is that improvement means the development of an industrial regime; and the motive power under it being the multiplication of wants and the stimulus given to exertion by the necessity for gratifying them, the dissatisfaction with one's lot that is beginning to be generally felt is in this case a sign of progress and not of deterioration. There is undoubtedly increasing pressure felt by the community as a whole because wants have been increasing faster than the means of satisfying them. It is this increasing pressure that makes it difficult for people in general to believe that they are making headway, but the real fact is that they are somewhat richer in life from an individual point of view, and their ideal of comfortable existence is gradually expanding though they may be poorer in contentment.

There is no warrant for the statement that the dissatisfaction that is generally felt in the country is a sign of progress and not of deterioration, because, for aught we know, it may be the outcome of both. So far as this dissatisfaction is manifest in the higher and more prosperous classes as in the bulk of the population, it may be understood as a desire for advancement, but in the case of those millions and millions of people, for whom every remedy is too late, dissatisfaction cannot be a sign of progress.

Lastly it is argued that bearing the above considerations in mind and remembering that methods of progress calculated to evoke national feeling and religious enthusiasm are unaimable under the conditions of the case, the progress that has been made under the new regime during the short time that it has been in force—60 years is a brief interval in the life of a people—is little short of marvellous. Whatever might be the feeling of persons who forgetting the evil side of the old type of society and its injustice to the lowest classes,

shutting out all prospects of improvement from them, are fascinated by its stationary civilization, ordered relations, freedom from usury, those who believe in the modern principles of progress and in the necessity of giving free play to individual energy have no reason to look on the future in a spirit other than that of thankfulness and hope.

Surely we are by no means unqualified admirers of the old type. It is gone and can no more be recalled than the old man can recall his youth. Our interest lies more in the future than in the past; and unfortunately in this country, owing to want of historical continuity, the past can contribute but little to the evolution of the future. Therefore, all well-wishers of India will look forward with more anxiety to the development of the future type than to the preservation of the old. If British rule can help in so moulding and directing the future as to redeem this country from her present condition and raise her to the standard of modern times, British rule would have fulfilled its mission. We need not say that the future type will be of an industrial nature, and status will have to give place before competition. India has need for the most radical and energetic preparation for this consummation. This preparation she cannot make unless with all the help that British rule can render. But whether Government understands rightly the difficulties of the people in this respect is problematical. Recent events have gone to strengthen a suspicion that a desire to perpetuate rather than end the present condition of industrial as well as political subjection underlies some of its measures and policy. The spirit of the British Statesmen of former times, of Macaulay and Bright, seems to have departed; and Statesmen of less wisdom and more narrow sympathies have succeeded. Whether the new born desire of the British electors to know more about India than they now know, will grow and result in India starting on a new career, we cannot say. But what we can say is that the present is by no means so hopeful as imagined above. But should this forecast be right and ours be wrong, we shall only be too glad. We however feel that that eminent men should indulge in undue adulation of the existing state of things and magnify the prospect in the future is unfair alike to the nation and to the Government.

We have now seen how the rosy picture drawn of our present condition is untrue. We shall next consider the real situation which will be seen to be bad, as poverty, the unmistakable index of material deterioration, points. No doubt this side of the question

has been already dealt with, but we shall now consider it in detail, to complete our views of our present political situation.

* * *

The sad contrast that the present condition of India presents, when compared with its past state, cannot but strike any student of the history of this country. It was India's material and not spiritual greatness that attracted the foreign invaders from the earliest times. The fabulous wealth of India is gone, in place of which famine has become the repeated curse of this ancient land—which was the home of the world's civilization. A country's social and political greatness—not to speak of its moral and spiritual excellence—greatly depends on its material and economic condition. In a country where the people are forced incessantly to grapple with the problem of poverty, no improvement in any direction is possible. It is natural that all their time and energy will be spent in solving this first and most important question. A precarious hand-to-mouth existence is prejudicial alike to spiritual, moral, and social development on which depends the stability of a nation. The poverty of India is now the question of the day, and it demands an early and satisfactory solution both in the interests of India and England.

Famine is the unmistakable index of poverty. Famine has now become chronic. Famines and scarcities have been more numerous and widespread during the last quarter of a century than they were one hundred years ago.

Various causes contribute to famines. They are partly due to failure of rains. Formerly famine was experienced only after a few years of drought or deficient rainfall. Now a single year's failure of rains at the right time produces acute famines. Though drought may cause failure of the crops, poverty is the real cause of famine. To say that famine is brought about by the climatic conditions alone is wrong. It is not possible to prevent the failure of the rainfall, but we can minimise its effects. Failure of rain is a cause which is mostly beyond the control of man. Even here a study of the physical conditions that have led to the failure of timely rains, and a due application of scientific methods, may help to overcome this cause to some extent. The natural causes of poverty exist in various countries in common with India; but no country under a civilized Government suffers as India does.

We cannot overlook the social causes that have partly brought about the present condition of the country. It is absurd to say that

the poverty of India is the sole result of social customs and character of the people. It is said that early marriage leads to rapid increase of population and brings on famine. We do not advocate this practice. We do not approve of a pauper population marrying in haste and propagating without forethought, expecting their Government to provide for them and their progeny. The moral and social evils of early marriage are numerous, but early marriage does not tend to increase of population to the extent to which it is supposed, for it leads also to increased mortality. Increase of population in India is slower than in several other countries. As regards social customs and practices, while some of them stand in the way of the people advancing in material prosperity, they do not constitute the direct cause of India's poverty, for, though they may be prejudicial to a high standard of social existence, they do not affect the question now at issue, namely, what are the causes that have brought about the present state of things, in which the people of India have to face the problem of bare existence.

The extreme indigence of the people is the real cause of famine. There is seldom in any year a deficiency of food supply in all India. It is poverty which prevents the people from buying food. There is not so much famine of food as there is bad famine of money. It may strike the superficial observer that the chief cause of famine is want of rain. The reason why India is more liable to famine than other countries is not want of rainfall; always even in the worst of years there is water enough poured from the skies to germinate and ripen the grain—but there is the steadily and rapidly increasing poverty. Now, as in the days of old, neither more nor less rain-failure occurs. The present differs from the past in that the people are now so poor that they cannot stand any strain, not even the slightest.

The chief causes of poverty are political. They are the exorbitant and impermanent land-tax, decline of industries and the economic drain. Our recent experience has shown that those Provinces suffered most where land revenue was unduly high. Land revenue, being the most important part of the revenue, the burden of taxation falls heavily upon the cultivator. The heavy incidence of land-tax combined with its uncertainty has a depressing effect on agriculture. It prevents land improvement and any saving, and impoverishes the people. The only hope for the cultivator throughout the greater part of India is that he shall be put in such a position as to be enabled to tide over an occasional bad season. To place

the cultivator in such a position, it is essential that the share taken as the Government demand on the land should be strictly limited. Too much of taxation ought not to fall on the produce of the soil, *i.e.*, upon food. The peasant must be taxed as lightly as possible. By their present Land Revenue policy, the Government is killing the goose that lays golden eggs without much thought or concern for the future.

Agriculture under uncertain rainfall is bound to bring on periodic famine visitations. The best way to meet them is to create other forms of industry. Our national industries have been cruelly destroyed in order that English industry may be benefited thereby. Once India occupied a respectable manufacturing and exporting position. Industries declined in the early part of the 19th century, because prohibitive duties were imposed on Indian manufacture exported to England, while English manufactures were imported almost duty free. The Indian Government does not patronise Indian industries. It bestows its patronage on English firms to the serious detriment of the tax-payers as well as of Indian industries. The proposal to revive indigenous manual industries is not enough. The economic condition of India in future does not depend to a material extent on the revival of these industries, but it depends on how far the Indian people will be enabled to stem the tide of foreign imports, and how far the people themselves, by the employment of their own capital and agency and with the help of their own knowledge, will convert the latent resources into manufactured articles, firstly, for their own consumption, and secondly, for export to foreign countries. If India is to regain its position, it must follow, like Japan, in the footsteps of European industry, revolutionize the working conditions of its traditional handicraft, turn the village workshops into steam factories, and give up hand-labour for mechanical power. In the present extreme decadence of native arts and industries a great deal by way of impetus and encouragement must come from the State at the first instance. Unless Government come forward to advance freely native enterprise, there will be no possibility of an awakening from the wholesale collapse into which it has fallen.

Another chief cause of poverty is the economic drain. The Government is most expensive. Nearly one-third of the revenue goes to England. This enormous drain is not likely to be checked unless in financial matters more control is allowed to be exercised in India and by the Indian people. The taxes in England go from the hands of the tax-payers into the hands of the Government, from

which they flow back into the country again in various shapes fertilizing trade and returning to the people themselves. The taxes that we pay never return to us intact. Even an ocean would be dried up if a portion of its evaporation did not always return to it as rain or river.

In discussing the causes of famines we have already indicated the directions in which remedies are to be applied. We shall now consider what the Government has done in the matter of famine prevention and also the necessity for the creation of capital.

Our Government has convinced itself that famine is inevitable in this country, and so long as it is under such a conviction, it is hopeless to induce it to consider seriously measures by which the people can be placed in a better condition for resisting famine. Government therefore naturally devotes itself to a consideration of the best methods of administering relief wherever the famine makes its appearance. The policy of the Government is to save the life of the people during famine time. But their duty is not discharged by merely saving the life of the people for the time being. If the life is saved only that it may become the victim of prolonged suffering, life is hardly worth saving. The Government deals only with the surface of the economic evil, ignoring the centre and the root thereof. The Government has not done enough to improve irrigation. The experience of past years has shown that districts having tanks, lakes and wells are comparatively secure against drought and famines. We find that in districts where full facilities for irrigation have been provided, people have practically baffled famine and have enjoyed comparative prosperity from year to year. Irrigation works strike the evil at the very root, while other remedies are mere palliatives.

Creation of Capital is another important remedy for famines. Drought and failure of harvest would not result in wholesale death by starvation, if the ryot had a domestic store either of food or of money, or of credit sufficient to tide over one failure of crop.

The effects of famine are numerous. There is loss of money to the State and to the country. To one man that has died and left a family with none to support it, hundreds have survived the famine with their frames shattered and their vitality reduced, in a state which makes them unfit to earn an honest livelihood and as a burden on society at large. From these unfortunate wrecks spring

a progeny of poor physique and vitality thus perpetuating the evil effects of the famine. The moral evil is as serious as the physical. It makes people improvident, callous to suffering and inclined to resort to desperate and criminal methods of eking out an existence. The suffering people become selfish, greedy and callous to all the calls of duty, social and domestic and individual.

We have thus far described the poverty of India. We have shown how famines are the best index of poverty. We have traced the causes of famines and suggested remedies therefor. We have found that the chief causes of the distressing poverty of the mass of the population are excessive land assessment, decadence of Indian industries and the economic drain. We have also pointed out the chief remedies.

The poverty of India embraces all other Indian evils, as it is the root of many of them. The poverty of the Indian people is so deep and so all pervading as to constitute a political crisis of an intensity and degree, such as is to be found nowhere else in the world. We find now in India a sum of human misery and mental and political degradation, the like of which among civilized and progressive countries is nowhere else at this moment to be seen, and probably was at no time during the recorded history anywhere to be seen. The present prosperity of India is confined to the large cities and the rich provinces. While the masses have undergone certain deterioration on the whole, the classes have probably improved their material condition. In spite of all the political revolutions and social chaos that distinguished the condition of the people a century ago, they were comparatively in prosperous circumstances and enjoyed a rude plenty and general happiness to which they have become strangers during the last 50 years. Great Britain is the richest country in the world. India is unrivalled in the fertility of its natural resources, and with its millions of sober and industrious population, it ought to be one of the richest countries in the world. No doubt, climate, customs, habits, to say nothing of occasional freaks of nature, have a good deal to answer for. Whatever the part played by nature, and the social customs and character of the people in bringing about poverty, their consequences ought not to be aggravated by the Government by its own errors and faults, intentional or honest. No civilized government can sit helplessly with folded hands, cursing nature and content with a policy of make-shift, when millions of people fall victims to most appalling famines

at short intervals. The Poverty of India is truly the question or rather the most serious question of the day.

The Poverty of India, whose population is 1/5th of the human race and which is the soundest of the pillars of Britain's prosperity and fame, is the momentous problem of the day that must engage the attention of every true friend of India.

N. K. RAMASAMI AIYA.

"BYRON—THE POET."



INDEED it is bewildering to stand before a vast collection of books, augmenting itself every day, and not to know which to take first and which not to touch at all. For so innumerable are the volumes which confront us that one cannot reasonably hope to go through them and pick out of them what to him would be the dumb-eloquent oracles that would guide him, inform him and elevate him. Furthermore, in the indiscriminate throng, there may be books which ought to be imperatively shunned. Hence we have at times to yield to the dictates of the voices that have tasted of the bitter and that thereby can well give us warning.

Such a warning is always to be given through the press and the platform for the sake of the unwary reader who might lose his way amidst the sensuous voluptuousness of a Reynolds or the vicious egotism and the unmanly moodiness and misanthropy of a Byron. But be it acknowledged that it is not the presumption of the present writer to take upon himself the responsible task of a literary censor and sit in judgment over the merits or the demerits of writers whom worthier brains have extolled and worthier pens have condemned. He only wishes to echo the more or less unanimous sentences of harsh but yet unprejudiced criticism that have been levelled against the name of a great poet of England, of whom a brother poet sang as :

"The Pilgrim of Eternity, whose fame
Over his living head like Heaven is bent,
An early but enduring monument."

Is the monument as enduring as truly it was early? Indeed that is the very question we propose in these pages to consider. But one may ask of what solid advantage it is to discuss in this country, and that in the twentieth century, the claims on posterity of one of England's poets of the early nineteenth century. To the question we would submit one answer and it is, that there are well-based apprehensions of attempts to revive the study of Lord Byron in some quarters of India, as it would be proved, if one instance is enough, by the pleading article of a "Doctor without Robes" in the *Wednesday Review*. And as it is the writer's serious conviction that a study of the works of Byron's genius would be productive of more

evil than good that he takes the present opportunity of discussing in the pages of this influential journal, how far it would be expedient for one to choose Byron as one's friend, philosopher and guide.

Let us first take the question of Lord Byron, as a *man*. Mr. Saintsbury, whose name is connected with moderation and impartiality, has written that Byron's utterances, "even in private letters are very seldom to be taken with absolute confidence in their sincerity. The poet's character did not do discredit to the doctrines of heredity. His family was one of considerable distinction and great age : but his father Captain John Byron, who never came to the title, was a *roué* of the worst character, and the cousin whom the poet succeeded had earned the name of the Wicked Lord. His mother was of an excellent Scotch stock, but had a most violent temper and seems to have had absolutely no claims, except those of birth, to the title of a lady." In his twenty-fourth year he married Miss Milbanke, a great heiress : but the next year saw the pair separated. And the scandals connected with this subject are too gross to be translated into pen and ink. The way in which he led the life of a gallant in the society of women who had much grace and little divinity can be understood from a description of the magnetic influence of his personality. "Byron's countenance is a thing to dream of. A certain fair lady, whose name has been too often mentioned in connexion with his, told a friend of mine, that when she first saw Byron, it was in a crowded room, and she did not know who it was, but her eyes were instantly nailed and she said to herself *that pale face is my fate*. And poor soul, if a God-like face and God-like powers could have made any excuse for devilry, to be sure she had one."* Let us give the reader the impression a male beholder formed about Byron. "His lordship's mode of address was peculiarly fascinating and insinuating—all *premier abord*—it was next to impossible for a stranger to refrain from liking him. The contour of his countenance was noble and striking : the forehead particularly so, was nearly white as alabaster. His delicately formed features were cast rather in an effeminate mould, but their soft expression was in some degree relieved by the mustachios of a light chestnut, and smaller tuft, *à la housard*, which he at that time sported. His eyes were rather prominent and full, of a dark blue, having that melting

* Lockhart's "Life of Scott."

character which I have frequently observed in females, said to be a proof of extreme sensibility. The texture of his skin was so thin and transparent that the blue veins, rising like small threads around his temples, were clearly discernible. All who ever saw Byron have borne testimony to the irresistible sweetness of his smile, which was, generally however, succeeded by a sudden pouting of the lips, such as is practiced sometimes by a pretty coquette or a spoilt child." Thus with an inherited tendency to licentious behaviour, with an attractive personality stamped upon him by nature, and with unchecked commingling with the convivial elements of a gross aristocracy, Lord Byron had nothing in him from the beginning that forecast an august and healthy future. His boyish rambles in the Highlands, his life in London with its metropolitan pleasures, his sensuous Italian profligacy—were all the sickening pages of his life-book on whose last page was written his dismal end amid the marshes of Missoloughi.

Let us now turn to Byron—the poet. When first was heard the trumpet-note of his bugle, Scott with a prophetic vision, and as if called by the voice of Destiny, withdrew from the laureate phalanx and struck a new path in the writing of historical fiction and there won immortal renown. Thus the very entrance of Lord Byron into the poetic world was marked with success. But to what was due the intense popularity which he exercised during his time? The explanation to this question is at once the cause for his downfall in the estimation of posterity. "The appeal of Byron consists very mainly, though no doubt, not wholly, in two things: the lavish use of the foreign and then unfamiliar scenery, vocabulary and manners of the Levant and the installation as principal character, of a person who was speedily recognised as a sort of fancy portrait, a sketch in cap and yataghan, of Byron himself, as he would like to be thought." This idea of self-portraying was an excellent one indeed, in as much as it lionised the hero who was no less than the author himself. But the mist of curiosity, that surrounds the writings of a poet who is so self-reflective, clears as age advances. Only those characters of the poet as have an everlasting vitality that stand the test of time. "You search in vain, for a single healthful impersonation of humanity: all the creations are hollow images, with no life or heart in them. Turn to Shakespeare's creations, even those most removed from common life, or follow Spencer into the shadowy regions of Fairyland or Milton into his supernatural spaces, and so faithful are their creations to a deep science of humanity, that every human

heart recognises the truth of them; they live and have a reality by virtue of their poetic truthfulness. But of Byron's heroes or heroines, which is a natural, truthful character, such as great poets give for the admiration or for admonition of their fellow-beings? No pure and lofty idea of womanhood appears in his female personages; he scarce lifts them above the sensual softness of oriental degradation, investing it in a false and fanciful sentiment. His male personages are strangely alike in their unreality." But there is yet a worse defect in them. "Lord Byron's conception of a hero is an evidence not only of scanty materials of knowledge from which to construct the ideal of a human being, but also of a want of perception of what is great or noble in our nature. His heroes are creatures abandoned to their passions, and essentially therefore weak of mind. Strike them off the veil of mystery and the trappings of poetry, resolve them into their plain realities, and they are such beings, as in the eyes of a masculine judgment would certainly excite no sentiment of admiration, even if they did not provoke contempt. When the conduct and feelings attributed to them are reduced into prose and brought to the test of a rational consideration, they must be perceived to be beings in whom there is no strength, except that of their intensely selfish passions; in whom all is vanity; their exertions being for vanity under the name of love or revenge and their sufferings from vanity under the name of pride. If such beings as these be to be regarded as heroical, where in human nature are we to look for what is low in sentiment or infirm in character?" This picture is perhaps over-drawn, but the fact remains, bare and true that Byron is so *unreal*.

Now let us consider the spirit that pervades the poetry of Byron. And here is quoted a scrap from his poems which strikes the keynote of the poet's mood, and considering that these lines were written in the very first production, we can say that this passion remained with him for life.

"I loved—but those I loved are gone;
Had friends—my early friends are fled;
How cheerless feels the heart alone,
When all its former hopes are dead!
Though gay companions o'er the bowl
Dispel awhile the sense of ill,
Though pleasure stirs the maddening soul,
The heart—the heart—is lonely still."

After having had his fill in the shallow and silly pleasures of

youth, Byron felt the inward pangs of remorse, but did not feel them for the better. Like the thoughtless child which spends its rage by kicking on the rock that has tumbled it down, Byron shot his invectives on society which he considered to have stumbled his triumphal march. He felt that he was injured, deserted, despised, and shunned as loathsome. And hence upon the very persons who thus despised him he determined to pour down the indignant wrath of youthful fancy which cares not where the blows were hit, but only how they fell.

"With thee, my bark, I'll swiftly go
 Athwart the foaming brine :
 Nor care what land thou bear'st me to,
 So not again to mine.
 Welcome, welcome, ye dark blue waves !
 And when you fail my sight,
 Welcome ye deserts, and ye caves !
 My native land—Good Night."

This is the love which Byron had for his native land ! "On the pages of Byron you can scarce escape from some form or other of morbid feeling, pride, contempt, misanthropy : these are attributes not of strength but of weakness." What was the effect of the teachings of such a mind ? "Unreal and false habits of feeling were engendered, and men and women under this delusion grew sentimental and fantastic and flattered themselves that there was beauty in the ugliness of pride, that there was magnanimity in the littleness of contempt, and depth of passion in the shallowness of discontent, and majesty in unmanly moodiness and misanthropy." This is the moral weakness of Byron's teaching—this spreading the contagion of a morbid melancholy—the faithless and selfish weariness of life. Again, living as he did, surrounded by women "who were debauched and willing to be debauched," Byron had a very contemptuous opinion about conjugal fidelity.

"For who would trust the seeming sighs
 Of wife or paramour ?
 Fresh tears will dry the bright blue eyes
 We late saw streaming o'er."

This is, indeed, an unmanly attack on the sacredness of matrimony. Scarce did he realise the companionship, true and harmonious, of the sexes as important in the culture of each. Read what a saintly poet of more recent times has to say :—

"The woman's cause is man's : they rise
 Or sink, dwarf'd or god-like, bond or free."

The influence of woman follows man from the cradle to the grave : and what is it but impiety to attach a stigma to the class as a whole ? Is this poetry or is this slander ?

But above all these vices stands one predominant element in the poetry of Byron, and that is the characteristic description of the natural scenery as appeared to the poet's imagination. If Byron should indeed be read by any one, what would be worth while to be considered is nothing else than his passionate, thoughtful and imaginative love of nature. One beautiful stanza flashes upon my memory, and I will close this short article with the recapitulation of those lines in which we breathe the fragrant sweetness of his descriptions, picturesque and poetical :—

"I see before me the Gladiator lie,—
 He leans upon his hand his mainly brow,
 Consents to death, but conquers agony ;
 And his droop'd head sinks gradually low—
 And through his side, the last drops, ebbing slow
 From the red gash, full heavy, one by one,
 Like the first of a thunder shower ; and now
 The arena swims around him—he is gone
 Ere ceased the inhuman shout which hailed the wretch who won."

R. NANA REY.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE SRI VAISHNAVA FAITH IN SOUTHERN INDIA.



System of Transliteration adopted in this article.

a = अ,	ā = आ,	i = इ,	ī = ई,	u = उ,	ū = ऊ,
e = ए,	ē = ऐ,	ai = औ,	o = ओ,	ô = औ,	au = औ,
k = क,	kh = ख,	g = ग,	gh = घ,	ṅ = ङ,	
ch = च,	chh = छ,	j = ज,	jh = झ,	ñ = ण,	
t = ट,	th = ठ,	d = ड,	dh = ढ,	n = न,	
t = त,	th = थ,	d = द,	dh = ध,	n = न & ण,	
ṇ = ण,	p = प,	ph = फ,	b = ब,	bh = भ,	
m = म,	y = य,	r = र,	r or ṛ = ॠ,	l = ल,	
v = व,	ś = श,	sh = ष,	s = स,	h = ह,	
l = ल,	ksh = क्ष,	jñ = ज्ञ,	ḷ = ॡ,		

[Part II.]

THE CRITICAL ACCOUNT.

HAVING given a brief sketch of the history of the S'ri Vaishnavas as gathered from the various forms of the Guruparamparas, I shall proceed in the following pages to examine the materials available for the construction of a true history of this great sect of Southern India.

The bulk of our information is to be had from the various works of the S'ri Vaishnavas themselves. The oldest of these is the Divya-sūricharitam of Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita who was a physician attached to the temple of S'rīrangam. He claims to have been a contemporary of Rāmānuja and to have cured the latter of poisoning. Though he does not appear exactly to have been a contemporary of Rāmānuja, we may be sure that both of them lived very near each other in point of time. There is no mention in the work of details about the time when the several Ālvārs and Āchāryas lived; nor does Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita give us the chronograms "Dhīrābhā" and "Dharmānashatā" for the birth and death of Rāmānuja. He is also silent about Rāmānuja's age at the time of his death.

Next in order is Piṇḍalāgiya-Jiyar's work, the Guruparamparā-prabhāvam. It is written in *Manipravālam*—a mixture of Sanskrit and Tamil, and is based upon the Divya-sūricharitam from which he quotes very frequently. Nor does this author give the years, months, &c., of the Yugas in which the Ālvārs were born and lived; but he introduces the two chronograms for Rāmānuja.

Next was written Rāmānujārya-divya-charitam by Pillai-lōkan-Jiyar. Written very long after Rāmānuja's time it contains a great number of popular and traditional stories which are responsible for the many anachronisms which have got into the work. These anachronisms will be noted in their proper places in the body of this paper. Pillai-lōkan-Jiyar was also the author of the life of Maṇavālamāmuni, whose disciple he is supposed to have been.

Periyatirumudiyāḍaivu which gives, in brief, the list of succession of the Ālvārs and of the S'ri Vaishṇava Āchāryas, was written next, by Aṇḍillai Kandāḍai-yappan. It is written in Tamil and has not been published. This work is really a valuable one in understanding clearly the relation between one Āchārya and another.

The Sanskrit work Prapannāmritam is another Guruparamparā written by Anantāchārya.

Maṇavālamāmuni's Upadēśaratnamālai is another work of some importance, as it gives the list of Āchāryas, and of the works written by them.

Yatindrapravāḍipikai of Pillai-lōkan-Jiyar deals entirely with the life of Maṇavālamāmuni.

The next work of importance is the Guruparamparā-prabhāvam of the third Brahma-tantra-svatantra Jiyar. This is the Vāḍagalai version and deals with only a branch—that of Vēdānta-Dēsika (1).

The latest and last of these works is the Paḷanāḍaiviḷakkam of Anna-appangār. It is aimed against the "dissenters" the Vāḍagalais whom it accuses of having introduced unwarranted innovations.

There is yet another important work, the "Vēdānta-Dēsika-Vaibhava-prakāśika" of Doddāyāchār of Chōlas'ingapuram (Sholingur).

The second source of information concerning the Ālvārs and Āchāryas is the Nāḷayiraprabandham; this is a collection of the

(1) It is said that there are two works written by this author, a large one in 12,000 granthas and a smaller compilation which has been printed, in 3,000 granthas. I have had no opportunity of examining the larger work which would appear to be available in the Parakālaswāmi Matha at Mysore.

works of the Ālvārs. There incidentally occurs some mention here and there of either contemporary events or of past incidents. These allusions enable us to fix limits to the periods of these saints, which are occasionally confirmed by contemporary authors.

The third and most reliable source of knowledge are the Epigraphical records. The inscriptions of Rāmānuja's time found in the several places connected with his life are of great value, confirmatory of the statements made in the various Guruparamparas or otherwise. Thus then we have the Guruparamparas, the Tamil works and the Epigraphical records to help us to construct the history of the Śrī Vaishnavas.

Section A.

RĀMĀNUJA.

We gather from the Guruparamparā-prabhāvam that Ālavandār was born in the old age of his grandfather Nāthamuni, and that about this time (*i.e.*, the period when his grand-child was born), Nāthamuni had been visiting the Chōla capital Gaṅgaikonda-Chōlapuram.(1) It is well-known that Gaṅgaikonda-Chōlapuram was built by a Rājēndrachōladēva I, the son of Rājarāja the great, the famous builder of the Brihadisvara temple at Tanjore. This king was surnamed Gangaikonda Chōlan in commemoration of his extensive conquests which extended as far north as the mouth of the Ganges. He began his reign in 1011-12. A.D., and it was about the 12th year of his reign that he had achieved his conquests in the north.(2) Hence the capital named after his newly acquired surname could not have come into existence before 1024-25. A.D. at the earliest. If Nāthamuni had already been acquainted with the new capital when his grandson Ālavandār was born, it is plain that the latter could have been born only after 1025 A.D.(3)

(1) Gaṅgaikonda-Chōlapuram is in the Udaiyarpālaiyam Taluka of the Trichinopoly District. It has a grand temple built after the fashion of the Tanjore Temple. That there is no mistake about the Chōla capital being Gaṅgaikonda-Chōlapuram is evidenced by the following s'loka from Garuḍavāhana-paṇḍita's Divya-sūri-charitam p. 127.

पितामहस्ते परिपृष्ट्य चास्मान्
विचित्रदृश्यं कुठकेशताते ।

Now the time of Ālavandār's birth has been fixed to be not earlier than 1025 A.D.; and we know Rāmānuja's death has been recorded to have taken place in 1137 A.D. Thus it is seen the interim period of about 112 years has been covered by the lives of Ālavandār and Rāmānuja. It only remains for us to apportion this period of 112 years between Ālavandār and Rāmānuja and I shall proceed to do so now with the help of the materials at our disposal.

In India where the orthodox system of imparting religious instruction had not in the least changed from ages long past, a fair knowledge of grammar and logic, (not to say a certain proficiency in the Sanskrit language) was considered absolutely necessary for beginning the study of philosophy. Such an initial study would bring down the age of the student to at least 16 years.

After receiving his elementary education from his father, Rāmānuja left his home, we will say at about the age of 16, to prosecute his higher studies under the Vēdāntic teacher Yādavaprakāśa who was then lecturing on Vēdānta at Conjeevaram. He continued under the tuition of Yādavaprakāśa for some time before differences of opinions arose between the teacher and the pupil. The events narrated to have occurred in that period of Rāmānuja's life require us to allot about 4 years at least for his discipleship under Yādavaprakāśa. Rāmānuja must first have had a fair training in Vēdānta. Then alone he could possibly have weighed in his mind the interpretations put on the texts by his preceptor with the conflicting ones that suggested themselves to him. Then there came the pilgrimage to Benares when all his disciples are said to have accompanied Yādavaprakāśa. It was in the middle of this pilgrimage that Rāmānuja left his preceptor and returned home to Kāñchi. It is thus clear that the estimate of four years is very just and proper.

After thus breaking off from his preceptor, Rāmānuja settled down as a householder at Kāñchi(1) with his mother and wife and

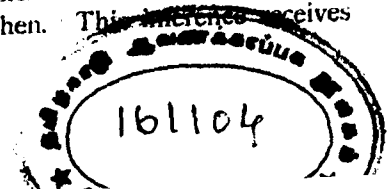
न्यस्तं चकारेति स राममित्र

गिराय गंगाधरराजधानीम् ॥

(2) For a detailed account of his conquests see the Epigraphist's Annual Report for 1892, pp. 4-5.

(3) Mr. M. A. Tirunārāyaṇāchār in his 'Notes on Śrīrangam' gives 916 A.D. as the date of birth of Ālavandār. Of course it is purely traditional and of no historic value.

(1) From the mention of his mother and wife alone, we are led to infer that his father was not alive then. This inference receives



continued his studies at home. Rāmānuja quietly continued thus, till he was summoned by Ālavandār who wanted to make him his successor. He left Kāñchi accompanied by Tiruvarangapperumāl-araiyar who had been sent by Ālavandār, and reached S'rīrangam, as we have already said, only to hear of the demise of his would-have-been teacher. One manuscript copy of the Guruparamparā has it that Rāmānuja had two sons before he entered the Sanyās'-ās'rama(1) and hence when he went to S'rīrangam to visit Ālavandār he should have been 25 or 27 years old. I may, in passing, again refer to the fact that Rāmānuja returned to Kāñchi immediately and continued there for about five years.

Rāmānuja should therefore have taken holy orders at about his 30th or 32nd year of age. For immediately after this event, his nephew Mudaliyāṇḍān (*alias* Dās'arathi), and Kūrattālvān (*alias* S'rivatsānka-mis'ra) joined him to begin their study of the Vēdānta. Applying the same reasoning as in the case of Rāmānuja, these young men must then have been about 16 years of age.(2)

ample corroboration from the statement of the Guruparamparā that Rāmānuja consulted his mother as to what he should do for his further religious studies after disconnecting himself from Yādava-prakāśa. It is clear he would not have acted thus if his father were alive. Again, the fact that he unceremoniously established himself at Kāñchi in preference to his ancestral village S'rīperumbūdūr surely warrants the conclusion that he had no proprietary interest in the latter.

(1) At pp. 94-95 of his 'Life of S'rī Rāmānuja,' Mr. S'rīraṅga-chārya states on the authority of a s'lōka in Guruparamparā-prabhāvam, that the Great Reformer had two sons Emmān and Pemmān. The latter, the younger of the two, died in his youth. Emmān, the elder, under the name of Varadaguru became the pupil of Kūrattālvān. On acquiring proficiency in his studies he travelled to Kāñchi, S'rīperumbūdūr, Tiruvevvulūr, Tirunirmalai, Tirumalīsai, Tiruninravūr, Pūvirundavalli, Tiruvallikkēni and other 'Tiruppadis' and got honours in those places. The above Varadaguru had 8 sons. These statements of this particular copy of the Guruparamparā has to be taken with caution, as it is not substantiated by any other of its kind.

(2) The date of the birth of Mudaliyāṇḍān is given in the following verse :—

स्वर्गीयामशरत्तातौ कलियुगेसप्तसरेस्त्रीमुने
वैश्वेमासि सितवतापुपयितावराक्षो बाह्वि ।
पृथ्वाग्निर्दुविने रघुमवरने बाधूलवंश्याग्रणीः
अश्वेदाशरथिर्हि यस्य महितो रामाज्यो मतुलः ॥

From this also we see that Rāmānuja should have been more or less about 32 years old at the time when these pupils joined him.

After taking holy orders, Rāmānuja removed himself to S'rīrangam, where he is reported to have effected many reforms in the Ranganātha temple and created several offices for the better management of its affairs. It is clear that, great as Rāmānuja was, he could not have induced the hereditary managers of the temple to relinquish all their rights in his favour all at once. Hence we may fairly assume that he must have taken at least about two years to introduce the several reforms.

Having thus placed the affairs of the temple on a firm basis, Rāmānuja started on his extensive tours of pilgrimage. He had another object in thus setting out, *vis.*, that of collecting books and materials for his great work, the S'rī Bhāshyam. The places actually visited by him are enumerated in the foot note.(1) It would surely have taken him about 4 years to visit these places. After finishing his tours, he again settled down at S'rīrangam for the purpose of writing his *chef d'œuvre*, the S'rī Bhāshyam, in which task Kūrattālvān proved of immense help. Two-thirds of the work had been finished when the Chōla persecution began and it was completed, according to the Rāmānujārya-divyacharitam, in 1077 S'aka(2), 1155 A.D. That 1077 is evidently a mistake for

and the date of the birth of Kūrattālvān, in the following s'lōka :

कल्यब्दे कलिपावने मकरगे सूर्यचशुक्लोसरे
वर्षे मानुसदीपवासरवरे पक्षेचशुक्लोत्तमे ।
पञ्चयां करिदौलनेतुरनघेनक्षत्रवर्षेचयः श्रीच-
त्सां सुचरिवातरदसौ भूलोकपुण्यो दयः ॥

(1) Kāñchi, Tirukkōvalūr, Tirupati, Tirupputkuli, Kumbhākōnam, Ālagarkōyil, Tiruppullāni Ālvār-Tirunagari, Tirukkupūgudi, Tiruvāṇṇarīs'ram, Tiruvāttār, Tiruvanandapuram, Tiruvallikkēni, Tirunirmali, Madhurāntakam, Tiruvayindirapuram. Rāmānuja is also reported to have visited all the 'Tiruppadis', of Northern India also.

(2) "இக்கலாது நகுப்பதினென்கும் காலத்தெதிராக்
தக்கதாசுத்த தரிசுமுத்தரணியென்கும் வினாருவித்த
முக்கமுத்த படியத்திக் முற்றமுக்கந்தேசுத
தக்கமக்கேசுதக...யித்தகிசெழுபத்தேழில் சாத்திகுக்."
(p. 243.)

1047 S., 1125 A.D., will appear from the following facts. According to the chronogram '*Dharmânashtak*,' Rāmānuja died in 1059 S. (1137 A.D.) and to say that the work was completed in 1077 S. (1155 A.D.) is absurd. When the work had advanced about two-thirds of its length, Rāmānuja, then in his 40th or 42nd year of age, was obliged to seek refuge in the Hoysala country against the Chōla persecution. And it was only on hearing of the demise of his persecutor after 1039 S. (1117 A.D.) that he returned to Srirangam and was joined by his pupil Kūrattālvān. Then, according to the Rāmānujārya-Divya-Charitam, Rāmānuja finished the S'ri-Bhāshyam. Thus it is extremely likely that the date of the completion of the work is 1047 S. (1125 A.D.). The above conclusion receives ample corroboration from an unexpected quarter. In the Mādhyā work called Chalāri-Smriti there occurs this S'loka,

कलौ प्रवृत्तबौद्धादिमतं रामानुजं तथा शके शेको
नपचाशदधिकाधे सहस्रके निराकर्तुमुच्यवायुः सम्मतस्थापनावाच
एकादशशत शके विशन्यष्टयुगेगे
अवतीर्णमध्वगुरुखादयंदे महागुणं ॥

according to which Rāmānuja's system in 1049 S. (1127 A.D.) was already an established fact and a recognised school of philosophy. Therefore 1047 S. (1125 A.D.) is the proper and the correct date.

In 1021 S. (1099 A.D.), Bahudhānya, Rāmānuja was already at Tondanūr.⁽¹⁾ For in this year he had completed the construction with the help of Vishṇuvardhana, of the Tirunārāyanapperumāl temple at Mēlukōte. This fact shows us the great influence Rāmānuja must have exerted in his new surroundings. Escaping the Chōla persecution he settled at Tondanur and not long thereafter he was able to effect the conversion of no less a person than the Jaina king of the Hoysala country, Bittidēva, and re-named him Vishṇuvardhanadēva (or rāya). With the help of his royal convert he constructed a large lake near Tondanūr and called it Tirumalai Sāgara⁽²⁾

(1) The Guruparamparā-prabhāvam and Rāmānujārya Divya-charitam and all other Teṅgalai versions of the story have 1012 S., coupled with Bahudhānya. Bahudhānya tallies with 1021 S. and not with 1012 S'. The Vadagalai Sampradāyam gives the date correctly: the astronomical details do not work up correctly.

(2) This beautiful lake was named Mōti-tālāb (lake of pearls) for its clearness of water, by Nazir-jung, son of the Subadar of Deccan, who visited it in 1746 A.D. The Yādavanadi feeds the tank.

The conversion of the Hoysala king must therefore have taken place sometime before 1021 S. (1099 A.D.). Mr. Rice asserts that it must have been effected in 1117 A.D. (i.e., 1039 S').⁽¹⁾ He seems to proceed upon one of the records of the Bēlūr temple which is a genuine Vaishṇava one. Possibly also the following passage from the Stalapurāṇa of SravaṇaBelgola induced him to confirm his conclusion. The Stalapurāṇa says, "In S'aka year 1039, Durmukhi, Bettavardhana, under the taunts of his favourite concubine and the arguments of Rāmānujāchārya, received 'Taptamudrā' (mark of religion) and thus became a convert to the Vaishṇava religion. He then changed his name to Vishṇuvardhana, and with a bitter hatred against this (Jaina) religion, discontinued or abolished all the ināms, destroyed 790 Basti temples, and set up Pañcha Nārāyaṇas viz:—Chennige-Nārāyaṇa at Bēlūra, Kīrti-Nārāyaṇa at Talakādu,⁽²⁾ Vijaya Nārāyaṇa at Gadugu, and Lakshmi Nārāyaṇa at Haradana; halli transferring to these all the svastiyas or ināms that had formerly been given to the Basti temple. He built the tank at Tondanūr (Tondanūru?) from the stones of the destroyed Basti temples and called it Tirumalasāgara. Having abolished different kinds of Jaina ināms * * * he established below this tank Tirumalasāgarachattrā for the feeding of the Rāmānuja Kūṭa. He gave the name of Mēlukōte and Tirunārāyanapuram to the village of Doddagurugana-

(1) In Mysore Gazeteer Vol. I., says Mr. Rice:—
'The step (conversion to Vaishṇavaism of Bittidēva), accompanied by a change of his name to Vishṇuvardhana, by which he is principally known, was probably taken in about 1117 A.D.'

'Some of the inscriptions of Bittidēva dated before S. 1039 (A.D. 1117), call him Vishṇuvardhana. Compare, *Epigraphia Carnatica*.

No. 6, Yadatore (S. 1038).

No. 83, Chāmarājanagara (S. 1039).

No. 34, Arsikere (S. 1023 ?).

No. 149, Hassan (S. 1035 ?).

No. 89, Shimoga (Chalukya Vikrama Era 35 = 1034-5 S.).

No. 164, Kadūr (Ch. V. 25 = 1024-5 S.).

In this, he is simply called Bittidēva.

(2) There seems to be some truth in this statement. At least as regards Talakād there is no doubt. I have myself seen a Jaina idol (perhaps the original occupant of the temple) sitting be-nāmaned and oiled in the prakāra of the temple. The niches in the Vimāna are extended with brick in chunam to accommodate Brahman Gods covering up the old Jaina images already set up in them.

halli, constructed several temples and places, and caused steps to be erected to the hill of Mēlukōte. It carries the story to the reign of Krishṇarāja Oḍeyar and mentions the Mahā-abhishēka performed by him to the colossal image of Gommatōsvara. This shows that it was compiled very recently from all available information of a hearsay nature and hence is quite unfit for historical purposes. Therefore the inference of Mr. Rice is untenable and it must be granted that Rāmānuja effected the royal conversion sometime before 1021 S' (1099 A.D.).

After building the Tirumarayana temple on the Yādavādri (Mēlukōte) Rāmānuja lived in this new village for a period of nearly 12 years. (2) At the end of this period Rāmānuja sent his nephew Mudaliyāṇḍān to Bēlūr, the then Hoysala capital (perhaps at the request of the king) to set up the Pañcha Nārāyaṇas. (3) At Bēlūr, Vijaya-Nārāyaṇa's image was set up in 1039 S' (1117 A.D.). The passage referring to this event in the rather long and beautiful Śāśana of Bēlūr runs as follows:—

* * * * *

(1) Ind. Ant. Vol. II, May 73.

(2) The Sri Vaishnavas assert that his whole stay in the West was only for 12 years. It is wrong. For, if they believe that he was in Tondanūr in 1021 S' and returned to Srīrangam after the setting up of the Pañchanārāyaṇas of which one took place in 1039 S' according to the Bēlūr inscription, he must have lived in Tondanūr and Mēlukōte for not less than 20 years. This long stay in these parts left its powerful influence and we see as an effect thereof, a number of Vishṇu temples springing up. One was built in Tondanūr itself in the reign of Nārasiṃha (son of Vishṇuvardhana). In the year 1080 S' (1158 A.D.)—here Mr. Rice's reading S' 1030 is wrong; as Vishṇuvardhana was still reigning then,—a Sarvādhi-kāri Śeṇāpati Kārikkuḍi Tillaikkūttāṇḍi-dandāṇyakan, son of Ulagamūḍān constructed in the middle of Yādava-Nārāyaṇa-Chaturvēdi mangalam (Tondanūr itself), the temple of Kārikkuḍi-Tillai-kkūṭṭa-Viṇṇagaram and set up Vir-rirunda Perumāl, Lakshmi, Bhūmi and made grants to the temple. It is at present known as Krishṇadēva's temple. The king himself made some grants of land in S' 1082 (here Mr. Rice's reading is 1062 S') for the same temple for some offerings.

(3) 'விஞ்ச புலகாண்டான வேலூர் செலவிடுத்தநிப
பஞ்சநாரணனை பிரதிபைண்ணி நாரணப்பதியில்
அஞ்சலென்று தன்னடிமையாகுமைப்பத்திருவார்தமைக்
சஞ்சமலரான் நாயகனை காத்திருமென்று கழறு.'

—R. Divya-Charitam, p. 218.

"Param-Brahma-svarūpanum Enipa Srīmad-Vijaya-Nārāyaṇa dēvaram Srīmad-Vishṇuvarddhana-Poysala-Dēvar ssadbhaktiyim su-pratishṭhitam-māḍi S'aka Varsha Sās'irada-mūvatt-ombhattenēya Hemalambi-Samvatsarada Charitra-Suddha-Pañchami-Ādi-vāraSrī-Vijaya-Nārāyaṇa-Dēvarā Sri-Chemmakēśava-Dēvara Sri-Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa-Dēvara nitya-naimittika-divyāṅga-bhōga tri-kāla-nivēdya Sri-Vaishṇavara brahmaṇara mantra-gita-pātra-pāguda samastauligada Jivita-varggakkavāgi sarvva-namasya samasta-kirukula-dēvi-dēvana kāṇike śahita srī-pādadalli dhārā-pūrvvakam māḍida vritti, &c. &c." (1)

The above record gives us the date of Mudaliyāṇḍān's visit to Bēlūr. Even then Rāmānuja continued to live at Mēlukōte and had not returned to Srīrangam.

About this time, news was brought to Rāmānuja by Mārōṇ-ṭilla-Māruti-Srīyāṇḍān (one of his disciples) of the death of the persecuting Chōla king at Gaṅgaikondā Chōlapuram. The only Chōla king who is known to have died about 1039 S' (1117 A.D.) is Rājakēsarivarman Kulōttunga I. Hence Kulōttunga I. has to be identified with the persecutor of Rāmānuja, known to Sri Vaishnavas as Kṛimikaṇṭha Chōla, Karikāla, &c. That this identification is most conclusive is borne out by the fact that Rāmānuja had heard in 1009 S' (A.D. 1187) that "S'eṇṇi Kulōttunga" (2) had destroyed the Vishṇu temple at Chitrakūṭam (Chidambaram). That Kulōttunga was otherwise known by the name of Karikāla is testified by Kalingattupparaṇi. The stanza which calls him by that name runs thus:—

“பூப்பதுமத்தவன் படைத்தமைத்த
புவியையிரண்டாவதும் படைத்துக்
காப்பதுமென் கடனென்றுகாத்த
கரிகாலச்சோழனை வாழ்த்தினவே.”

In some of his inscriptions, Vishṇuvarddhana refers to his

(1) Ep. Carn-Hassan-Bēlūr, No. 71, p. 137.

(2) “அம்பொற் குடைச்சகனயிரத்
தொன்பதாம் வர்ஷத்தத்தென்
பாஸ்சென்னி குலோத்துங்கன்,
சித்திரகூடச் செங்கண்மால்
தனை அகியெறிநாந்தான்.”

(R. Divya Charitam, p. 236).

Chōla adversary by the name of Rājēndrachōla. (1) This, we have already noted, is the earlier name of Kulōttunga I.

In the Kolattūr plates published in Ep. Carn. Mysore, Vol. I. No. 94, Tirumukūdlu—Narasipūr Tk., Rājēndra Chōla (Kulōttunga's original name) is called also Karikāla.

Many antiquarians who have written on Rāmānuja have uniformly failed to identify to Chōla persecutor of the Vaishṇava teacher. I trust the reasons mentioned by me make the identification fairly conclusive.

There now arises a difficulty, though only an apparent one, if we should accept the foregoing conclusion. It is this. Epigraphy has never given us any cause to suppose that Kulōttunga I. had any fanatic S'aiva tendencies or that he ever made himself a persecuting or an unpopular monarch. On the other hand he is characterised as a very tolerant man making grants to S'aiva, Vaishṇava, and Jaina temples alike, trying always to win the good will of the people by encouraging arts and literature, endowing many villages with well-built temples, to many of which he lent his name; in fact he was the type of a good monarch. How then could such a person be accused of having been the persecutor of Rāmānuja? Such a persecution would have been a serious political blunder, especially from the fact that he was only an usurper of the Chōla throne: it would have raised a rebellion in the multitudinous followers of Rāmānuja. This is certainly a weighty question and I shall now try to give them an explanation.

In the traditionary account it is stated that the King summoned Rāmānuja to his court to discuss matters religious. Apprehending danger to his master from the Chōla King, Kūratālvān the foremost and most loyal follower of Ramanuja put on the Sanyāsin's garb and impersonated his teacher in the king's presence. Of course the king mistook him for the real Vaishṇava reformer. On being questioned if he had any objections to subscribe to the faith that "There was none superior to s'iva," he replied impertinently that Drōṇa was

(1) No. 58, Bēlūr, No. 147, Bēlūr

Ele kāvēriya vāri kūḍe polas ādattendu pōvaisutam |
Keladol kūpa-jalāsiy āppinegam a-Rājēndrachōlam bhuja |
Baladim Vishṇu tādīyasēnēya peṇangal tan-nadi-pūrado |
Kalasal Vikrama-kōḷiyam meṇadan atyugra-pratāpōda-

yam |

Ep. Carn. Hassan Dt.

bigger than s'iva, playing upon the words s'iva and Drōṇa, (1) two measures, of which the Drōṇa was the bigger. This reply was quite unsuited to the time and place, and the joke which would have elsewhere drawn a mere smile summoned up the wrath of the king, who ordered that the eyes of the impertinent man should be put out forthwith. The order was of course readily executed. Ever since this incident, the Chōla king hated Rāmānuja worse than ever, as he would appear to have continued under the mistaken belief that the impertinent disciple was the real Rāmānuja.

That the king hated only Rāmānuja and not S'rī-Vaishṇavaism in general is amply proved by the statements in the Guruparampara that many of its votaries were living in the capital of the Chōla king unmolested. In many inscriptions in such Vaishṇava temples as Mannārgudi (which by the way is known to inscriptions as Kulōttunga Chōla-Viṇṇagaram), Srirangam, Tiruvēndipuram, &c., he has figured prominently as a donor to these temples. Hence we may be sure that the hatred of the king was personal and not sectarian.

That this king destroyed the Vishṇu temple at Chidambaram is not a matter for surprise. Most probably, like the modern Nāttukkōttai Chetties, he desired to have the s'aiva and Vaishṇava temples to be located in separate compounds. And this act would not prove him to have been actuated by any hatred towards Vaishṇavaism.

But that the king was a S'aiva by faith is abundantly proved by various facts. Prominent among them is that one of his surnames was "Tirunīṇṇuch-chōlan." He covered the shrine at Chidambaram called the "Pērambalam" with gold. He induced S'ēkkilār to write the "Periyapurāṇam" and made, under the name of Anapāya Chōla, extensive grants to the images of Tirujñānasambandha, Vāgīśa and Sundaramūrti in the Tiruvārūr temple.

I have digressed rather far in the matter of the identification of Krimikaṇṭha Chōla with Kulōttunga I. and let me now resume the history of Rāmānuja. Hearing of the death of Kulōttunga I. at Gangaikondachōlapuram, Rāmānuja prepared to start for S'rīrangam. Before doing so he placed the affairs of the temple at Tirunārāyaṇapuram on a firm basis, and visited the temple at Tiruppati where he permanently settled in favour of the Vaishṇavas the dispute between the S'aivas and the Vaishṇavas concerning the S'aiva or

(1) "शिवात्परतरं नास्ति" "द्रोणमस्ति ततः परं"

Vaishṇava nature of the local deity. He returned to Srīrangam eleven years before his death, according to a stanza of the R. Divya Charitam, which runs thus :

“ஆய்ந்த அகாப்தபாராதித்தைமந்தொன்பதின்நின்றும்
பொத்து பதினொராண்டுகள் புத்ததான் வளர்ந்தபெரும்புதூர்
வெந்தெண்ணிலாவன் புருடையங்க நகரய்திப்
பாந்தனனைத் துடிப்பான் பாதம்பனித்தங்குறைந்திருநான்.”
(p. 227).

Then the same work goes on to say that, just after his return to Srīrangam, Rāmanuja finished the remaining one-third of his Bhāshyam. This must evidently be after 1039 S. (1117 A. D.) and before 1059 S. (1137 A. D.) Hence the conclusion we have stated above regarding the completion of the work in 1047 S. seems to be correct.

The closing period of Rāmanuja's life was one of *otium cum dignitate*. All his troubles were at an end. The new Chōla king was his patron (so the Vaishṇava accounts say and the inscriptions warrant us in believing the statement). Thus Rāmanuja enjoyed his well-earned repose for nearly 10 years before he died in 1059 S. (1137 A. D.). He had nominated Parāśara-bhaṭṭa, son of Kīrattaiyan, as his successor, long before he died.

Having assigned its proper date to each event of Rāmanuja's life, I shall attempt to fix the period of his birth. In the preceding pages I have noticed the various events of his life, which would yield to the great Vaishṇava prophet an age of from 75 to 80 years at the most. But the chronogram “Dhīrābdha” would require us to believe that he was born as early as 939 S. (1017 A. D.) This initial date would lengthen the life of Rāmanuja to the rather incredible extent of a hundred and twenty years. A life of this length is called a *Mahādas'a* in astrological treatises and is generally attributed to good and great personages. The details of Rāmanuja's life do not allow us to allot to it more than 75-80 years. Evidently therefore there seems to have been a desire, (in the absence of definite information), in the minds of his biographers to ascribe to him a *Mahādas'a*. If we accept their date, which is 8 years before Gaṅgaikondachōlapuram came into existence, it could have been then impossible for Nāthamuni to have visited the new capital. But one and all of the versions of the Vaishṇava chronicles are positive about his visit to Gaṅgaikondachōlapuram. Hence the chronogram for the birth of Rāmanuja must be incorrect. These

two chronograms of Rāmanuja's life are absent in the earliest work, the Divyasūricharitam of Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita. And they seem to have been coined subsequently at a time when people had nothing but tradition to go upon. I would therefore put down the birth of Rāmanuja between 1055-1060 A. D. (977-982. S.)

TABLE OF EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF RĀMĀNUJA ARRANGED CHRONOLOGICALLY.

1.	Birth of Rāmanuja at S'rīperumbūdūr	...	about S'	977.
2.	Begins study under Yādavaprakāśa	...	" S'	993.
3.	Disconnects himself with Yādavaprakāśa	...	" S'	997.
4.	Studies privately till	...	" S'	1002.
5.	Goes to S'rī Rāngam to visit Ālavandār	...	" S'	1002.
6.	Takes holy orders	...	" S'	1009.
7.	Hears about this time of the destruction of the Viṣṇu temple at Chitrakūṭam	...	" S'	1009.
8.	Stays at S'rī Rāngam till	...	" S'	1011.
9.	Visits places of pilgrimage till	...	" S'	1015.
10.	Returns to S'rī Rāngam, begins and finishes two-thirds of the S'rī Bhāshyam	...	" S'	1019.
11.	The Chōla persecution begins; flight of Rāmanuja to the Hoysala country, conversion of Bittidēva	...	" S'	1020.
12.	Completion of the building of the Tirunārāyaṇa-perumāḷ temple at Mēlukōṭe	...	" S'	1021.
13.	Stops in this new village for 12 years till	...	" S'	1033.
14.	Spends his time till 1039 at Tonḍanūr, &c.	...	" S'	1039.
15.	Viṣṇuvarddhana sets up Vijayanārāyaṇa at Bēlūr (perhaps also the other Nārāyaṇas were set up at this time). Mudaliyāṇḍān's visit to Bēlūr in connection with this	...	" S'	1039.
16.	Hears the news of the death of the persecuting Chōla King at Gaṅgaikondachōlapuram	...	" S'	1039.
17.	Visiting Tirupati, &c., returns to S'rī Rāngam.	...	" S'	1040.
18.	Finishes the remaining third of the S'rī-Bhāshyam	...	" S'	1047.
19.	Enjoys rest for “11 years before his death” in	...	" S'	1059.

“மெப்படிமேனியுஞ் செந்தாமரைக்கண்ணும் வைத்திகரே
மெப்படியாலுன் திருவடிச்சூடும் தகைமையினார்
எப்படியுமாயிலைக் கக்குருட்டா மிலைக்குமென்னும்
அப்படியானும் சொன்னேன் அடியென் மற்றியாதென்பனே.”

The Stanza of Maṇikkavāchakar from which the quotation is taken reads thus:—

“தாராயுடையா யடியெற்குன்றினினைக் கன்பு
போராவுலகம் புக்காரடியார் புறமேபோந்தெனயா
ஊராமிலைக்கக் குருட்டாமிலைத்திங் குன்றினியென்புக்
காராயடியே னயலெமயல் கொண்டழுதேனே.(1)

திருச்சதகம், 87 or ஆனந்தபரவசம் 7.

In my paper on the Age of Maṇikkavāchaka,(2) I have come to the conclusion that he must have lived about the beginning of the 11th century A.D. or perhaps a little earlier. In Nammālvār's time his works seem to have been much current among learned men. The Vaishṇava Ālvār was tempted to adopt the language of the Śaiva Āchārya and in order not to mar the beauty of the original he quotes his very words. I have assured myself from eminent Tamil scholars that the passage is not found in any Tamil work prior to Maṇikkavāchaka's time. Hence it could not at all have been a proverb. Thus it is clear that Nammālvār who quotes Maṇikkavāchakar(3) must certainly have lived after Maṇikkavāchakar, i. e., not earlier than the beginning of the 11th century.

(1) That Nammālvār quotes Maṇikkavāchakar was very kindly pointed out to me by my friend Mr. S. A. Tirumalaikkolundu Pillai, B.A..

(2) Madras Christian College Magazine, June, 1905.

(3) Here we are bound to note that Nammālvār was the most tolerant of all the Ālvārs. The following passages give a fair idea of his toleration:

எந்திருமார் வந்தனனை பென்மலைமகள் உறந்தனனை
என்றுமென் னாமனை யகம்பாக்கொண்ட நான்முனை
நின்றச்செய்தியை நிகழ்கை டெயிர்மூன்றெரித்த
வென்ற புலந்துரத்த விசம்பாளியைக் கானேடு.
உரைத்திற் றமூக்கட் பிராயானே பென்னும்
உரைத்திற் திசைமூன் யானேபென்னும்
உரைத்திற் றமாரும் யானேபென்னும்
உரைத்திற் றமாரோன் யானேபென்னும்
உரைத்திற் றமூவரும் யானேபென்னும்

Section B.

NĀMMĀLVĀR.

I shall now turn to the determination of the period in which Nammālvār lived.

If Rāmānuja was born about 977.S.' (1055 A. D.), his visit to S'rīrangam with the intention of becoming the disciple of Ālavandār ought to have come off about 1002-7.S.' (1080-87 A. D.) About this time also he must have heard of the destruction of the Chitrakūṭa temple at Chidambaram by Kulōttunga I. Ālavandār must therefore have expired about the end of the first decade of the 11th century S'aka. His age at that time must have been about 60(1) or 65 years at the longest.

Now then the last days of Ālavandār being taken to be about the first half of 1st decade of the 11th century S'aka, and counting backwards giving to each generation the usual 30 years, we arrive at about 912-17.S.' (990-995 A. D.) as the probable date of the birth of Nāthamunigaḷ. In his old age he repaired to the birth place of Nammālvār(2) to secure the complete works of that saint. If we suppose he was about 60 years of age (by old age we can mean nothing more than that) he must have met Parāṅkus'adāsa, the disciple of Madhurakavi about 975.S.' (1053 A. D.) Madhurakavi and his master Nammālvār could not therefore be far from this last date. The relationship here is not one of father and son, but of teacher and disciple, and hence the 30 years rule applicable in the first case will be too high for the second. Hence the period of the existence of the Ālvārs, Nāmmālvār and Madhurakavi ought to be within a couple of decades before 975.S.' (1053 A. D.). At any rate they do not belong to the early part of Kaliyuga as the Guruparampara asserts.

In his Iyarpā (Tiruviruttam, Stanza 97) Nammālvār quotes a passage from Māṇikkavāchakar in direct speech. The stanza in which this quotation occurs runs thus:

(1) In the 112 years of the joint lives of Rāmānuja and Ālavandār, if we deduct 50 years of the life of Rāmānuja (for he was about 25 years old at the time of the death of Ālavandār) we get about 60-65 years for Ālavandār.

(2) To remove to a far off antiquity the age of Ālvārs, Nāthamunigaḷ alone has been allotted a long life said to have been lengthened by his Yōga practices. The very fact of his birth having taken place in Vīranārāyaṇapuram, brings him to this side of 900 A. D. For Vīranārāyaṇa is the surname of Parāntaka I., who began his reign in 906-7 A. D.

Again Nammālvār's works contain here and there passages which disclose a fair knowledge possessed by the Ālvār of the literature current in his days. Thus in

ஊரவர்கல்வை யெருவிட்டன்னை சொல்லீர்படுத்த
சுரநெல்வித்தி முளைத்தநெஞ்சப் பெருஞ்செய்யுள்
பேரமர்காதல் கடலபுரைய விளைவித்த

காரமர்மேனி நங்கண்ணன் தோழிகடயனே,
He quotes almost verbatim the Kural couplet.

ஊரவர்களைவை யெருவாக வன்னைசொன்—
னீராகநீருமிந்நோய்.

அலரறிவுறுத்தல். Stz. 7.

Such quotations could be multiplied but it is unnecessary for our present purpose. This single instance at any rate, gives the major limit for the period of the Ālvār—i.e., he could not have lived earlier than when the Kural was written.

It is also a noteworthy fact that none of the names—for they were known by a variety of names—of any of the Ālvārs finds a place in any of the inscriptions before the time of Kulōttunga I. In the thousands of names that occur in the great Rājārāja's (I) inscriptions or in those of the reign of his son Rājēndrachōla we never come across any one of these. The only instances known from published records of the Government Epigraphical Department are these:—

(1) An inscription at Tirukkōvalūr mentions Tirumāṅgai-
yālvār's Tirunedun-dāṇḍagam. An. Rep. 1900, p. 10, No. 126;

(2) There occurs the name Arattamukkidāsar in one of the records of Srīrangam belonging to the reign of Kulōttunga I. Arattamukki is one of the names of Trūmāṅgai-yālvār.—S. I. I., Vol. III, part II, Nos. 36, 37.

(3) The decade beginning with 'Tēttarundiral' of Kulas'ēkhara is mentioned in another of the Srīrangam inscriptions, also belonging to the reign of Kulōttunga I. It is dated the 18th year of his reign.—S. I. I., Vol. II, part III, p. 252, footnote 7.

One other instance is quoted by some writers from 'South-

உரைத்தின்று முகிலவண்ண நேரத்தொலோ

உரைத்தின்று வலகத்திந்தென்சொல்லுநேன்

உரைத்தின்று வென்சொன்ன வென்சொன்னே.

Many more passages like this could be quoted but space does not permit it.

Indian Inscriptions,' Vol. III, part I, p. 2. Here Dr. Hultzscher remarks, "hence the author (Nammālvār) must have lived centuries before 1000 A.D." With all deference to Dr. Hultzscher, I have frankly to admit, I have to differ from his interpretation of the name Tiruvāymoḷittēvar. It does not allude to the 'Tiruvāymoḷi' of Nammālvār at all.

Excepting the above instances we have not come across allusions direct or indirect to the Ālvārs. This absence of the names must indicate that these Ālvārs were not then well-known. But when we come to the reign of Kulōttunga I., the Sri Vaishṇava names occur in inscriptions by hundreds. The most prominent among these is the grant of Vīra-Chōḍa(1)

This prince, the son of Kulōttunga I. and the Governor of Vengi, made a grant of land to more than 500 Brāhmaṇas; of those no less than 245 bear Vaishṇava names. Some of these names are very characteristic Srīvaishṇava ones. (2) This record shows that at the time of Vīrachōḍa, Srīvaishṇavaism had been firmly established and its adherents respected everywhere (3) Vīrachōḍa transplan-

(1) Ep. Ind. Vol. V. pp. 97-99.

(2) For example; Aḷagiyamaṇavāla-bhaṭṭa, Aḷkondavillibhaṭṭa, Aḷavandānbhaṭṭa, Ārāvamudubhaṭṭa, Arulālabhaṭṭa, Attiyūralibhaṭṭa, S'endāmaraiḷkannabhaṭṭa, S'iriyāndānbhaṭṭa, Karimāṇikya-bhaṭṭa, Kōlavāmanabhaṭṭa, Malaikiniya-nirānbhaṭṭa, Paḷḷikondānbhaṭṭa, Periyānambibhaṭṭa, Periyāndānbhaṭṭa, S'ingapirānbhaṭṭa, S'irilāṅgōbhaṭṭa, Sundrattōḷudaiyānbhaṭṭa, Poliyānirānbhaṭṭa, Tirumalaiyudiyānbhaṭṭa, Tirukkurungudibhaṭṭa, Tirunādudaiyānbhaṭṭa, Tiruvarangabhaṭṭa, Venṇaikkūttabhaṭṭa, and Yajñamūrttibhaṭṭa and others.

(3) Their Āchārya was held in great veneration by the Mādḥva Dāsa, Vīthala, who sang the following *pada* in his praise. I give below the English translation by Rev. Kittel:

Refrain.

"Rāmānuja! Doctrine-supporter!
Rod for the great mountain of
Dark heretics!

Song.

"They say the Chōḷa put up a post (Kambha) saying:—
'He with the eye on his forehead (Siva), and no other Godhead
there is'!

The master of the Yatis (Eṭīpati) seized and flayed him alive,
And made a Chōḷa shed (Chappara, a shed, of the Chōḷa skin?)
See, my brother!

(verse I).

ted a colony of Srivaishnavas and perhaps these were the ancestors of the Teluguised Srivaishnavas of Nellore and other districts. The great abundance of the Srivaishnava names in and after the reign of Kulōttunga I. and their utter absence before that period naturally lead us to infer that these names were unknown in the earlier times.

One of the places praised by Nammālvār is called Varaguṇamangai. It is in the Tinnevely District. This name indicates, that it must have been named after some relative of Varaguṇa Pāṇḍya. His age is definitely known by the Udayāṇ-dram grant of Prithivipati II.(1) and from the Trichinopoly Rock-cave inscription of Varaguṇa(2) himself, to be the middle of the 9th century A.D. Nammālvār who has sung the praise of the God of Varaguṇamangai must evidently have belonged to a period later than the middle of the 9th century A.D.

From the various stand-points from which I have studied the age of Nammālvār, I am led to the following conclusions:—

- (1) That Nammālvār must have lived long after the time of the composition of the Kural.
- (2) That he must have come after Varaguṇa and Māṇikka-vāchaka.
- (3) That he must have immediately preceded Ālavandār, and
- (4) That he must have lived in the 2nd or 3rd decade of the 11th century A. D.(3).

Saying:—‘It is a Vyāsa-Tōḷu ! they (the Lingayatas), not mind-
ing.

Fasten a bull (Nandi) to a standard (Dhvaja) and worship it.

Hear !

For one (or, for that one) Vyāsa Tōḷu our master (Ayya)
stripped of a thousand arms of S’ivā’s followers (S’arapa)
(verse II.)

Indian Antiquary, Vol. II.

(1) S. I. I., Vol. II, part III, p. 384.

(2) The Christian College Magazine, April, 1905.

(3) In Ālavandār-stotram, Nammālvār alone is alluded to.

(To be continued.)

T. A. GOPINATHA RAO.

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RECRUITMENT OF INDIAN FACTORY LABOUR.

RECENTLY the Indian and Ceylon Chambers of Commerce complained to the Government of India on the paucity of common unskilled labour for employment in mills, factories and mines. The Government of India has thereupon addressed the Governments of Bengal and United Provinces, drawing their attention to the complaint and suggesting the deputation of a civilian officer to conduct a special enquiry into the conditions of labour, the requirements of the capitalists and the availability of labour, and then to devise methods to secure a regular supply of labour, commensurate with the demands of the capitalists. The unhesitating confidence and ease with which the Government accepts the suggestions of European capitalists in all matters pertaining to the expansion and greater productiveness of foreign capital is quite in keeping with the haltings and the doubtings attendant upon every measure of Government calculated to improve the indigenous industries of the country. In all matters pertaining to the competition of English with Indian industries, the Government has been ever disposed to adopt the cry of “Hands off ! And fair fight.” With this apparent policy of fair play, the responsible rulers of this land have, with little or no compunction, allowed the various handicrafts, for which we were once famous to perish, and the artisans engaged therein to descend to the ranks of the half-famished agricultural day-labourer. On a superficial examination of this policy, one would perhaps be inclined to believe that the Government was acting on a consistent theory of Economics. But a careful enquiry into the methods adopted by Government for furthering the cause of the English planter in this country dispels any such illusion. The law of freedom of labour has

been amended in his behalf. The presumptions of the law of evidence have been subverted in his interest. Personal liberties of individuals and even the sacredness of the human personality have been violated to humour his caprices. Free competition and even-handed justice have no meaning when applied to the dealings of the planter with the indentured coolie. It is unnecessary to recount the harrowing tales of unnameable suffering to which the poor coolie is condemned. Such glaring injustice not only passes current in the name of civilised administration, but any chivalrous attempt at espousing the cause of the oppressed in this matter is attended with pains and penalties, as the case of Sir Arthur Cotton testifies. The earnest solicitude which the Government of India has displayed in the present instance is of a piece with its established policy of protection and coercion in favour of the British investor. It has not cared to enquire into the probable causes of the deficiency of supply, and by what methods and how far the same can be remedied. It assumes that the deficiency is due to the ignorance of the existing demand, and has determined that the demand shall be satisfied. We can only hope that this is not a precursor of more coercive legislation to come in restriction of freedom of labour and of contract.

The economic situation of this country is in the main favourable to the almost unrestricted supply of common unskilled labour. The low standard of life with which the ordinary labourer is content and the social institutions to which he is subject are productive of a very rapid increase of population, notwithstanding the adverse influences of famine and pestilence. The dislocation of ancient industries consequent on the competition of the cheap machine-made goods of the West is driving large classes of domestic handicraftsmen into dependence on the uncertain and scanty returns of Agriculture, as disclosed by the census figures. The ancient prejudices tending to restrict labourers to their caste occupations and to particular localities are wearing away as the ever-increasing stream of emigrants to Ceylon or even more distant countries evidences. Under these circumstances one would expect that the large influx of foreign capital seeking employment in this country would naturally attract a very large amount of the unskilled labour thus available. But the complaint of the Chambers of Commerce shows that this expectation is not realised. The members of these bodies and the Government of India are apparently inclined to believe that the ignorance of the labouring classes of the existence of the demand for labour is the sole cause of the paucity of operatives and that a systematic

which the few labourers necessary for starting a concern on a small scale were obtainable at the low rate of customary wages, having secured to him a high rate of profit, he is anxious to secure the increased number of hands necessary for further extension of his operations at the same old rate, and for this purpose appeals to a paternal Government to make use of the semi-barbarous methods of compulsory labour which the civilised English rulers have already thought fit to impose on those whom they consider as their uncivilised subjects. Whence this anxiety to circumvent the legitimate effects of economic causes by adventitious means? Why should not labour be sought by the ordinary and well-known method of the offer of higher wages?

The growing material prosperity of India as evidenced by the large influx of precious metals into the country, the increasing flow of foreign capital for industrial and mercantile operations and the general rise of prices, is one of those articles of faith well advertised in Government Blue books and public orations of official and non-official apologists of our Governmental methods. The material prosperity of the country is a fact to be judged not by the figure *enmasse* of the quantities of metals—iron or gold—that may happen to come into the country, but by the quantity of rice or ragi that the average peasant is able to put into the cooking pot for himself and his family. Money wages may have risen, but the price of food grains having risen in a greater proportion, the quantity of food available for the ordinary labourer is day by day diminishing. Why has not the rise of wages kept pace with the rise of prices? In every normally constituted self-governing country, an influx of foreign capital brings along with it an increase of ordinary wages and hence a promise of greater ease and comfort to the labourer. But to the average Indian labourer there is no such happy prospect under present conditions. An examination of the ways in which this foreign capital comes in, and the manner in which it is employed will explain this anomaly.

The Government has borrowed large sums of money in the English market for the construction of Railways. Private Companies have under the impetus of a Government guarantee invested large sums in similar undertakings. Besides, Industrial Corporations of various kinds have been started for the purpose of exploiting the resources of the country, and these also have sunk large capitals in their ventures. Why has not all this abundant addition to India's resources brought its legitimate tribute to the poor-man's pot?

cases not even a day's meal in stock, he cannot choose but accept what is customary. Freedom of competition is a fiction when applied to one in his circumstances. In a season when business is slack, he submits even to a reduction of the customary wages as an unavoidable fate, and in seasons of business activity, he is satisfied with the restoration of the normal rate. He has no organisation which can support him when work is wanting, or enable him to hold on in expectation of a rise in wages. He has no intelligent leaders to acquaint him with the nature of the existing demand or the current rate of profits and thus put him in the way of securing equitable terms with his employer. Hence when a new business is started in any place, all the available labour is at once employed at the rate till then usual, and in the early stages of the industry, enough of cheap labour is secured with ease. This is facilitated by the existence in every large town of classes of men, who after persisting for some time in their ancient domestic arts and thus having maintained an unequal struggle against cheap imports are driven by absolute starvation to common unskilled labour. When an expanding industry has thus absorbed the existing labour supply, further expansion is arrested by the fact that at the current rate of wages any further increase of labour is not possible. The rate of wages current in a town is, when computed in money, no doubt greater than the rural rates. But if the rural and urban rates of wages be computed in kind—in the quantity of the staple food that can be purchased in the locality—the difference often vanishes. Further the condition of the town labourer receiving a higher rate of money wages is decidedly inferior to the country labourer remunerated at an apparently lower wage. In judging of their relative situation, the stand-point of the labourer himself is often forgotten.

The labourer in a village works by piece, and is therefore allowed to choose his own hours of labour. He works in a leisurely fashion no doubt, but working without pressure for a longer time turns out as much labour as his town compeer, if not more. A sense of ease and comfort is associated with his work. His occupation lends itself to variety. One who has been working under such conditions, when transported into a modern factory with its consecutive and regulated hours, its work under pressure and keen-eyed supervision, its unity and monotony of employment and its severity of discipline, chafes against what he considers as artificial restraints. To induce a rural labourer to submit himself to such unsavoury conditions, there must be offered temptations

more substantial than the current rate of town wages. That these wages, when calculated in the food grains they would purchase in the locality, are not so far above the village rates as they appear has been already pointed out. In making calculations of this kind, it is useless to depend upon the tables of retail prices, published from time to time in the Gazette of India. The common coolie does not purchase his grains generally in the markets in which these rates prevail. He generally buys from some petty neighbouring dealer who is often obliging enough to allow him credit for purchases made and even to make money advances in times of need. In consideration of such accommodation the coolie confines his patronage to the particular dealer who no doubt takes care to charge for the articles supplied at rates more than sufficient to cover ordinary risks. These charges for accommodation, the profits paid to the innumerable middle men through whose hands the grains pass, before they are available to the labourer in the town, and the costs of transport, often take away more than the difference between the rates of village and town wages. Further a town life is rendered more costly to the labourer by the necessity of paying heavily for house accommodation. In his own village, he has perhaps an ancestral cottage sufficient for his needs, and in spite of its drawbacks from an æsthetic or Engineering point of view, affords a comparatively healthy atmosphere and surroundings. In a town he has to pay a substantial part of his wages for permission to huddle himself and his family in some dirty, dingy quarter whose heavy-laden atmosphere and poisonous effluvia ever invite the elsewhere hapless floating, and starving pathogenetic agents to make it their permanent home. Wandering about his native village in spare but clean clothing, he must needs exchange the same for a fuller and apparently more decent but scarcely washed raiment. Such are the attractions of town labour to the poor, ignorant village coolie.

To these must now be added considerations of a different kind. The Indian labourer is a married or marrying man at an age when the Western factory operative would be rarely willing to exchange his single independence for matrimonial bondage. Without any capital stored up for setting up a house or for emergencies, the Indian coolie lad ventures into matrimony with an absolute confidence that his wife would make enough by her own labour for her living; and his children, if any, would, the moment they learn to twaddle about, be usefully employed in adding to the domestic stock of the means of subsistence. The various grades of labour required for

A considerable portion of the so-called capital with which India is said to be fructified comes in the shape of machinery and worked stores required for the construction and maintenance of Railways and the equipment of Factories and Mines. Though India has been under the tutelage of the most civilised nation on the earth, for over a century, till now no systematic attempt has been made by the Government to encourage the manufacture of any portion of such machinery and stores in India itself. In fact the recent complaint of the Engineering and Iron Trades Association of Calcutta proves that the Government has not been willing to utilise even the few existing facilities for obtaining an indigenous supply of such articles. The necessity of humoring the large class of British capitalist supporters of the Home Government and of providing full employment for British workmen takes precedence over the development of the internal resources of India. Being the largest importer of European machinery and stores, the Government is in a position, if it thinks fit, to establish manufacturing workshops to meet its own demands. Herein, however, the doctrine of free mercantile competition and economic unsoundness of Government undertakings comes in aid of the Government conscience. Compare with this the action of the Japanese Government which has only recently profited by a knowledge of Western methods. The Meiji Government has systematically attempted to establish, on its own account, manufacturing factories for supplying the Government needs. Wherever these have been successfully established, they were subsequently handed over to private enterprise. By such methods Japan is now able to secure almost all its Telegraphic stores, and nearly 80 per cent. of its Railway material from its own workshops. But we shall have to wait for centuries before we can show a similar state of industrial independence. We must meanwhile accept all these imported materials as additions to the capital charges against our country. We have next to take into account that portion of the remaining capital available for working expenses which is spent in the maintenance of European supervisors of Government and private, Railways and industries. In all undertakings public and private subsidised by foreign capital, the employment of Indians has been restricted to the lowest kind of unskilled work. No attempt has ever been made to initiate the Indian talent in the methods of business and industrial organisation. Of late more rigorous methods have been adopted to make a mystery of scientific departments with the object of keeping them as close preserves to highly paid European

publication from time to time of the extent of demand and supply will remedy the deficiency. Such an opinion, comforting as it may be, betrays an ignorance of the nature of the forces that impel movement of labour in this country or else a desire to artificially stimulate such movement notwithstanding adverse conditions. The Government of India notes, evidently with regret, the tendency of wages of unskilled labour to rise. It also expects that the steps to be taken in future to promote internal emigration will counteract this tendency. How far this will be possible of achievement, only events can show. But no true lover of this land can contemplate the enforced or artificially promoted supply of labour at the current rate of wages with any feelings other than those of repugnance and humiliation. It is true that wages are rising. But what wages? Wages as calculated in money. If it be remembered that the prices of the necessities of life have during the last quarter of a century risen by 50 to 100 per cent., while the money wages have only risen by 20 per cent., it will be clear that wages, calculated in food grains, which constitute the greatest if not the only item of the poor man's expense in this country, have fallen. The Government, which never fails to remind the people of the increase in prices, while defending its policy of enhancing the land revenue, has chosen in this instance conveniently to forget the same. Instead of regretting the tendency of money wages to increase, we have ample cause to regret that it has not risen sufficiently enough to keep pace with the increase of prices. The common labourer has no other choice but to accept such wages as are offered to him, and we find that he is condemned to an ever-diminishing means of sustenance. If the supply of labour in certain tracts falls far short of the demand for the same, the causes of such a deficiency ought to be sought in the operation of ordinary economic forces which, when left to themselves, are bound in course of time to secure natural adjustment. In Western countries, competition has long been recognised as the chief agent in determining the rate of wages, competition between capitalists for employing labour tending to increase wages and competition between labourers to secure employment operating in a contrary direction. In the present economic condition of India, we find both kinds of competition almost non-existent, so far as day-labour is concerned. The labourer is accustomed to a particular rate of wages, and is satisfied if he can get the same. The idea that there is a great demand for his labour and that, if he holds out, he can have an increase of wages does not strike him. Having absolutely no reserve to fall back upon, in most

agricultural operations, the work of preparing the products of agriculture for the market and the rearing of live stock, all afford ample opportunities for the employment of feminine and juvenile labour. Scanty as are the precarious returns of such uncertain employments, they are still, in the calculations of the labourer, just sufficient in ordinary seasons to maintain himself and his family under that standard of life to which he and his neighbours are accustomed. The leisurely and rollicking coolie may at a pinch be driven under discipline, but the possibility of placing his wife's labour under the restrictions obtaining in a modern factory is repugnant to him in the extreme. The nature of rural feminine employments allows mothers intervals of time to attend to the needs of infants and young children and also look after the ordering of the house. The strenuous and consecutive labour in a factory does not allow of such attentions to merely human concerns. Nor does a town life afford other opportunities of profitable feminine employment. Children under such conditions become objects of greater care and anxiety. Absence of pasturage in or near about towns renders the rearing of live stock impossible. All these causes combine to threaten away rural labourers from a town life. The ignorant, unenterprising and unambitious rustic may not know anything about the law of demand and supply; he may not weigh each of the advantages and disadvantages on either side accurately and arrive at a nicely balanced judgment of the superiority of one mode of life over another; but he has yet not enough to judge in the gross, and hence is slow to be enticed by the allurements of modern organised labour. Where the advantages and temptations are distinct and tangible as in the case of the highly paid labour of Ceylon or other colonies, his prejudices and prepossessions do not stand in the way of improving himself. But the merely nominal higher rate of wages in a town and constancy of employment are not sufficient to induce him to exchange the free atmosphere and the scanty returns of an even unfertile soil to the so-called full meal in a cramped and foul atmosphere. The only method by which he could be induced to forsake his traditional methods of leisurely labour is to assure him greater comfort in return for more sustained application. His wages must be raised. Not merely the money wages. The money wages must be made capable of greater productiveness to him. This is the only sound economic method of attracting more labour to the new and the expanding industries. But the foreign capitalist is unwilling to adopt the only rational course open to him in a free country. The case with

and Anglo-Indian hands. A Government which is bent upon keeping down Indian talent cannot very well expect private European enterprise to take any steps at training the natives of the country. The departments of Government employing English experts have been multiplied of late with the apparent object of developing Indian resources, but there is a complete absence of any measures calculated to initiate the educated youths of this country into these scientific pursuits and thus to render these departments at any distant period independent of European supply. English investors are never tired of asserting that they are adding to the assets of this country by their capital contributions, but have rarely paused to enquire how much of the working portion of such capital goes towards maintaining their own countrymen at phenomenal rates. In fact many of the industries are started by Englishmen in search after remunerative employment for themselves, and further expansion is sought mainly as a source of additional income. These payments to the English Superintendents of industries constitute a heavy prohibitive tax on such operations. We should willingly submit all our enterprises to such taxation, even to a further increase of it, if the persons on whose behalf it is paid are willing and qualified to afford instruction and practical training to our own youths in their occupations and thus afford a reasonable prospect of future industrial independence. But English Superintendents of these concerns have rarely the capacity, and much less the inclination, to render such service to the country from whose life and blood they derive their princely incomes. The only hope of our securing our industrial emancipation is by the establishment of technical institutions and even more by our youths securing the necessary training from other countries. Till such time we shall have to submit to this serious deduction of the country's floating capital available for the payment of wages. The desire to maintain the high rate of profit obtainable at the inception of the new organisations, and to secure as large a share of the working capital to themselves, are the leading causes that hold back the managers of such enterprises from offering the higher rate of wages necessary to secure the increase of labour necessary for further enlargements, and induce them to seek the aid of the Government in obtaining the additional labour needed on the same terms as those at which they have been able to obtain their early batch of labourers. It therefore behoves the leaders of our various communities to keep watch over this new movement to organise an internal emigration Bureau in the

labour may undertake the duty of supplying the necessities of life at wholesale cost prices. This will enhance the value of present wages to the wage-earner by as much as 50 %. The workman should be trained to habits of thrift by organization of co-operative stores and savings banks. All temptations to extravagance and anticipation of income should be rigidly excluded.

In this connection the suggestion of the Government of India that along with labourers, maistries or minor supervisors of labour should be recruited from the same localities, needs reconsideration. Speaking with some knowledge of such a system obtaining in certain parts of Southern India and Ceylon, wherein the maistries go by the name of 'Kanganies', we unhesitatingly assert that no better system could be devised to keep the common labourer in a state of abject servitude and everlasting misery. Ostensibly employed in the interest of the labourers the Kanganies exploit the labourers themselves. By pandering to their worst whims and fancies, they manage to secure the labourers in permanent bondage to themselves. They are generally men of little education and no status. They have not the least idea of either the dignity or freedom of manhood, and are ever ready to further their own pecuniary interest at whatever sacrifice of the interests of the labourers, whose champions they are supposed to be. They act as bankers with whom the poor cooly invests his little savings at low rates of interest, and this banker, unlike ordinary bankers, is ever on the watch for opportunities to promote large borrowings from himself. He notes the various domestic incidents of the labourer's family, both at the place as well as in his native home, very obligingly; he pretends to keep the labourer above want, and readily advances, with no other security than the person of the labourer himself, all that the coolie's extravagance may induce him to spend on the occasion. Taking care to charge as high a rate of interest as the poor man's idea of propriety would safely allow him to, he takes back his advances, by monthly or weekly instalments, as the case may be. The cooly, ignorant of the accounts, is entirely at the mercy of his Kangani. Such a system, by encouraging extravagance on the one hand, and intolerable usury on the other, often takes away all the extra advantage which the labourer hopes to reap by transferring the scene of his labours to distant and inclement spheres.

No improvement in the lot of the labourers can be effected under such a system. Some more rational and humane method of keeping control over the labourers and protecting their interest as

against those of the employers ought to be devised. In virtue of the terms of his employment, the Kangani is absolutely unfit to represent the grievances of the labourers to their European master. He can but mercilessly carry out, often with a liberal use of the whip, the disciplinary orders of his superiors. If the labourers are to be protected against unfair treatment, their grievances redressed, their material interests safeguarded and advanced, it must be by the intervention of a class of intermediaries, entirely different from the class of Kanganies. We want intelligent, educated young Indians who with some little training could get profitable employment of some kind in these industrial enterprises, and who, deriving a remuneration sufficient to place them above the temptation of exploiting the poorly paid labourer, could be trusted to act as proper interpreters between the representatives of the capital on the one hand and the labourers on the other. The inability of European employers to understand and appreciate the difficulties or social necessities of Indian labourers, has often led to the adoption of disciplinary measures utterly repugnant to the labourer and is therefore causing frequent dislocation of business. The gradual training up of educated Indians to the task of organising labour, if not to other technical departments of industrial concerns, is the only sure method of securing a peaceful expansion of the existing labour-supply and making it from time to time commensurate with the needs of growing industries.

Such are some of the methods which appear to be capable of effecting the object of the capitalists, and it is to be hoped that the growth of the material prosperity of this country will be secured by methods analogous to those indicated and that the annals of the British Government in the future will not be disgraced by any extension of such cruel and barbarous laws as are now found in the Statue Books, but whose application is at present restricted only to a few localities and select industries.

INDIAN DEPUTATION TO ENGLAND.



A question of considerable importance to the Indian political party was raised by Sir Ferozeshah Mehta at a recent public meeting held in Bombay to nominate delegates to represent that Presidency on the Indian deputation to England. His view is that there is no use in keeping Indian affairs out of English party politics and that India should throw in its lot with the Liberal party. This view doubtless receives considerable support from Indian politicians; but there are also many who are not prepared to endorse it, since in their opinion India is not likely to receive greater help and support from one party than from the other. The dissenters point to the fact that as regards India the Liberal party has not acted according to its principles and that very often she has received substantial benefits at the hands of the Conservatives. There is no doubt some truth in this, but it is not the entire truth. The Liberal party may have frequently failed to stand by liberal principles in dealing with India; but it cannot be charged with having been instrumental in forcing reactionary legislation on this country, with having deliberately thrown back its political progress. Our recent experience of Sir Henry Fowler as Secretary of State for India is in a large measure accountable for the distrust of the Liberal party, and perhaps there are several others among the Liberal leaders who take the same view as he does of the responsibilities of their party to India. Any how we have not been able to count the Liberal leaders as our supporters, since the days of Bright and Fawcett. Even Gladstone assumed towards India an attitude which did not justify a complete reliance on that statesman as our friend and supporter.

The question then is whether we are likely to change this attitude of the Liberal statesmen by placing our exclusive faith in their party and by declaring our exclusive allegiance to it. If we cannot do this, what is the advantage in alienating from us even those Conservatives who are disposed to be sympathetic towards us? Party organisations work in a regular and systematic way; and party sympathies are not therefore likely to be deflected towards us unless we enlist the sympathy of party leaders. The Indian political party has certain definite objects in view and a

definite programme of reform. If the Liberal leaders will undertake to support us in our efforts, the support of the party will be assured to us. We have to see whether this will be possible. There are, indeed, individual Liberals who sympathise with us and are ready to support our demands for reform. Such sympathisers we have even among the Conservatives. But unless the leaders themselves agree to befriend our cause, it cannot in any sense be said that we have the party with us. Have we been promised, or are we likely to secure, the support of the Liberal party in this sense? Are the Liberal leaders prepared to support our demand for reform in the same way that they support, for example, the demand of the South African Boers for representative Government? Our chief aim is to secure a voice in the Government of the country for the people. But it cannot be said that the Liberal party is with us in this matter. In these circumstances we can only appeal to the sense of justice of the British Nation irrespective of the differences of party; for we have to secure just treatment by rousing their moral sense rather than their party sympathies.

What our delegates ought to do is, in the first place, to state our claims under Acts of Parliament and the Royal Proclamation, and to insist on those claims being satisfied; and secondly, to set forth the illiberal and reactionary measures inaugurated during the last ten years with a view to their being abrogated. While the promises made to us by Parliament and through the mouth of the Sovereign remain unfulfilled, the best efforts of our rulers have been directed within the last ten years to the undoing of the work accomplished by the great British statesmen who presided over the destinies of India before the degenerate race of Imperialists, who now influence the policy of the Empire, came into prominence. The spirit of British statesmanship has undergone a change for the worse, and while the "bastard" imperialists are panting for glory and territory, there are not wanting others who are bent on making money for themselves to the serious injury of the Empire. We have, however, too many of our own grievances to bother ourselves about these imperial matters. Let our delegates, therefore, address themselves to the redress of those grievances. From the days of the ill-starred Viceroyalty of Lord Elgin the reactionary policy of the Government has been in full force. Rights and privileges previously conferred have been withdrawn. Penal laws of the worst kind affecting freedom of thought and liberty of the Press have been passed. The administration of justice has been more

and more subordinated to the will of the executive. Local Self-Government and education have been restricted in their operation. The rights of Indians to higher offices in the State have been openly flouted. The expenses of the administration have been increased without due regard to the interests of the people. In India we have been unable to resist the tide. It will rest with our delegates to rouse the British public to this state of things in India, to appeal to their sense of justice, fairness and humanity, and to persuade them to take such steps as will ensure to us freedom from bad laws and from extravagance and the due recognition of our rights and privileges as citizens of the Empire. In doing this they will have to appeal to both parties, unless, indeed, the Liberal party consent to identify itself with us, and give us a pledge that it will, when restored to power, include Indian questions from the Indian point of view in its party programme. Except on the latter condition, it is, in our opinion, hopeless for us to expect any good from an alliance with the Liberal party; and until this condition is secured, our appeal should be made to the British Nation, and not to either party. We must insist on a due adherence to the policy enunciated in the charter granted to us by our Sovereign. This is the basis of our agitation and on that basis we must stand until party sympathies so turn that we may count upon the undivided support of a whole party.

AGGRESSIVE LAND BILLS IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.



THE Land Encroachment Bill which has recently been grafted into the Statute Book of the Madras Legislative Council is perhaps the first of a series of aggressive measures which the Government of Madras is determined to carry through in spite of severe opposition, in order to subvert the ancient and time-honoured ideas of soil proprietorship in land. The Land Estates Bill is another measure which has closely followed the principle of State landlordism asserted in the Encroachment Act without a shadow of right. In the hot discussion that ensued on the broad declaration of State ownership made in Clause 2 of the Encroachment Bill, and when amendments after amendments were proposed and seconded by the non-official minority simply to be thrown out by the determined and obstinate opposition of the official majority, the position assumed by the Government,—a position which has neither the sanction of the common law of the country, nor of a usage which affords a reasonable basis for it,—was that it was always interfering with the land affairs, and that this *interference* conferred on it a right of property over all lands. It is, therefore, a moot question whether the *interference* of Government in affairs connected with land is an exercise of the right of soil proprietorship such as would give it a claim to inflict on the agriculturists of the Presidency its own terms and conditions under which alone cultivable lands are to be occupied. It is very important to thresh out this question of State interference and examine it in all its bearings, and see whether that interference could at all be termed an exercise of proprietary right or it was simply an act of the executive administration. In defence of the State claim of over-landlordism, the Hon. Mr. M. Hammick has given a pretty clear account of what this interference of Government has been in the past. No doubt the Government has been doing from time to time a lot of things in the matter of land administration, as it seemed to it fit and proper; and the question whether these acts of interference amounted to anything like an exercise of proprietary right has to be considered not solely with reference to the position of the Government, but also with reference to the position of the ryots against whom these acts of interference

have been exercised. If for a moment we concede an important fact which has been assumed by Government, and there is reason to think that that assumption is altogether wrong, but on the basis of which the present Land Estates Bill has been constructed in certain material respects, the position and status of the ryots become at once clear. The leading assumption in attempting to define the substantive rights of the ryots, and in providing safe-guards against encroachments on those rights in the different clauses of the Estates Bill, is that the ryots are at a disadvantage in relation to their zemindars and other landlords, and are unable to assert their rights and privileges as against them. It can hardly be said that these landlords are a whit more powerful or influential than the official class with whom the ryots come in contact in every day affairs of life, and it stands to reason that if the ryots are unable to protect themselves against the violent proceedings of their landlords, their remedy against official doings or rather official misdoings is almost nil. Whatever the Government as represented by its officials did or said, the ryot had to acquiesce in or passively submit to, so that the interference of the Government in matters connected with the land has been more or less the despotic assertion of its sweet will and pleasure, tempered of course by an occasional display of tenderness of feeling for the interests of the helpless ignorant ryots. During the whole period that this *interference* ranged, there was, as now, no representation in the real sense of the term; the mass of cultivators were illiterate and ignorant men incapable of appreciating the effects of any of the measures which Government chose to institute. In regard to land measures in particular, it should be said that none of them were openly discussed; they were all inaugurated behind the back of the ryots, according to the notions which the officers charged with the administration of the country entertained concerning the ryots' rights and privileges; and in fact there was hardly any application of the test of outside criticism to any of those measures. Under these circumstances, it is too much to assume that the several official acts, or more properly executive orders, constituted such an interference as would imply the exercise of a proprietary right in land, and that against persons who were and are quite incapable of defending themselves against any invasion of their private rights, remote or immediate. Here again an important distinction has to be borne in mind, between acts of Government constituting interference in *exercise of a right*, and executive orders merely issued for

the guidance and information of its subordinate officials. If during the last hundred years of British rule, the Government has been doing nothing else except merely issuing instructions to its officers to respect the communal arrangements made by the villagers in the matter of distribution of land, and to bring the official record in agreement with those arrangements, the issue of these instructions could hardly be construed as an act of interference in exercise of a right. There is nothing in the mass of official literature, so far as they are available to the public, to show that all these executive orders were issued in the exercise of a right, moral or legal, conferred by the common law of the country; and it would be amusing to notice how the Government has been by insensible steps gradually creating a record of interference, then making a pretentious declaration that that interference was in the *exercise of a right*, and finally throwing off the veil which concealed the insidious attempts at invasion of private rights, consummating their series of acts with a bold statutory declaration of absolute ownership over all lands. The history of land tenures in the Presidency shows unmistakably that, down to the British period, occupation and cultivation of land were guided by communistic principles, and that settlements of land revenue were always made with village communities. The distribution of land was never considered outside the scope of the village communities, and whether lands were set apart for public purposes or distributed for cultivation, it was always an internal arrangement of the villagers, guided as they were by the village heads and the council of elders, the Government or the King being considered only entitled to a share of the produce as Rajabhogam on the cultivated portion or to its equivalent in money value commuted at certain rates. Even the farmers or assignees of the Government, the modern zemindars, who were called into existence for collecting the Rajabhogam, did not choose, and in fact were not permitted, to interfere with the internal village arrangements in the matter of distribution of land. Whatever settlement was made for securing the land revenue, *i.e.*, the state share of the produce, the settlement was always with the village community, the main reason being that, according to the Hindu Law-givers and the accepted common law of the country, property in land, cultivated or waste, was vested in village communities, and that any State interference would be a subversion of the rights of the village communities. According to Sir Henry Maine, and various other eminent men who have studied

the question of land tenure in India, village communities were a powerful factor in land administration in this country, and it was they, and not the Government, that had the absolute control over the distribution of land whether for cultivation or communal purposes. Such distribution down to the British period of administration was never interfered with by the Government or its representatives, and even in the early days of the British advent, such distribution was never questioned or seriously interfered with. On the other hand every act of land distribution by the village communities was recorded by the Government officials in their books and registers as it was made. There was no attempt to set up a claim on behalf of Government to limit the distribution or veto it in any sense implying the superior right of the Government. The *Dittam* settlement which followed the introduction of Ryotwari tenure was mainly confined to the preparation of village records in each year to show what lands were held under cultivation permanently or temporarily, and what under public waste for communal purposes. The ryots were free to cultivate or use in common for a general purpose what lands they chose, subject of course to the control and guidance of the village community, and the records of the *Dittam* settlement furnish clear proofs that the Government did not interfere or anyway control the internal village arrangement in the matter of distribution of land. It should be noted here that in the introduction of the Ryotwari system, it was never intended that the State authority or interference in the land administration should supplant that of the village community or that the village community should be destroyed or made to cease as a factor of authority in the country. The father of the Ryotwari system whose memory the people still cherish with feeling of gratitude did much to preserve the village communal system from disintegration. Every one of his writings makes a graceful allusion to the useful character of the institution, and to the advantages resulting from its preservation intact. He did nothing, during his tenure of office as Governor of the Presidency, in any way calculated to weaken the authority of the village community. On the other hand he lost no opportunity to secure to it a better footing both by legislation and executive orders. It seems an irony of fate that the very introduction of the Ryotwari system should have led gradually to results different from those contemplated by the inaugurator of the system, and that the village communities should suffer and languish in prestige and authority by insensible encroachments and invasions. Such however is the effect

to-day of the Ryotwari system, and although the village communities of the present day have been shorn of their power, it is useless to contend that they have ceased to exist altogether. They do exist in every village, only their authority is not accepted with coolness and satisfaction as was done in days of old.

It would be very interesting to follow the different causes that contributed towards weakening the influence and power of the village communities, but space forbids entering into any elaborate discussion on the point. It would be sufficient for our purpose to mention that at first for many years after the introduction of the Ryotwari system the people were unable to perceive the weakening effects of the Ryotwari tenure on the village communal system. The ryots were led to look up, in the adjustments of their individual disputes and differences and in the distribution of land, to the same persons who presided at the deliberation of the village community, and it did not much matter to them what systems were introduced for settlement of land revenue so long as these persons were the guiding authorities in the village. The Tahsildars who were appointed to collect the revenue at first possessed no better status than the farmer of the revenue with whom the Muhammadan rulers contracted for payment of land revenue. These Tahsildars had only to collect revenue, and in order to prevent malversation or misfeasance in the work of collection, had to see to the maintenance of accounts showing individual occupation and cultivation of land—a work which devolved, and still devolves on the chief members of the village community, the village accountant and the village head. The village community had the distribution of land entirely in their hands, and it was not until the system of remunerating by money payment the village head and the village kurnam for extra scriptory work thrown on them, as it was supposed, came into operation, that the Tahsildars asserted a superior control over these two functionaries by vanity and officiousness, and in a way began to undermine the influence of these village officers. So that the ryots who used to look to these village officers naturally turned their attention to the Tahsildar whom they supposed to be a superior authority, and who interposed to settle all the petty disputes and differences which had formerly formed the chief function of the village community. The involuntary transference of authority from the village officers to the Tahsildars was gradual and slow and therefore unnoticed. In process of time when the village officers became impotent in the settlement of land disputes, the distribution of land came to be appropriated, by a mere

executive arrangement, by the Tahsildars; and it was then that the durkhast rules came into operation to guide them in the distribution of land and to prevent them in the plenitude of their power and influence from introducing innovations of their own in any way calculated to excite the suspicion of the villagers and embitter their feelings towards the Government. The assignments of lands were virtually conducted by the village officers as before, and all that the Tahsildars had to do was formally to approve the assignments. In the distribution of land, it will appear that the same principle followed by the village community was preserved in the durkhast rules, no material change was introduced, and a careful perusal of the rules will incline the most sceptically inclined to the belief that it was never intended that the communistic principle should be in any way interfered with. Accordingly, we have that the ryot whose land adjoins has the priority of right to extend cultivation to the surrounding waste lands, and that a ryot of the village has the preference over a stranger. These were the characteristic features of the distribution of land as followed by the village community, and their adoption in the durkhast rules could not and did not raise any distrust or suspicion in the minds of the people that any invasion of communal ryots was contemplated or attempted. After all, the presentation of an application or durkhast was considered purely a formal matter; there was no obligation to make a written or oral application; and the mere entry upon a cultivable land by a person who possessed the first or prior right of occupation was treated as a constructive application, the village officer being however required to submit the papers for the formal assignment order of the Tahsildar. No penalty was attached to that entry or occupation, and the Government felt itself bound to recognise the entry and possession and invest the occupier with the necessary title to the occupancy right. So far these rules exactly followed the lines on which the distribution of land was made by the village community. The first attempt, however, at an invasion of their unrestrained right of entry upon cultivable lands was thought of in connection with waste lands. An enquiry followed into the merits of the rights which both the village community and the Government set up in regard to absolute disposal of waste lands, and what the ultimate result of the hot controversy that raged round the question was may be inferred from two quotations. In the well-known work on village communities by Sir Henry Maine, the following occurs:—

“In the later days of the East India Company when all its acts

and omissions were very bitterly criticised and amid the general re-opening of Indian questions after the military insurrection of 1857 much stress was laid on the great amount of waste land which official returns showed to exist in India, and it was more than hinted that better Government would bring these wastes under cultivation, possibly under cotton cultivation, and even plant them with English colonists. *The answer of experienced Indian functionaries was there was no waste land at all in India.* (The italics are mine.) If you except certain territories which stand to India Proper such as the tracts of land at the base of rocky mountains stand to the United States—as for example, the Indo-Chinese-Province of Assam—the reply is substantially correct. The so-called waste lands are part of the domain of the various communities which the villagers theoretically are only waiting opportunity to bring under cultivation.”

Independently of public men who after a very critical and impartial study of the question expressed the opinion that the waste lands are not unreservedly at the disposal of Government, the Government of Madras started in 1856 an enquiry of their own and came to the same conclusion as Sir Henry Maine. The full text of the resolution of the Government is not to hand, but there is one passage quoted from it by the late Dewan Bahadur S. Srinivasa Raghaviengar in his forty years' memorandum. This makes it sufficiently clear that the Government, with its strong tendency to create revenue, found it difficult to make a trade of waste lands in the flagrant way that it has now chosen to do. This passage was relied on by the Hon'ble Mr. L. A. Govindaraghavaier when he opposed the claim put forward by the Government to State landlordship, and may well be quoted here. The order says:—“The waste lands in this country, in the village plains at least, is certainly not the property of Government, or the State in the absolute sense in which the unoccupied land in the United States and some of the British Colonies is so. The village communities claim an interest, and that interest has been universally admitted though not accurately defined. To put up the wastes to sale, entirely ignoring that prior right of the village communities would be to introduce a totally new practice; and it would certainly be regarded by the common feeling of the country as an invasion of existing rights.” Certainly, as stated by the Hon'ble Mr. Govindaraghavaiyer, the fifty years that have since rolled by have produced no radical change except perhaps in the views of certain officials in high positions that there is no such thing as “common feeling” in the country or that public

dissatisfaction exists only in newspapers or on political platforms—a sentiment which the Hon'ble Mr. Castlestuart Stuart will readily subscribe to, if no one else will. After the deliberate admission of the Government of 1856 in regard to the existence of communal rights in waste lands, and of the unfairness or injustice of putting waste lands to auction—a system entirely foreign to the notions of Indian agriculturists, and to the principles of land-holding—one would expect that the question had been authoritatively and finally settled; but later events will show that attempts were made off and on, and expedients found, to revive and establish a system of selling waste lands. The first attempt in this direction was in the disposal of waste lands on the Nilgiri Hills in the forest tracts where demand for lands by the people could not be said to exist, and where European settlers wanted to establish coffee and other kinds of superior cultivation. It will be noticed that, in the order of 1856, a loop-hole was ready at hand, so as not to militate much against the conscientious scruples of the Government, and taking advantage of the saving clause that the waste lands on the Hills were not on the same footing as waste lands in the plains, the Government found no difficulty in the absolute sale of lands on the Hills. Then about 1875, another inducement offered itself to extend the system of sale to abandoned tank-bed lands. Here again a plausible justification was found, and the Government evidently thought that in as much it had spent money in the maintenance of the tanks till they were abandoned, it had a right to recoup the outlay by sale of the bed. Another stretch of the system was made towards cases where the occupancy right could not be decided between the several contending applicants by the ordinary durkhast rule. It should be said here that the village officers were not influenced by the same lofty ideals as they were when directly under the village community without the encouragement or support of the Tahsildars, and from motives of self-interest and bychicanery, created records which threw doubt as to which of the applicants had the prior right, and the Government then hit upon the happy idea of selling the right of occupancy. In 1895 the justification that availed in the case of tank-bed lands was held good in the case of all waste lands commanded by large irrigation projects, and the Government accordingly decided that all such lands shall be put up to sale.

The crowning act in the distribution of land which the Government took on itself in defiance of communal rights was the introduction in 1899 of a general proviso in the durkhast rules that "nothing

contained in the rules shall be held to debar Government from disposing of assessed waste lands otherwise than under these rules at its discretion as heretofore." These were the petty administrative rules introduced from time to time, harmless by themselves, but very aggressive and subversive of private rights in their cumulative effects. It will thus been seen that the simple durkhast rules of 1861, which were conceived quite in accordance with the communistic principle of distribution of land, had undergone modifications so as to entirely overthrow that principle. The modifications were artfully introduced; they were introduced in cases where large opposition was not likely to be experienced, and therefore the sale of Peryar lands stands prominently before public notice as the first aggressive measure in defiance of the communal rights of the people which the Government of 1886 admitted to exist in waste lands. Here again, as if the outright sale was considered not sufficient, a condition was introduced requiring the buyer to surrender such lands as might be required for public roads and channels.

The effect of this condition would be to undermine the occupancy right which became absolute with the entry upon the land, and by its gradual application to all kinds of waste lands, to subordinate the interests of the occupier to those of an overlord. The sale and condition introduced in Peryar are inconsistent with the accepted notions of right and property in land, and according to the common law of the country there could be no sale, absolute or conditional. The Hon. Mr. Hammick carefully avoided to mention how it was that the views of the Government changed from what they were in 1856, and under what circumstances the right admitted to exist in 1856 came to be denied in 1905. He could not justify the procedure on any other ground than that of a vague general expediency, and it is open to him to say whether the several modifications introduced in the durkhast rules were not insidious attempts to subvert vested rights. These modifications, however, could not confer a legal right in the absolute distribution of land as Government wanted to have, and after the decision of the High Court which led to the framing of the Encroachment Act, the Government grew apprehensive that, at any time, the right to put up to auction all waste lands would be called in question in the Courts of Law, and the only effective way in which such a danger might be averted, was to assert by statutory declaration a claim to State soil-ownership. This is what the Government has done.

The facts described above will explain in a manner how the

people did not feel seriously called upon to controvert any of the rights which the Hon. Mr. Hammick claimed for Government, and the mere fact that it was not controverted could not confer a right such as that the Government has claimed. It was thirty years after the system of levying penal assessment for encroachments had been in force that one Ramayya was found to contest the right of the Government to levy penalties and establish his contention successfully in the High Court. Similarly the sale of waste lands or the levy of fish-rent or penal water-rate would be called into question, and it seems most ludicrous that the claims of Government should be based on the absence of any such dispute as to the right of Government. Instead of courting a public enquiry on so contentious a claim, the Government has effectually stopped all means of getting a judicial pronouncement on this question, and it is impossible for any one who has closely followed the arguments advanced on the side of Government to get rid of the notions that there was a *vien* of thought in the speeches of the Hon. Messrs. Stokes and Hammick that the Government has come in for unquestionable landed rights by mere conquest of the country—a feeling which the Muhammadan rulers were not able to get rid of in their dealings with the people.

In spite of what the Government has been urging in excuse of its pretensions, it still remains a question whether the several acts of the executive administration in introducing modifications in the *durkhast* rules could confer an unquestionable right in all lands. We deny this right; no amount of weakening influence, which the Government consciously or unconsciously brought to bear upon the village community, could be held to justify a total denial of their existence, and no amount of orders and instructions which the Government has been issuing to its officers and embodying in the *durkhast* rules could justify so preposterous a claim in the matter of distribution of land. The Government has still to show that it can depart from the established customs in the distribution of land—in putting waste lands to sale. If this right to sell is denied, the necessity for the broad declaration of State ownership disappears. The Government wants to make a profit by sale, and the *zemindars*, the proteges of the Government, want heavy *nussers* for grant of lands; so the sting of the land measures which the Government has introduced lies in the unwarranted assumption of a power which the common law of the country does not sanction in the matter of distribution of land.

REVENUE OFFICER.

COMMERCIAL EDUCATION.



AT a recent meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce a resolution was passed to the effect that a practical examination as well as one in special subjects suitable for clerks entering mercantile offices should be instituted. As the result of a series of letters which had passed between the Bengal Government and the Chambers of Commerce in that Presidency, it was proposed that local examinations should be instituted in preference to the London Chamber of Commerce Examinations. There is no doubt that this action on the part of the Bengal Government is bound to meet with general approval, and it is to be hoped that the successful candidates would be freely employed in future in mercantile offices. It is evident from the letters published by the Bengal Government that the Chambers of Commerce in India have for some time past been pressing the authorities to pay their attention to the question of Commercial Education. This must have been due to the difficulty felt by the mercantile offices to secure the services of intelligent and capable natives. Most of those who seek employment in these offices are unfit to discharge onerous and responsible duties; and we trust that, as a result of the institution of these examinations, a better class of men would in future be available for employment in the mercantile houses.

I shall proceed to explain the signification of the term Commercial Education and what it should do. In the treatment of the subject I have the advantage of having combined my study with experience for the past 11 years. By Commercial Education I mean that which trains a youth to appreciate fully the "objects, and advantages" of a commercial calling. Such an education should enable him to wage war successfully with his competitors and to keep pace with the development of the outer world. It must, therefore, be worked on a solid basis, to make the superstructure remain permanent. It has been said that the question of systematic and steady development of Commercial Education and a properly organised Commercial School resolves itself into a question of culture; but culture in the real sense of the word cannot be imparted in schools. It must find its source in self-improvement, which springs from strong motives to exertion. So be it. But the school should endeavour to train the minds of

the youths who come under its influence in a way to give them a strong desire for self-culture and self-improvement. This is the true aim and object of Education.

That the material welfare of a country depends in a large measure on the attention paid to the development of its commerce is evident from the course adopted by different nations to impart a system of sound Commercial Education. Mr. Chamberlain, in the course of a speech to the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce, expressed that commerce is the greatest of all political interests and that that Government deserves most the popular approval which does the most to increase trade and settle it on a firm foundation. Lord Rosebery stated that the twentieth century is destined to witness a struggle for commercial predominance among the trading nations of the world. Our Viceroy, Lord Curzon, showed emphatically, while he distributed the prizes at an annual meeting of the London Chamber of Commerce, that the prosperity of a country by trade and commerce would depend on the attention paid to Commercial and Technical Education.

It should be said that the great mass of the people must, in future, continue to grapple with the hard facts of life and do the rough work set before them, and have to solve the problem of ever-increasing poverty. A sense of increasing responsibility must, therefore, call to the minds of the people the urgent necessity for modelling their education in a manner to bring prosperity to their country by improving trade and commerce. That this is the general view is evident from the attention given by different nations to the development of Commercial Education. It is realised that commercial success in the future will depend more on educational superiority. We consequently find to-day more schools and colleges of commerce than when education in business was achieved by mere rule-of-thumb. The days have gone by when doctors learnt their business by mere apprenticeship, and the days would soon go by when men in business and industry were expected to learn their business best, merely by undergoing office routine. Business methods have changed in the past thirty years, manufacturing has been revolutionised by new inventions, improved machinery, and new and enlarged demands. The steam engine of Watt, the steamship of Symington and the locomotive of Stephenson have given fresh opportunities for the training of a new class of workmen, more intelligent than the old. It is, consequently, required of the Technical Schools to supply for these purposes young Foremen and

Superintendents. Along with the wonderful revolution in the methods of production, there have been wonderful developments in the methods of distribution. With the introduction of machinery in textile industry the output of manufacture has increased by leaps and bounds. It is incumbent on the business world to find adequate means for their distribution. The old method of rule-of-thumb training is no longer adequate to maintain the commercial pre-eminence. It is necessary to train the faculties, to analyse new commercial and economic situations, and to impart organised knowledge. England became alive to this fact only quite recently, and now Primary, Secondary and Technical Education is placed under the control of the Board of Education consisting of members of the Government, with a president who may sit in the House of Commons, and a consultative committee formed partly of representatives of the views of the Universities and other educational bodies. This new Board of Education, reconstituted by the London University in 1898, have established a Faculty of Economics and Political Science (including commerce and industry) and affiliated the London School of Economics and Political Science to that University. I may say that although the absolute necessity for the establishment of a University of Commerce for the efficient training of young men intended for commercial and industrial pursuits in England was emphasised so long ago as 1887 by Mr. Howard Vincent, M.P., and Lord Dean of Guild Blackie, it was only when the University of London was re-organised, that an academic degree in Economics and Commerce was instituted. It should, however, be noticed that in this re-organisation, no definite Commercial Faculty with full teaching and examining powers was provided for.

The Commercial Education scheme started some 18 years ago, as the result of a series of letters contributed to the "Times" by Mr. Arnold Foster, aims at imparting the rudiments of Commercial Science to those who are to fill the ranks of British Commerce. The original scheme prepared by the Commercial Education Committee in 1888 for a six years' Commercial course, if carried out, would have placed London on a par with the best Commercial educated cities of Germany, Paris or Antwerp. The "scheme of Studies" now instituted by the London Chamber of Commerce is such as to suit all grades of men and candidates, who merely want a certificate; they may get through the obligatory subjects, and select two of the easiest optionals. On the other hand,

a student who wishes to have a sound education in Commercial Science may do the obligatory subjects satisfactorily, taking two of the most important optionals, such as, say, Banking, Currency, Commercial and Industrial Law, Chemistry, Physics or Metallurgy—whoever does so will be a well educated man of business. The Commercial training of the London Chamber of Commerce is adequate to create a Commercial Faculty, which if instituted, would be a proper Faculty in the Science of Commerce rather than the one now founded at the London School of Economics and Political Science.

The other Universities of Commerce, (besides the London School of Economics and Political Science) are those of Birmingham, Manchester and some other important cities in Scotland.

It will be interesting in this connection to observe the standard of Commercial Education in vogue on the continent and other countries which constitute an intellectual training fit to rank with that of any classical, legal or scientific studies in England.

The Institut de Commerce at Antwerp, Ecole Supérieure de Commerce de Paris, Oeffentliche Handelslehranstalt zu Leipzig are the best Colleges of Commerce on the Continent. Besides the Leipzig Commercial Institute, there are about 60 other institutions in Germany of 50 years standing and having an average total enrolment of 6000 pupils a year. France has seven schools of the first order and many of lower grades. In the superior schools of commerce, and in the school of Higher Commercial studies in Paris, there is a staff of about 70 members. In Antwerp, Brussels and Switzerland there are important Commercial Colleges. There are interesting Commercial Schools in Russia. Russia has, what may perhaps be called, the oldest Commercial School in the world. The Universities of New York, California, Chicago and Pennsylvania have instituted Faculties of Commerce and Industry. In the above institutions students are taught the Laws of Commerce, Mathematics, Industrial and Commercial Geography, Economics, Credits, Corporations, Accounting, Foreign Languages, and many other subjects. Real-Handlungs-Akademie in Vienna is intended to train not merely efficient merchants, but also high class officials for the economic and financial departments of the Government. Graduates turned out from these institutions find themselves so fully equipped for practical business affairs that, soon after their leaving the University, they enter the foreign market, either as buyers or sellers, with

an enormous advantage over the man whose education has been acquired under less systematic methods.

The Japanese have entertained more than any other nation the view that the political and, to some extent, even the moral well-being of their country depends in a large measure on its material welfare. With the advent of the European civilization in the East, the influence of Buddhism and Confucianism underwent astonishing changes. The Japanese no longer remained content with a social system based on a hierarchy of inherited ranks and crafts, but were converted to the doctrine of extreme commercialism. Large numbers of their leaders came to the conclusion that the social principles which they had learned from their fathers were really a barrier to the working of the law of natural selection; and under the influence of all that came to them from the West, they became fully alive to the conviction that the most important element in a nation's strength is material and commercial welfare, without which they could no longer be a nation fit to take a pre-dominant place in the world's history.

Commercial Education was considered by the first Cabinet of the present Emperor to be very essential for promoting the foreign trade of Japan. Advisers of Government, professors of all branches of learning and artisans of all kinds have been called in from Europe and America. Government officials and students have been incessantly sent abroad for study. Although the origin of private commercial schools dates back to the year 1875, yet it was not till after ten years that the central Government of Tokio instituted a Commercial School of the highest standard. Since then, many other schools throughout Japan have been started by different Municipalities.

The system adopted at the Higher Commercial College of Tokio is that of the Institut Supérieur de Commerce de Anvers at Antwerp. But, after a few years, the standard of the college was raised far above that of the Antwerp Institute. The Higher Commercial College at Tokio stands now as one of the first commercial colleges in the world, the status and education of the graduates of which are at least equal, if not superior, to those of any of the continental commercial colleges. Graduates, who possess sound scholarship, are sent at government expense for research study to Antwerp, Paris, Germany, Belgium, England and the United States; and on their return they are appointed as professors and in any kind of administrative work including the service of Government, railways, banks and insurance companies.

From the above brief survey of the different countries, we observe that the cry in every quarter is "Education for Business and Public Life," and that this education can be best attained in Business Colleges. The object of a commercial college should, therefore, be to afford a systematic training in higher commercial subjects, in the study of Government and administration and in the work of economic and social investigation. The reason for neglecting this important branch of study was the general low social estimate set on business classes. Commerce was considered to be a profession for men occupying low position in the social scale. This idea no longer exists, and we have reason to believe that people are beginning to wake up to the necessity of a sound Commercial Education.

What is it, then, that should receive the particular attention of the business world and the community in general in the organisation and development of Commercial Education? It is said that the commercial success of any nation depends on their educational superiority. The best preparation is to afford a good general education; in fact, the aim of all educational systems should be to offer general or liberal courses of all standards, and of the very best character, and get as many young men to pursue them as possible. It should then go further, and allow those youths, who have gone as far as possible in the liberal courses, an opportunity to pursue their education still further along lines relating to their future calling. For instance, an education which is based on Science and is properly organised cannot but be liberalising, no matter if it be technical in the proper sense of the term. In the same manner the curriculum of a Commercial High School may be sufficiently liberalising in all its aspects, at the same time that it trains a youth so as to make him more useful in a business house. The work of a good industrial school or trade high school may be made thoroughly educational. It is work of this kind, which is liberal and practical, that educates a man while it trains him for a livelihood and which should be introduced into our system of Commercial Education.

There is at present little opportunity for a youth desiring to enter business to obtain any systematic assistance in preparing himself for his future career, if he desires or expects to engage in anything but clerical work.

I am afraid I may be taken for a pessimist, but the fact is that the young men who receive their education are hardly found efficient in an office for the discharge of independent and onerous duties.

I cannot, however, affirm that no commercial school or no college of finance and economy will make a successful merchant or banker. Nor does a law college make a successful lawyer or a medical college a successful physician, but all three may so train a youth that he will enter upon his respective career with an advantage over the man who does not receive this training.

In order to make Commercial Education a success, the curriculum of the school should be made as liberalising in character as possible. A commercial school which imparts instruction in the higher commercial subjects, *viz.*, the history of commerce and commercial institutions, commercial geography with the necessary preliminary work in physical geography, the study of products, the theory and practice of accountancy, should be of general interest to every educated man—whether he is going to business or not; while the study of commercial law, economic theory and history, political science, banking and currency supply liberal courses of education specially adapted to the needs of persons who are or who intend to be engaged in any kind of administration. Such a study constitutes what is termed the "Science of Commerce." By science of commerce I mean a systematic study of principles and usages of all branches of trade, buying and selling of different commodities, mercantile agencies, shipping, railways, insurance, warehouse, banking and speculation. Such a training would constitute a proper Faculty in the Science of Commerce. Commercial Education will then satisfy commercial requirements which can be ascertained only from a knowledge of the function of the mercantile classes.

In order to make the education imparted in a commercial school thorough and efficient, students, before leaving school, must be made to undergo a course of training in what is termed the "Practice of Commerce". The object of this subject is to teach the students how to apply to practical business what they have already learnt under various other subjects. I do not intend to offer any remarks as to how this course should be pursued, but this I would say, that the education imparted in a commercial school should be considered incomplete if the students trained there possess no knowledge of the definite functions they have to perform when they are thrown in the great battle-plain of commercial life. The various forms of ordinary trading, such as local sales, imports and exports on own account and on commission, consignments, indents, agencies, &c., must be introduced by fictitious operations, the leading data of which

must be based, if possible, upon the transactions of large firms. Special attention must be paid to standing in account calculations, forward exchange contracts, commercial correspondence, cable codes, &c.

I have described the aims and scope of a Higher Commercial College. The curriculum of a properly organised Commercial School should be such as to create a Faculty of Commerce. I would ask whether the time has not arrived in India to wake up to the necessity of educating our young men after the model of English and Continental methods and to create a Faculty of Commerce in the Universities of India. The desire to secure a University degree is so great on the part of our young men, that when a Faculty of Commerce is created, a portion of our young men who are now preparing for the various degrees will take up this important branch of study and thus, in course of time, a number of Bachelors of Commercial Science would be turned out, who, unable to secure the much coveted Government appointment, would have to resort to commercial undertakings. The outlook clearly points to individual efforts as the only future means of success in life for the majority; and that effort must be directed towards commercial and industrial undertakings. India will find a vast field in this rather than in the highly estimated but limited fields of Government service.

What has been done in India so far in the direction of Commercial Education cannot be said to be of any success, but, as the minds of the leading men have been awakened to the necessity for a diversion from the purely literary course to the commercial and industrial, we hope that the time is not far distant when proper steps will be taken in order to make Commercial Education a success. At present students who join a commercial school are utterly deficient in general education, and consequently, they neglect the study of important subjects, such as Banking, Economics, Commercial History and Geography, the study of which should be assiduously pursued by those whose ambition is to become merchants or traders.

Our Presidency has the reputation of being the pioneer in establishing commercial schools, but I regret to remark that these have not been developed as they ought to be. This paper has, therefore, been prepared with a view to exhibit the method of work that should be followed in a commercial high school or college, and the instruction to be imparted must be such as to rank with that of any classical, legal or scientific studies.

C. GOPAL MENON.

HAIDAR AND THE ASTROLOGER.



MANY are the stories that are told of Haidar in Mysore and the adjoining British districts, which at one time formed integral parts of the kingdom he usurped. Indeed, a biography of him may be composed in the words of some of these stories. There are stories about his birth; his bringing up; his apprenticeship; his ascendancy in the then Maharajah's Counsels; his conquests and finally his death. The following, which is still current in and around Seringapatam, was told me with all the circumstantiality of a true tale by an old rustic when on a tour in that Province some years ago.

The sun had just set and the short eastern twilight was fleeting fast. A moment the dusk had turned to utter darkness, and the blazing light in the public offices opposite became more clearly visible, though obscured now and again by an ever-moving crowd round it. Beside the Indian lamp was the gaunt figure of an old lanky man with wrinkled cheeks and sunken eyes peering into men's hands, legs and tongues in quick succession and dismissing them with equal alacrity. The flickering light would be mended frequently by the eager by-standers, and the lamp was fed by a generous supply of 'public' oil by the *masālchi*. The whole government establishment from the Dewan to the *duffadar* was busy. Everyone was eager in pushing forth his hand over the heads and backs of his neighbours to get at the astrologer for a peep into his future. To the observant Haidar on the opposite terrace all was plain in a second and the thought apparently flashed on him 'why not he try his luck?' Straightway he ran down the stairs, put on a *kumbli* (camblet) on his shoulders and with a long rustic stick in his right-hand set out to the spot which had so long attracted him. Unobserved by any and unsuspected by all, from behind everyone he stretched forth his open palm to the astrologer. "Keep back," quoth the indignant fortune-teller after a moment's examination, "keep back, thou wretch! This is the hand," continued he lifting up his head to the crowd "of a corpse-bearer." Unperturbed, Haidar quickly withdrew his hand and unseen he slipped off to his abode. That was a memorable night. The future fortunes and miseries of many had been foretold in a few curt words, which were not altogether devoid of

ambiguity. And the astrologer had been promised an early introduction to the Big Sultan.

The morrow dawned, not too soon to the anxious astrologer. The courtiers and officers had early repaired to the audience hall of their master and there eagerly awaited his arrival. Haidar entered at the usual hour but with a contorted face, declared in low, faltering tones that he had fever on him since last evening and that he was suffering from pain all over the body and did not quite feel sure of his fate. An opportunity had unexpectedly offered itself and the prime public functionary promptly stood up and observed, "O, Khodadad! Inscrutable are the ways of the all merciful Providence. Thou art not sure of thy fate and there is the new-come seer that tells men's fortunes with wonderful celerity. All the people have fled to him and have returned with gleeful hearts. Everywhere is he seen but nowhere is he found—such is the demand for him. If he be summoned we cannot be long in suspense. May it please my Khodadad." Haidar's object was gained and he nodded assent. The feigned fever had left him and he was impatient to test the honesty of this reputed reader of the Book of Fates. The arrival of this worthy was ere long announced and in due time he began his business, amidst solemn silence, by extending his hand for the adventurer's palm. Haidar stretched it forth and waited. "Ah!" exclaimed the astonished old man, "this is a seen hand,—the hand of a corpse-bearer." "Thou art only saved from the gallows to be thrown into the prison," quickly followed up the usurper, "thy tricks and thy rogueries shall end this day." The astrologer gasped for breath, gaped and stared and was motionless; the audience was taken aback, and nothing relieved for a while the painful stillness of the scene but the loud thundering accents of Haidar who cried out, "speak crafty villain and be saved. Explain thyself and beware you speak the truth." Hardly had Haidar resumed his seat than the whilom terrified astrologer stood forth on his defence and said: "what can come from the sea but the moon; what can come from the mountain but the life-giving herb; what can come from beneath Mother Earth but the all nourishing seed, and what can come from my ever victorious Khodadad but the ancient Wisdom of his fathers. Truly, the wise shall be rewarded and the wicked shall be punished. Allow thy humble servant some bee's wax and he shall soon demonstrate to a finality the truth of the science of his revered forefathers." He pasted the wax in circular patches all over the body of Haidar

and took them out one by one and carefully examined them. Those that had been pasted to the walls of the mouth showed clear imprints of the *chank* and *chakar*, the Vishnavite regal emblems. "Here are those," frantically cried out the recovered astrologer, "that made my Khodadad what he is, the Ruler of fair Mysore." The old man was richly rewarded with shawls and money and dismissed with honour.

It will be observed in the above story that Haidar, though as a Mahomedan was a believer in astrology, felt at first sceptical about the truth of the astrologer's science. The very wide divergence between his actual position and the declaration that his hand was that of a corpse-bearer seems to have had the natural effect of shaking the very foundations of his belief in the pseudo-science. It seemed as though that on the second reading of his hand, Haidar was going to follow the Chinese custom of meting out capital sentence to false astrologers. Fortunately the wily old man was resourceful enough to avert it by smartly reading the royal emblems in his mouth! and thus went off with presents instead of to the gallows.

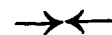
The scepticism of Haidar finds its parallel in the present day Hindu feeling towards the art that foretells the future. With Sir Thomas Browne of old, modern Hindus deny the capacity of the astrologers of their day, but do not venture to dispute the reality of the science. This is the case with the majority, not excluding the educated classes, who in times of great troubles or adverse fortunes generally consult an astrologer as to the time when better days will dawn on them. The acute Pascal once remarked of astrologers that they foretell "misfortunes, because misfortunes are common, so that, as some ill-chance often happens, they are often right. This is how their predictions rarely fail." It is not surprising, therefore, that some champions of our *ill-starred* Southern prophet have urged the fulfilment of his prophecies in the happening of the West Indian eruptions! At this rate anything can come true.

It is not a little curious this attitude of the educated Indian towards one of the 'six sciences' that regulates his every-day life. Perhaps, it may not be altogether out of place here to draw attention to Dean Swift's famous squib, entitled *Prediction for the year 1708, by Issac Bickerstaff, Esq.* which, in the opinion of Prof. Jules Andrieu, gave the death blow in England to astrology. Swift after expressing his profound belief in the science and pointing out the absurdities of the philomaths, proceeds to show in the happiest vein

of parody a more excellent way :—" My first prediction is but a trifle, yet I mention it to show how ignorant these sottish pretenders to astrology are in their own concerns : it refers to Partridge, the Almanac-maker. I have consulted the star of his nativity by my own rules, and find he will infallibly die upon the 29th of March next about eleven at night of a raging fever. Therefore I advise him to consider of it and settle his affairs in time." He followed this up with a letter to a respectable person giving a minute account of the astrologer's death on the very day and about the same hour mentioned. Poor Partridge protested in vain that he was alive. In his desperation he even got a literary friend to write a pamphlet to prove it and published his Almanac for 1709. Swift was not to be baffled. In his rejoinder he abused the wretched astrologer for his want of manners in giving a gentleman the lie, answered his arguments *seriatim*, and finally concluded that the evidence of the publication of another Almanac was wholly irrelevant ; " for Gadbury, Poor Robin, Dove and Way do yearly publish their Almanacs, though several of them have been dead since before the Revolution."

C. HAYAVADANA RAO.

EDWARD CARPENTER—HIS LIFE AND TEACHINGS.



OF the many poets, scientists and philosophers, who have made the latter half of the nineteenth century illustrious, I wish to speak particularly in the following pages of Edward Carpenter, who holds a unique place in English letters. He disregarded the allurements of fame, the ease and luxury of wealth, and endured the slanders and misrepresentations of his opponents in order to fight the cause of the righteous and the just. In speaking of him, I am inclined to say that ours is an age of scepticism. Where we should have faith we doubt ; where we should question and investigate, we blindly accept. Although this may appear paradoxical, yet it is none the less a fact that scepticism and credulity go hand in hand. We, instead of appreciating the generous intentions of others, attribute to them motives of the most sordid nature. Nay, we go a step further ; being imbued with this spirit we not only remain inactive, but discourage action in others. It is men of this stamp who are responsible for the many evils that exist in the present day. If men are unfit to appreciate virtue, and to value truth and justice, life and society would be impossible and humanity would degenerate and perish.

Notwithstanding this lack of faith we are fortunate in possessing many great and generous men and women—real reformers—philanthropists in the real sense of the word. One may write off-hand the names of hundred such—Tolstoy, Kropotkin, Stepniak, William Morris, John Ruskin, Walt Whitman and Percy B. Shelly and a host of others. Of the workers and thinkers of the modern times there is no man in England who stands nearer to Walt Whitman the virile American, and to Tolstoy the 'great moujik,' than Edward Carpenter, and not one of the living writers of England has made such a lasting impression on the men and women of his generation as the author of "Towards Democracy." P. B. Shelly and Walt Whitman are two of the greatest writers of the modern times. Both these have influenced and have much in common with Edward Carpenter. Like Shelly, Edward Carpenter is a sweet and gentle soul ; is quite sound on all the questions on which he wrote either in prose or in poetry. Whitman, though vastly different in many respects from Shelly, is just as important a factor in progress.

It will give my readers some idea how important Whitman's writings are when I say that Carpenter studied his "Leaves of Grass" continuously for ten years. Carpenter is a true poet of comradeship and a deep thinker. His writings embraced all questions concerning democratic problems.

In speaking of Edward Carpenter, I may lay myself open to the charge of hero-worship, but it is better to admire too much and love too well such a man than not to know anything of him. In my attempt to put before you the claims of a teacher not widely accepted, I may incur many risks. I may either overstate his claims, or fail to do full justice to his main qualifications.

Edward Carpenter's writings have an important and immediate bearing on human life. His utterances have made men to face the difficult problems of life. He teaches us both by his writings and by his own example how to live; life to him has a deeper, grander meaning than it has for most. His writings contain several problems concerning human ailments and their cures. His qualifications as a teacher are unique, possessing as he does an extremely keen and well trained mind. He is equipped with a thorough knowledge of the Eastern and Western philosophy, and is thoroughly familiar with the prevailing condition among both rich and poor, and in full sympathy with their aspirations as to their elevation in society. His reflections containing every progressive tendency are composed in a style equalled by few modern writers and excelled by none.

Edward Carpenter was born at Brighton in 1844 and educated at Cambridge. He was made a fellow of his college in 1868; took orders a year later, and was for a time a curate under Frederick Denison Maurice. Till 1874 he worked at Cambridge, but finding that the atmosphere was becoming unbearable on account of shams and conventionalities, he threw up his fellowship, relinquished orders, and became a University Extension Lecturer. In this capacity he worked for nearly seven years, and the lectures, delivered during this period on Science, Philosophy, Music, &c., are looked upon as masterpieces. These were afterwards embodied in his great work "Towards Democracy," which was issued to the world in 1882. Although it was a difficult task to write a book of this kind, yet it was performed with such facility that it attracted the admiration of all the civilised world. This was followed by "England's Ideal" published in 1887. It contains a series of papers on "Simplification of Life," "Desirable Mansions," "Interest," &c. Another was published in 1889, "Civili-

sation: its cause and cure." Besides the paper which gives to the book its title, this volume contains essays on "Modern Science," "Science of the Future," "Custom," and a criticism of the Darwinian theory of evolution. In 1890, a book called "From Adam's Peak to Elephanta: Sketches in Ceylon and India" was published. This contains a history of Carpenter's travels in these two countries, with special chapters on the Philosophy of the East, "Traditions of the Ancient Wisdom Religion," "Castes and Communism," "The New Influences," &c. In this book, Carpenter has not only given the impressions of a tourist, but the reflections of a man seriously interested in the natives, and the grave problems that Englishmen, as rulers of India, have to solve sooner or later. He says he has been fortunate in being introduced into circles of traditional teaching which are often closed against the English, and in getting to know something of the esoteric religious lore of South India and also in obtaining some interesting glimpses behind the scenes of the Hindu ceremonial. "I have too had the good luck," he says, "to find friends and familiar acquaintances among all classes of native society, down almost to the lowest." In the concluding chapter he has dealt with the astounding changes that have been brought about in the land under the spread of Western influences, in their two great main forms, science and commercialism. "The effect of this rush of Western ideas and education is," he says, "what one might expect, to discredit the old religion and the old caste-practices. It has practically abandoned the religion of its fathers; largely scoffs at it. Does it accept Christianity in any form in its place? No! Christianity in its Missions and its Salvation Armies does not to any extent touch the advanced and educated sections. The latter read Mill, Spencer and Huxley, and they have quite naturally and in good faith adopted the philosophy of their teachers—the scientific materialism which had its vogue in England some 20 years ago, but which is perhaps now somewhat on the wane." He further goes on to say that "with the extraordinary quickness and receptivity which is one of the great features of the Hindu mind, though beginning the study so much later in the day, they have absorbed the teachings of modern science and leapt to its conclusions almost as soon as we have in the West." He expresses doubt as to the progress of this movement, and he thinks that "there may be a reaction back to the old standpoint, or what is more hopeful, a forward effort to rehabilitate the profound teaching of their forefathers into methods more suited to the times in which we live, and freed from the many

absurdities which have gathered round the old tradition."

The second great factor in Modern India is the growth of Commercialism. This is remarkably visible and is likely to grow. One important change which this grand tourist observed in India, as the result of Western influence, is the gradual change which is taking place from the communistic to the highly individualistic. In all departments, whether in the family or the township, or the caste, the idea of joint possession is dying out in favor of separate and distinct holding for purely individual ends. This conception has brought about revolutionary changes in the structure of society in the history of various races and peoples; and India, he says, cannot be an exception to the rule. This change is rapidly taking place in the great cities, where Western influence is directly felt, but in the agricultural regions the progress is very slow. If the ancient village communities are to break up and the bonds of rural society are to cease, one may witness, as Sir Henry Maine suggests, the recurrence of "that terrible problem of pauperism which began to press on English Statesman as soon as the old English cultivating groups began distinctly to fall to pieces." "In India, however," he says, "the solution will be far more difficult than it has proved here."

In speaking of the Indian National Congress which, Edward Carpenter says, is nothing but the outcome of the political and social ideas which belong to the same stage of historical development, we are brought face to face with an important social movement in India. What the upshot of it none can say, but its work is not at all to be ignored. It is comparable in its way with the meetings of the Labor Congresses in the capitals of Europe. "Adams Peak to Elephanta," is one of the most fascinating books on India ever written by mortal man. I crave the reader's pardon for dwelling so long on this work.

Two years later, two essays were published, "Angel's Wings" and "Love's coming of Age"; the former contains essays on art, music and their bearing on life; the latter represents Carpenter's views on the relation of the sexes. In all the literature of the world, there is nothing purer or sweeter than Edward Carpenter's treatment of this important question.

Another volume on "the Art of Creation" was published by Edward Carpenter at the beginning of this year. It contains essays on the Self and its Powers.

To go into the details of the teachings of one of the greatest, and certainly one of the most interesting men of our time is beyond

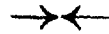
the limit of a single paper. Here, I can only state as briefly as possible the central facts of Edward Carpenter's message to the Individual as well as to the Society. There pervades throughout his writings a sentiment to stimulate a desire for an intensive individual life and to suggest the means whereby all that is implied in the phrase "subjective liberty" may be secured. Admitting that subjective is far more important than objective liberty, it is obvious that outward liberty is equally essential to the well-being and the happiness of Society as inward liberty is to the well-being of the individual. In fact liberty to think and to act cannot be freed from the interacting forces of heredity and environment. Having found the means to secure subjective liberty, the problem that remains for solution is how to secure to each the greatest amount of liberty in action compatible with the liberty of all.

It is beyond doubt that he has dealt with problems more vital in their bearing to human life than many of his popular contemporaries. In talking of the all important subject of life one is naturally inclined to question, "Why we are here." Religion or science can give us no answer to this; all that Philosophy, religion or science can do for us is to throw a light on how we came, and being here, how to utilise the little time that is ours. Edward Carpenter has thrashed out this question so fully that his writings deserve to be widely known and appreciated.

Edward Carpenter possesses the unique feature of the scientist's faculty of accurate observation, the wisdom of the philosopher, and the power of expression of the poet. Such combinations are rarely found in one man. Who has united so well as he the philosophies of the East and West, who has written so ably on subjects that affect human life, who has described more truly and effectively the disease in the body politic; and who is there that has so ably championed the cause of the poor and the distressed! It is because he has done these and has fearlessly gone into the root of many of the evils in fighting the cause of the right and just, that he will be remembered as a comrade of the humblest and the poorest. I cannot better express his sentiments than by quoting from Walt Whitman's "Leaves of Grass" to give an idea of his motto,

Camerado, I give you my hand!
I give you my love more precious than money;
I give you myself before preaching or law,
Will you give me yourself? Will you come travel with me?
Shall we stick by each other as long as we live?

INDIAN ECONOMICS.



II. THE INDIAN AGRICULTURAL PROBLEMS.

IT is a well-known fact that more than 75 per cent. of the Indian population depend for their subsistence upon the cultivation of the soil. Unlike in Europe where industrial life forms the main source of sustenance to the majority of the people, agriculture is a resort almost all-in-all to the vast peoples of India.

Agriculture is an industry which depends mostly upon the caprices of the season; and it is natural therefore that in years of absence of rain there arises a scarcity of food which invariably leads to famine in this country. But over and above this dependence upon nature, which is the most conspicuous characteristic of the agricultural occupation, there are some other things that make the Indian peasant more wretched and miserable than he would otherwise be. These are his great liability to fall into the merciless meshes of money-lenders, his proverbial ignorance, his obstinate conservatism and 'inertia,' his extreme poverty and resourcelessness, and lastly the almost insurmountable obstacle presented by the policy of the Government.

First as to the question of the indebtedness of the peasants. In all countries, whether Asiatic or European, where agricultural industry forms the mainstay of the people's livelihood, we invariably find that the agricultural classes are always liable to incur debts. The prosperity or otherwise of an agricultural nation is not to be determined by the mere fact of the presence or absence—because in every agricultural country borrowed capital *must* play an important part—of indebtedness, but by the comparative extent to which this indebtedness has been carried. One agricultural country can be declared more prosperous than another if the peasants of the former are better off in point of indebtedness than those of the latter. Judging from this stand-point, India is an exceptionally poor country, because agricultural indebtedness is here a fact of chronic and normal state of matters. The dependence on borrowed capital is made specially prominent in India by the large expend-

iture enjoined by social customs and ceremonies as well as by the enormous influence of personal credit naturally prevalent in a country where social rules strongly tie the cultivator to his village. Hence the money-lender has become a necessary part of the Indian economic system. The following extracts from the reports of Famine Commissions shew to what a serious extent the present question has arisen:—

"No subject has been more strongly and frequently pressed on our attention than the evil results which spring from the degree to which the land-owners are sunk in debt, the asserted rapid increase of their indebtedness, and the difficulty they find in extricating themselves from such burdens. In some parts of India, notably in the four districts of the Bombay, Deccan and the Jhansi district, their indebtedness has become so grievous that the Government has recently been led to take special steps for their rescue; and in other parts it has at different times intervened to protect special classes whose ruin otherwise unavoidable it was thought necessary on political grounds to ward off."

"We learn from evidence collected from all parts of India that about one-third of the land-holding class are deeply and inextricably in debt, and that at least an equal proportion are in debt, though not beyond the power of recovering themselves."

W. W. Hunter bears witness to the fact that in every province of India "the old native rate of interest of 37½ per cent." still prevails. The causes of this great indebtedness have been clearly pointed out by the Famine Commissioners:—

"The origin of debt among the landed classes is traceable to various causes, among which the most prominent are the failure of crops from drought, expenditure on marriage or other ceremonies, general thriftlessness, an improvident use of sudden inflations of credit, the exactions of an oppressive body of middle men and administrative errors such as unsuitable revenue settlements; and debt once incurred very rapidly grows with exorbitant rate of interest."

Before the advent of the British rule, the native princes who had a thorough knowledge of the hand-to-mouth living of the peasants and their universal resort to money-lenders, had made it their policy to assist them in times of need with loans of money. State advances had thus formed an integral part of the imperial revenue system even before the time of Akbar. Todar Mal, Sadulla Khan and other great statesmen continued this "Takair" system, as it was

called; and though grievous failures might have occasionally taken place, yet the policy of encouraging agriculture by Government loans was truly statesmanlike and productive of contentment and prosperity. The British Government discontinued these "Takair" advances; and the result of this step was that the ryots were thrown upon the tender mercies of usurious money-lenders.

A century of administration however has sufficed to teach the British rulers and statesmen that the policy of the native states is a matter of necessity if the country should be free from famine and poverty. Eminent men like Sir Thomas Munro, Sir James Caird, E. C. Buck have all written in panegyrical terms about the Takair system; and after a good deal of hesitation and slowness, the Government has at length come to the praiseworthy conclusion that the Takair system should be pursued, if needed, to the utmost extent possible. It was this right understanding of the matter that prompted the Government of India to appoint "a Land-indebtedness Commission" in the Bombay Presidency in the year 1891—in order to discover the real root of the evil of indebtedness and to suggest appropriate remedies. The reason for the establishment of the commission was, to use the terms of the Government itself, "the transfer of interests in land from the martial and cultivating classes to the trading and money-lending castes of Hindu Society." The importance of the question is certainly such as to arouse public interest and legislative interference, because the small land-owners who are the representatives of a hundred generations of agriculturists and who have survived the vicissitudes of centuries are being threatened with extinction by becoming "the bond slaves" of "one of the worst types of the landlord that can be found in any country."

The evils of land-indebtedness.

Besides the restoration of the Takair system, another remedy for this absolute rule of usurious capitalists has been suggested, in the form of the establishment of co-operative credit societies in rural parts. In order to understand what an amount of beneficent help can be rendered by sufficient credit organizations in the form of agricultural banks on a co-operative basis, there can be no more interesting study than the exhaustive and splendid reports of the veteran official, F. A. Nicholson.

NICHOLSON'S VIEWS.

Nicholson first of all points out many defects which are inherent in a regime of money-lenders. He says F. A. Nicholson's views, that there are three conditions necessary for

a proper system of credit, *viz.* :—

- (1). Absolute proximity of lender and borrower.
- (2). Complete security to the lender, regarding the title of the property offered and its freedom from prior encumbrances, and regarding a safe and sure return of his capital at the proper time.
- (3). Thorough facility to the borrower. He must be able to obtain cheap loans "to an amount proportionate to the security he can offer; and upon terms which will be so equitable in themselves, so convenient as regards repayment, so free from all risk of deliberate entanglement, so based upon published rule, so devoid of any tendency to discount necessity or urgency otherwise than by an equitable insurance, that he can calculate in reaping the full fruits of his prudence, and find in credit a powerful auxiliary to his productive powers and stability."

Nicholson points out that the individual money-lender can

Defects of the individual money-lender system.

satisfy only the first of the three conditions laid down above. Because it is impossible for him with his small private capital to satisfy any great demands for loans. Moreover "with no rules save those of his conscience," too much inclined 'to exact terms high in proportion to the urgency of the borrower's need,' and with nobody with powers to examine and correct his accounts, the individual money-lender is apt to give free vent to his greed of money, land or power. Hence, says Nicholson, the substitution of organized credit for that of the money-lender is a necessary development of civilization. General wealth, order, business confidence, habits of association and other attributes of organized credit should take the place of the absolute will and pleasure of money-lenders.

Now, in order to establish a healthy and profitable system of organized credit it should be understood that the true basis of credit is confidence no less than capital. "It is emphatically not the mere outpouring of cheap capital that is required, not the mere grant of cheap and facile credit to classes unprepared for the boon; what is wanted is the

Requisites of an organized credit.

promotion and development of facilities for saving, the encouragement of banking deposits, the inculcation of the true objects, uses and limits of credit; in other words, the development of the essential virtues of thrift, foresight and self-help through institutions organized for those ends." The establishment and successful conduct of organized credit institutions requires a great amount of previous education and discipline on the part of the borrowers, so that they are fully capable of learning and extending the lessons of self and mutual help by eliminating themselves from the dangers of usury. Hence in preparing for the reorganization of credit in India, it is not merely cheap capital or banking credit which is to be introduced, but *that* system which can readily develop the national qualities of thrift, resource, prudence and self-help. It is not merely joint-stock, state or savings banks that have the mere issue of capital that are needed, but such credit institutions where "the isolated learn the value and powers of association, where the ignorant are taught the lessons of business, the reckless learn heedfulness, thrift and prudence, the idle and intemperate return to industry and sobriety; where the prudent, the sober, the skilful, the well-to-do unite with the poorer and weaker brethren in an association of mutual help and self-development."

The sure and efficient means of bringing about this habit of association and education in business knowledge, has been already considered in detail by the Agricultural Banks Committee of which F. A. Nicholson formed the most conspicuous member. The gradual contraction and the ultimate extinction of the practice of usury can be best effected in the opinion of the Agricultural Banks Committee by the inauguration of a huge system of village banks of the Raiffeisen type.

A study of the circumstances in which Raiffeisen, the German Burgomaster, first chalked out his famous co-operative banking system, shews that the agricultural condition of Germany at that time bears a close resemblance to that of India at present. It was in the famines of 1846 and 1847 that Raiffeisen became first acquainted with the crushing troubles of the poor peasant cultivators in the Westphalian districts which were under his administration. With a barren soil, scanty means of communication and 'indifferent markets,' the peasants who were half-starved,—ill-clad, ill-housed, ill-fed, ill-brought up—naturally roused the spirit of sympathy and philanthropy which were ingrained in his character. Having from a study of the rural economy of Western

Raiffeisen Banks.

and Southern Germany come to learn the pest of remorseless usury practised by the "Jewish bloodsuckers" who held the poor peasantry in their cruel grasp, Raiffeisen came to the conclusion that the salvation of the country from the effects of famine and the plague of usury, lay in the establishment of some institutions by which the peasants might exercise among themselves self-help and mutual confidence. He first managed to establish a co-operative system of bakery which enabled the starving peasantry to purchase bread very cheaply; and next established a co-operative cattle-purchase association which soon became a familiar feature in all Europe. But it was in the memorable year 1849 that he set up his first Loan Bank with a view to supplying the needy peasantry with money in case they subscribed to his rules. This small undertaking was destined to cause one of the greatest economic revolutions the world has experienced. Within 30 years his Loan Banks spread everywhere with astonishing rapidity. "By 1885," says Henry W. Wolff, "their number had in Germany alone grown to 245, by 1888 to 423, by 1889 to 610, and by 1891 to 885. Wherever they went, as Lavelle says, they succeeded and made themselves general favourites. Government now encourage them, provincial diets ask for them, priests and ministers pronounce their blessings upon them, the peasantry love them."

No wonder then that the vast agrarian wealth of Germany has been built up by the marvellous growth of these banks. Their effect in Germany with a membership of 350,000. To their original scheme of loans for productive purposes they now add immense co-operative business in agricultural requirements; and many peasants have been raised from penury and misery to influence and wealth. Regarding the success of these people's banks, Henry W. Wolff observes:—

"What untold riches these people's Banks have within the 40 years of their existence made available for small folks' needs, what millions they have added to the wealth of the countries in which, as M. Rostand has it, they 'swarm' and in which, as M. Leon Lay testifies, they 'flourish throughout'; what vast amount of misery, ruin, loss, privations, they have either averted or removed, penetrating where they have once gained a footing into the smallest hovel, and bringing to its beggared occupant employment and the weapons wherewith to start afresh in the battle of life, it will be a difficult task to tell. Propagating themselves by their own merits, they have out-

spread Germany, Italy, Austria, Switzerland, Belgium. France is trying to graft them upon her own economic system. Russia has in her own rather primitive way followed the excellent example. Even Egypt has under the rule of its late Khedive Ismail made the useful institution tentatively its own. And now we hear of its spreading from Italy into far Japan—China has got it already—while we in Great Britain scarcely yet know of its existence."

There seems no possible reason why this system which has done so much in other countries should not be successful in this country. The proposals therefore of the Agricultural Committee for the establishment of urban societies and rural co-operative credit unions deserve every encouragement by the Government.

THE PROPOSALS OF THE COMMITTEE.

In order to understand thoroughly the recommendations of the committee it is necessary that a clear idea should be got of what is called the Raiffeisen Bank. It may be briefly described as the association of a number of men, well acquainted with each other and possessing mutual confidence, who have combined with the object of raising funds from their own savings, from deposits of outsiders and from loans obtained by pledging the joint-credit of the association. Out of the funds thus raised they grant loans at moderate rates of interest to the members for short periods on no other security than that of personal character; so that the poorer classes who cannot afford to bring any other security than their own honesty, might be benefited. The members of the union are to keep a watchful eye on the right application of the loans by the borrowers, any misconduct on the part of the latter making them liable to expulsion from the union. The maximum rate of interest to be charged is 12 per cent. or 2 As. in the Rupee; the amount of credit allowed to each member is fixed every year at a meeting of all the members. The loan is to be generally for one year, though on occasions it might be continued.

The area of each society's operations is to be often a single village or a group of small villages. But in order to minimise risks and losses the village societies are to be affiliated to a larger central association, the support of which will be a source of strength to them. Any surplus profits after the payment of interest on deposits and loans, must be utilized in a gradual reduction of the rates of interest.

Besides these rural co-operative credit societies of unlimited

liability, the committee recommended the formation of urban societies on a share basis (shares being very small in amount) with limited liability. Unlike the rural societies, they can grant loans not only on personal security but on bills of exchange endorsed by the members, and to village co-operative credit societies. They can safely keep jewels, title-deeds or other valuable goods on such terms as they dictate. The chief use of these unions is that they afford facilities to the lower Government servants, artisans and small merchants for investing their savings on better conditions than in the Post Office Savings Banks, etc.,

Such are the proposals of the committee; we have now to see whether these can be put into easy practice and whether the amelioration of the peasants will be surely brought about in consequence. The *Madras Mail* of Dec. 17, 1890, says:

"The people of India are pre-eminently fitted for joint-action owing to the existence of the village system in a more or less modified form. Co-operation is still pretty general all over the presidency (and we may say, country); and in many districts partnerships and even joint village action are common in matters of irrigation and other public works; while in regard to matters of local interest, the habit of communal action is practically universal, every village having its own fund, which is usually managed by its chief men and by the authority of a general Panchayet. Mutual Benefit Associations, and Benefit Societies on the Lottery principle are common and Natives Banks are not unknown. Communal action in Southern India is certainly more of a living force than it is in Italy where popular banks have been found readily practicable..... and in Taluq head-quarters, or in selected villages, little difficulty should be experienced in finding men of public spirit, common sense and integrity who would be competent to guide the affairs of small banks with success."

The late Dewan Bahadur Srinivasa Raghava Aiyangar—than whom there is no greater official authority on economic matters regarding the Madras Presidency—thinks this plan to be quite suitable and practicable. He says that the idea of combining into associations for purposes of depositing savings periodically in a common fund and receiving them back in a lump sum, is known to the Indians, as is shewn by their kuttu chit associations. He further suggests that the services of the "Nidhis" such as those established in Tanjore, Cuddalore, Coimbatore, etc., in which the professional classes, merchants and landholders take much interest, might be advanta-

The opinions of the late Srinivasa Raghava Aiyangar.

geously utilized in the conduct and furtherance of rural societies. The opinions of almost all great men are in favour of the establishment of rural societies, and the very fact of the concord of opinion between the official and non-official parties is sufficient proof of the wisdom, practicability and sure success of this plan.

Having seen the practicability and advantages of a successful establishment of co-operative credit unions, we shall now take up the important question of what should be the attitude of the Government towards such societies. Regarding this point the official, from whom we have quoted above, says that both on account of the importance of land for purposes of revenue and its co-proprietorship with the ryot, the Government should lend substantial and pecuniary aids to these co-operative societies. "Such Government help would give the societies stability, and inspire confidence in the minds of the public who would find in the official countenance and support a guarantee as regards their solvency and usefulness." As to the point whether any special privileges are to be granted by the Government to these societies, the Dewan is of opinion that the recommendations of the committee regarding the exemption of stamp-duty and the exemption of shares and deposits from attachment by the Civil Courts, the authorization of summary proceedings against any borrowers for misconduct, the privilege of opening a public fund in the Post Office Savings Banks, &c.,—are all entitled by their spirit of moderation and justice to be listened to by the Government and worthy of being granted. In a lecture before the Society of Arts in 1892, Sir Charles Bernard said :—

"If a revised scheme is brought forward of a more practical kind under which rural banks should start from small beginnings as purely local institutions, and under which the banks should have only the ordinary remedy against their debtors, then I think the establishment of such banks should be sanctioned as experiments in one or more districts of every province, where the people and the Collector for the time might be ready to work the scheme. And in that case the State might reasonably help the rural banks by some such concessions as the following :—

- (a) the loan of public money at 4 per cent. per annum, on the security of the bank and all its assets, in proportion of one rupee of public money for every two rupees of actually paid up private capital.

- (b) the reduction of all stamp fees by one-half or even by two-thirds on litigation and on deeds for a period of (say) ten years to begin with.
- (c) the remission of registration fees on documents for five years ; and the reduction of fees one-half for five years more.
- (d) the auditing and publication of the bank's accounts by public officers once in every half-year.
- (e) the custody of the bank's cash beyond a certain minimum and of the bank's securities in public treasuries and sub-treasuries."

It seems unnecessary to give any more proofs for the advisableness and expediency of the co-operation and countenance of Government in the bringing about of this great and much-needed reform. What I have said already seems enough to impress the reader that the establishment of rural credit unions will, by putting an end to indebtedness and causing many improvements in the cultivation of land, lead in the long run to a regeneration of agricultural India.

We have dwelt rather at length upon the question of agricultural indebtedness, which can be justified however by the immense importance it possesses. We have described the various causes that have given rise to its wide existence in the land, its pernicious effects upon the poorer peasants and agriculturists, and also the remedial plans and measures that have engaged the attention of statesmen and economists. We shall now go on to take up the question of agricultural education which too has recently been attracting a good deal of the attention of the public.

Every observer of the Indian peasant cannot but be struck with the enormous influence which primitive Custom, a strong force among the ryots, manners and customs have upon him. Even in Europe, where the people are ever after progress and change, the masses are generally tenacious of old customs and practices. The Indian peasants, being bred up under the influence of a civilization which abhors changes and revolutions, are naturally much more prejudiced and suspicious towards any innovations. They possess moreover absolutely no knowledge of Hygiene and cleanliness and are quite ignorant of everything calculated to render life agreeable. With all their marvellous industry, instinctive tact and business power, they are extremely careless and obstinate—a defect solely due to want of education. They do not lack energy or perseverance, but their excessive ignorance together with the absence of facilities and re-

Their ignorance and resourcelessness.

sources for improvement, presents a great obstacle to the successful performance of all their undertakings. That the Indian peasant is capable enough of understanding the art of agriculture to the greatest extent possible, is sufficiently proved by the following words of Dr. J. A. Voelcker, the famous scientific expert who made his investigations regarding Indian agriculture in the year 1893 :—

“ At his best the Indian ryot or cultivator is quite as good as, and in some respects the superior of, the average British farmer, whilst at his worst it can only be said that this state is brought about largely by an absence of facilities for improvement which is probably unequalled in any other country, and that the ryot will struggle on patiently and uncomplainingly in the face of difficulties in a way that no one else would. What does however prevent them from growing larger crops is the limited facilities to which they have access, such as the supply of water and manure. But to take the ordinary acts of husbandry nowhere would one find better instances of keeping land scrupulously clean from weeds, of ingenuity in device of water-raising appliances, of the knowledge of the soils and their capabilities, as well as of the exact time to sow and to reap, as one would in Indian agriculture. It is wonderful, too, how much is known of rotation, the system of mixed crops and of fallowing. Certain it is that I at least have never seen a more perfect picture of careful cultivation combined with hard labour, perseverance and fertility of resource than I have seen at many of the halting-places in my tour.”

While it must be conceded with Dr. Voelcker that the ryot at his best has evolved a nearly perfect system of agriculture, it can scarcely however be gainsaid that, as Mr. Chatterton says, “ his methods of procedure are laborious and his equipment of tools more distinguished for their simplicity of construction than for the effectiveness of their operation. It is in this respect, I think, that a properly devised system of industrial education might effect much for the benefit of the ryot.”

In an article entitled “ Agricultural Education ” in the *Indian Review* of August 1903, Mr. Alfred Chatterton points out that industrial schools established and developed under proper guidance and on sound principles can be made to render inestimable assistance to the agricultural community. To take one example ; out of the 23 million acres which form the area of cultivation in the Madras Presidency, only about two million acres are being irrigated by wells ; and any material improvement of agri-

Mr. Alfred Chatterton's opinions on agricultural education and well-irrigation.

culture can be only brought about by a large extension of well-cultivation. But this extension is possible and will be profitable only if the peasants are taught mechanical and motor appliances for lifting water in place of the primitive and laborious plans prevalent at present. The employment of oil-engines and mechanical sources of motive power in place of the present animal ones, the substitution of windmills for cattle in the lifting of water from wells ; and other like improvements which will lighten the toil of the cultivator while enhancing his profits and returns,—can only be brought about by imparting to him such training as will enable him to appreciate the advantages of labour-saving appliances. This can be best effected by rural industrial schools in all parts of the country, where the peasants and their boys must be taught the modern ways and methods of agriculture in experimental farms. The Government should help these schools with considerable advances under the Agricultural Improvements Act. Managed by an agriculturist well-versed in modern scientific methods of cultivation, and carefully looked after and examined by the Government authorities of the Educational Department, these schools should do their best ‘ to demonstrate the possibilities of the best known systems of cultivation ’ by imparting full instruction on the management of improved implements of agriculture, on house-building, the construction of ploughs, water-lifts and other machines useful for the agricultural community. “ If the ryot ” says Mr. Chatterton, “ be relieved of the drudgery of water-lifting under existing conditions and provided with better implements, and taught in the industrial schools to handle them properly, then there can scarcely be any doubt but that there will be some breaking away from the hide-bound traditions of the past ; and that such disruption will mark the dawn of a new era in Indian agriculture in which nature will be assisted by science, and the land will yield us fruit abundantly in response to the intelligent demands which are made upon it.”

But by the emphasis which Mr. Alfred Chatterton lays upon the improvement of well-cultivation, it is not meant that canal and tank irrigation has already got at a condition which needs no improvement. Unlike other problems of Indian agriculture,—*e.g.*, the problems of indebtedness, education, revenue settlement, etc.—the question of irrigation has long ago found a satisfactory solution in the discovery by Sir

Want of canal and tank irrigation.

Arthur Cotton of the fact that the real salvation of India from the effects of famine and scarcity lay in the construction of an elaborate scheme of canal irrigation all over the peninsula. Arthur Cotton heartily detested the railway-mania and maintained that canals of irrigation might also serve equally efficiently as means of communication. Had the wise policy of Sir Arthur been adopted by the Government years ago—a policy which had for its object the construction of canals for irrigation and communication all over India, so that the water of the thousands of rivers that wastily rush into the ocean, can be utilized for purposes of agriculture—the state of the country would never have become so miserable as it is at present. We have no space to describe the statesmanlike plans of this truly great man; but if the reader wishes to read the best book on Indian Irrigation, then certainly Miss Hope's "Life and Works of Sir Arthur Cotton" undoubtedly deserves the choice.

Agricultural education will better the conditions of land and

The advantages of its cultivation in numerous other ways. agricultural education

Dr. Voelcker says that the exigencies of circumstances which demand the giving of more attention to the cultivation of land, and the interest in agriculture aroused by the spread of education will go far to weaken many prejudices and differences which have so long prevented the extension of agricultural practices to the capable of all sections of the community. Whether this is true or not, it is difficult to say; but this much is certain—that the spread of education among the agricultural classes will lead to the aspiration on the part of the peasants towards a

A higher standard of life. higher standard of life and comfort. They

will begin to look for better meals, more costly dresses and other 'decencies' which are now looked upon as purely luxuries. The advantages of such a higher life have been expressed by the economist McCulloch thus:—

"When the standard of natural or necessary wages is high—when wheat and beef for example form the principal part of the food of the labourer, and port and beer the principal part of his drink—he can bear retrench in a season of scarcity. Such a man has a room to fall; he can resort to cheaper sorts of food—to barley, oats, rice and potatoes. But he who is habitually fed on the cheapest food has nothing to resort to, when deprived of it.....whenever that supply of potatoes (or other cheap food used) fails, it is next to impossible that he should escape falling a sacrifice to famine."

The same idea has been expressed by Thorold Rogers, when

he says that "a community which subsists habitually on dear food is in a position of peculiar advantage, when compared with another which lives on cheap food." Professor Walker observer: "If the food of the people be the lowest and the cheapest like rice in India and potatoes in Ireland, the failure of the crop means starvation, no adequate reserve being expected to be provided on a sufficient scale by the population of any country. If the kind of food be higher and dearer, the masses may in the event of a failure of the crop or crops concerned, fall back for the time upon the lower and the cheaper." It is not however the introduction of a dearer and more 'sumptuous' food that is advocated to the already 'half-starved' peasantry; but what is meant is that the conception of a higher standard of life regarding food, dress, etc., will be a great incentive to honest labour and mutual self-help among the peasants.

Over and above causing a right appreciation of the advantages of a higher system of irrigation and of a higher standard of life, agricultural education will be of immense service to the country as it will certainly do much to curb that cursed spirit of inaction and 'inertia' which Prof. Walker rightly attributes to the Indian

Extinction of the peasant. The stimulus to improvement will spirit of 'inertia' and give rise to material and substantial work of improvidence. only if the spirit of suspicion against progress or innovation is removed by the dispelling of the excessive ignorance and reckless improvidence which characterise the Indian masses. Adam Smith says that the decisive mark of the prosperity of a nation is the increase of population. But in India the increase of population—which is inconsistent with the capacity of the soil for providing subsistence—is not the mark of an advancing prosperity; but, as Prof. Walker says, the result of an improvident and reckless 'procreateness' among the masses which is the outcome of growing resourcelessness and ignorance. Education will put an end to this blind, reckless, stationary and passive character and cause a spirit of competition, and enterprise among the peasants.

In the important problem of land improvement one of the most serious questions to be decided is whether The problem of land improvement. agricultural development should be effected by the adoption of a method which modern science points out, or whether it should be brought about in strict concord with traditional methods and practices. The impoverishment, the dejection and the suffering which has been the lot of the Indian agriculturists can be

put an end to only by a wide departure from the present mode and work. But whether that change should be of a revolutionary or reformatory character, has been a question of deep controversy and raging dispute.

'The party of revolution' bases its opinion upon the following grounds. The agricultural history of England, Scotland and other European countries shews that improved methods of cultivation can be effected only by a radical change from open-field farms to enclosed holdings. As at present in India, so originally in England, the open-field system of farming had been prevalent. Mr. Prothero in his "Land-marks on British Farming" points out many disadvantages attending this system. For example,

The party of revolution. no open field farmer can farm with spirit; he can make no use of improved methods of cultivation, new crops, better live-stock or mechanical invention. Law suits would be most frequent regarding encroachments by neighbours. Much time would be wasted and cattle worn out owing to the distance to be traversed from parcel to parcel of a holding; and consequently much of the land would be neglected. No individual can improve his live-stock, since infectious diseases are rarely absent from the promiscuously herded half-starved cattle of the community. "Such a system," says Prothero, "might provide for the requirements of the tillers of the soil, but not for a teeming population. In England the agricultural progress of six centuries may be practically summed up in the change from open-field farms to enclosed holdings. It is the history of a good machine driving out a bad one." Hence this revolutionary school holds that without the introduction of enclosures and individual occupation, which can be brought about by the concentration and consolidation of holdings, agricultural progress can never be attained.

The other party, which prefers a modification and adaptation of the Indian traditional customs to suit scientific conditions of modern times instead of bringing about a sudden and unwished-for change in the nature of the holdings itself, has many distinguished men among them. Dr. Voelcker to whose report on Indian agriculture this paper is highly indebted, says:—

"The work of discovering the agricultural needs may not be so hard a one, but that of supplying them will invariably be very difficult. When the cultivated area of a country is split up into small holdings of five acres or less, when capital is correspondingly small, and the numbers living on

the holdings are by contrast great, when the land is subdivided among the members of a family and they refuse to migrate elsewhere, it becomes hard to say how to proceed in the way of improvement: and I am convinced that the work of improvement will be a slow and difficult one. Sir James Caird expressed himself as assured of the practical ability and knowledge of the cultivators of India, and the Famine Commissioners clearly stated their conviction that the work of improvement should be on *native* lines, and be the outcome of careful enquiry into existing methods and practices. In agreement with these authorities, I think that whatever improvement can be made, it will come about by a transfer of the practice of a better part (of the country) to an inferior one, and by the increase of facilities, such as the supply of water, manure, wood and grazing where they are deficient, rather than by any considerable introduction of European methods or implements."

The great burden on land which is becoming more and more overwhelming with an ever-increasing population, can be enlightened either by increasing the area of cultivation or by making the lands already under cultivation more productive by means of scientific appliances that will counteract the tendency of lands to the diminishing point of returns. The cultivation of waste lands should be encouraged by increasing facilities for transport and communication and thus making them more easily accessible to outside markets. Much potential wealth lies inert and unused in the bosom of the land (e.g., in the exuberantly fertile soils covered by rank jungles, topes of trees, bamboo groves, &c.) and efforts must be made for the utilization of these resources. The improvement of land already under cultivation requires much scientific knowledge. The Mission of the educated agriculturists should be to help the labouring classes with advice and disseminate among them knowledge gathered by Government in its agricultural, geological and other departments, as well as the knowledge gained from the scientific agriculturists in other parts of the world. A thorough acquaintance is necessary with the agricultural conditions of the country in order to find out what "adaptation is needed to suit modern and new scientific methods and maxims to the Indian staples and climate."—A work which educated *natives* alone can hope to competently perform. The peasant should be taught the importance of sub-soil drainage which, while requiring less irrigation, will cause a quicker and healthier germination of plants and cereals.

The party of reform, Dr. Voelcker.

Other requisites for agricultural improvement.

Increased facilities for transports.

Scientific knowledge.

Sub-soil drainage.

They should also be made to appreciate the advantages of growing trees and plants in modifying the climatic conditions of the country. The vast uncultivated 'usar' plains with their soda-impregnated soil can be made, as Dr. Voelcker says, "to grow grass, trees and even crops by such means as simple enclosure, exclusion of grazing, heavy manuring, flooding with canal silt and embanking rain-water." The ryots should also be sufficiently educated in the science of manuring, so that a vast amount of cattle-manure which is so largely wasted in the form of fuel, can be most profitably used in enriching the soil

Manuring, with the nitrogen, organic and vegetable matters which are so much wanted by it. In many other ways agricultural education will pave the way for the solution of the problem of land-improvement; and it is highly gratifying to see that the Government is gradually replacing its hitherto "unsystematic, ill-designed and almost wholly abortive" efforts by substantial and politic works in examining local conditions and limitations of agricultural practice, making research and experiment in the fields, and in dealing with disease in cattle and crop.

But neither the establishment of co-operative credit societies with a view to the extinction of agricultural indebtedness and the development of national character, nor the setting up of rural schools and experimental farms in order to educate the lower classes and the ryots in such matters as the introduction of new and scientific methods of cultivation, the usage of machines and mechanical appliances, the importance of irrigation, manure, etc.—will be of any use at all, if the present policy of Government with regard to land settlement continues. No measures, however salutary and statesman-like they may be, can successfully effect the improvement of agriculture, unless the Government gives a great incentive to it by substantially altering its present land policy. What is that policy, and why it should be given up when looked up from the agricultural point of view, will form the subject of our next article. The question of land settlement is so important and is the subject of so much controversy, that it is necessary to devote a new and separate chapter to it.

V. RANGACHARI.

SOME NOTES ON THE RAMAYANA.



I. RAMA'S CAUSEWAY.

HOMER, in Book VII of his Iliad, makes the Greeks raise a wall along the sea-shore for the defence of their ships from the attacks of the Trojans. Neptune felt jealous of this structure, and he complained of it to Jupiter. Jupiter, however, allayed his fears, saying:—

"But yon proud work no future age shall view,
No trace remain where once the glory grew.
The sapped foundations by their force shall fall,
And, whelm'd beneath thy waves, drop the huge wall;
Vast drifts of sand shall change the former shore,
The ruin vanish'd, and the name no more."—

Pope's translation.

On this statement of Homer Mr. Gladstone remarks:—"Why does Neptune obtrude upon the Olympian Court his insignificant and rather absurd jealousy, lest the work of defence, hastily thrown up by the Achæan army, should eclipse the wall built round Troy by Apollo and himself? Evidently in order to obtain from Jupiter the suggestion that he should subsequently himself efface all traces of it. But why does Homer show this anxiety to account for its non-appearance? Why does he return subsequently to the subject, most carefully relate how Jupiter by raining, and Apollo by turning the mouths of eight rivers, and Neptune with his trident, all co-operated to destroy the work, and make the shore smooth and even again? Had Homer lived many generations after the Trojan war, these passages would have been entirely without purpose; for he need not then have given reason to show why ages had left no trace still visible of the labour of a day. But if he lived near the period of the war, the case is very different. He might then be challenged by his maritime hearers, who if they frequented the passage into the sea of Marmora, would have had clear views of the camp of Agamemnon, and who would naturally require him to assign a cause for the disappearance even of such a work as a day's labour of the army could produce, and the Trojan soldiery could make practicable for their chariots to drive over."*

* Gladstone's *Studies on Homer and Homeric Age*, Vol. I., Sec. IV, P. 40.

Something analogous to the above is to be found in the Ramayana. Rama caused a causeway to be built from the mainland to the island of Ceylon, right across the sea, for his army to cross over. This causeway, as all causeways are, was one continuous work without gaps or breaks in it; and was to remain so for all times. Griffith thus translates the passage:—

“There stretches, famed for evermore,
The wondrous bridge from shore to shore.
The worlds, to life's remotest day,
Due reverence to the work shall pay,
Which holier for the lapse of time,
Shall give release from sin and crime.”—

Book vi, Canto cxxv.

Now applying Mr. Gladstone's arguments to the case of the Ramayana before us, we conclude that no idea whatever of the real nature of the communication between the mainland and the island of Ceylon existed among the masses of the population of Northern India at the time when Ramayana was written; and that anything on the subject could be related to them without fear of contradiction. That whatever knowledge about it existed among the well-informed part of the people was erroneous. There might have been a little trade at that time between Northern India and Ceylon, and the writer in the Ramayana might have obtained information which came to him through several hands from people who visited Ceylon, so that in the course of filtration the chain of petty rocks and islands came to be represented as an unbroken line of embankment. Between the time when the so-called Valmiki's Ramayana was written and that when Kirttibash wrote his Bengali version, which is supposed to be about the end of the 15th century, A.D., many changes took place. *Setubandha* had become a place of pilgrimage, and hundreds of people flocked there, and saw with their own eyes that the *setu* was not a continuous piece of work. On return to their respective homes they told their friends and neighbours what they had seen, so that the real state was pretty well known all over the country. Kirttibash had, therefore, more correct information about the causeway than the writer of the original Ramayana. Kirttibash could not say that the causeway was an unbroken piece of work stretching from shore to shore, nor could he dare deny the statement in the Sanskrit Ramayana which had by this time become sacred in the eyes of the people. In this dilemma he had recourse to a story. He had stated in his

Sundarakanda that the causeway, he describes as a sort of floating bridge, once stretched from shore to shore in one unbroken line; and to account for its present broken condition he related that when Rama was about to leave Lanka, after having killed Ravana and won back Sita, the sea-god appeared before him and begged that the fetters imposed on him in the shape of the causeway might be removed, now that he had gained his object and that the causeway was no longer necessary. Rama directed Lakshmana to comply with the god's request. Accordingly Lakshmana removed three pieces of stone, evidently to correspond with the three larger gaps in the chain, with the end of his bow, and allowed the waters of the ocean to run through the gaps. Thus Kirttibash maintained the authority of the original Ramayana that the causeway was a continuous one when built, and at the same time reconciled the statement of the pilgrims.

II. WHO WERE THE RAKSHASAS?

Who were the Rakshasas described in the Ramayana? Before we can answer this question it will be necessary for us to notice the tract of the country they inhabited, their physical features, and the character attributed to them. We see that Rama found Tadaka in the jungle near the banks of the Ganges. The whole extent of jungle land from the Vindyas to the Godavari are described to be dotted over by the huts of the hermits who were annoyed by the Rakshasas. It may be presumed that the hermits could not live in isolated huts by themselves, but they had behind them small colonies of the Aryans. This extensive land appears therefore to be “debatable ground,” or rather the ground which the Rakshasas were losing, and the Aryans were gaining. In the extreme south of India and in Ceylon the Rakshasas reigned supreme. As regards their physical features, we must make a selection from the wild exaggerations with which they have been depicted. It may, however, be safe to say that they were a dark people, with large limbs, strong, and thick lips, and ugly at least in the eyes of the Aryans. Their character again has been greatly distorted, besides, the writer in the Ramayana has invested them with Aryan civilisation just as Homer invested the Trojans with Greek manners and customs. We may infer, nevertheless, that they believed in one God whom the Aryan writers identified with Brahma; they were inimical to Brahmanical cult, and frequently disturbed the Brahmanas in their worship; and that they were voracious meat-eaters.

This description closely corresponds with the one we have of the Dasyus in the Rig Veda. They too were a dark race, strong of limbs, inhabiting the jungles, defying Aryan gods, and disturbing the ceremonies of Aryan worship. In fact they kept up continual warfare with the Aryans who invaded their jungles and came to settle there. We are therefore led to believe that the Rakshasas were not a particular race of the aboriginals who dwelt in Southern India but the aboriginals in general; not the Buddhists of Ceylon as some European scholars imagine, but the same as the Dasyus of the Rig Veda. In fact the Dasyus described in the Rig Veda have been transformed into Rakshasas in the Ramayana.

III. THE SPEED OF CHARIOTS.

Even in books and records written purposely to publish a falsehood there are many things incidentally mentioned which may be taken as true. Such things either escape the attention of the writer or are not thought of by him worth disfiguring. In the Ramayana which is replete with exaggerations of the wildest and the most monstrous kind there are descriptions of customs and manners of the people, of their food and dress, which are worthy of credit. When we read in it of Rama's journey from Ceylon to Ayodhya in an aerial car we are justified in disbelieving it. But then we find a chariot drawn by horses, sent from one place to another and reaching its destination within a reasonable time, we cannot very well set it aside as a thing which never happened. The first instance of such a journey we find in the Balakandam where a fast going chariot was despatched from Mithila to Ayodhya to announce to Dasharatha the impending marriage of his sons with the daughters of the royal house of Mithila [Ch. LXVIII of Hemchandra's edition]. This chariot covered the distance in four days. But Dasharatha coming to Mithila reached it on the fifth day. [Ch. LXIX]. This is as it should be. For a king moving with his followers necessarily took more time than a single chariot despatched with haste.

The next instance of the kind we find in Ayodhyakandam [Ch. LVII] where Sumantra's chariot took three days to return to Ayodhya from Guha's place. There is still another instance [Ch. LXXI and LXXII] in the same book. It took Bharata to come to Ayodhya from his maternal uncle's place eight days. Now from these facts before us can we not draw a conclusion as to the rate at which chariots could run in those days?

Now it is evident that the chariots did not run at night. A run

of eight hours during day,—five hours in the morning and three hours in the afternoon,—is nearly the utmost which the men could do. We have now to ascertain the length of the roads traversed by the chariots in the three instances given above, *viz.*, from Mithila, modern Janakapur, to Ayodhya; from Guha's place, near Allahabad to Ayodhya; and from Bharata's maternal uncle's kingdom, supposed to be Rajgir on the Beas, to Ayodhya. It may be presumed that the road between any two of these places did not run in an exactly mathematical straight line. The road had its angles and bends, its turnings and windings. Perhaps we will not be much wrong if, in finding the length of the road between any two places we increase the length of the straight line between those two places by 25 p.c. With these remarks we subjoin the statement below which gives us the required information:—

Names of places.	Approximate distance, as the crow flies, in miles.	Supposed length of the roads in miles.	Number of days taken by the chariot to travel.	Number of hours taken by the chariot to travel at the rate of eight hours a day.	Rate per hour of the speed of the chariot.
From Janakapur to Ayodhya ...	225	280	4	32	9 miles.
From Allahabad to Ayodhya ...	100	125	3	24	5 miles.
From Rajgir on the Beas to Ayodhya ...	480	600	4	64	9½ miles.

The run at the rate of about nine miles an hour, as we have calculated in the first and third instances in the table above, is a good one. It bespeaks that the horses were stout, the chariot strongly built, and the road was tolerably smooth. This rate may be taken as the one which a *fast-going* chariot could travel in those days. The next, at the rate of five miles an hour, from Allahabad to Ayodhya, may be accepted as the *ordinary* rate. Sumantra, after setting down Rama and his party in the wilderness, was not in a hurry to return to Ayodhya by desperate drive. Neither could he very well loiter on the way as he had an important message to deliver to the King, namely that his mandate had been obeyed. It

may be remarked that the speed of the chariot from Rajgir to Ayodhya was somewhat more than the rate shown in the table above. For, in its course, the chariot had to cross several large rivers which must have taken considerable time and which has not been taken into calculation.

J. C. DUTT.

LESSONS FROM THE LIFE OF GLADSTONE.



LADSTONE—What is in that name, one may ask, that it should have such an immense power in the whole civilised world? What is in that name that the studious reader in his sequestered room should suddenly raise his head from the pages of his book and starting from his chair echo back the name of 'Gladstone'? History never boasts of a more skilful pilot who directed the destiny of—not one nation, but—the whole civilised world for more than half a century amidst the surging waters of parties, treaties and intrigues, negotiations, revolutions and rebellions. Italy hails the man as her grand Liberator from the dreadful claws of lawlessness and misery, and Garibaldi and Poerio rise from their tombs at the music of Gladstone's name. Montenegro feels a thrill of grateful animation at the sound, and turns her eyes bedimmed with tears of love to the great English Statesman to whom she owed her life and independence. France and Russia, Belgium and Greece, the United States of America and the Great Eastern Empire of China, all rise one above the other claiming intimate relations with the Grand Old Man. At the dead of night Midlothian starts up even to-day as if she heard the harmonious flow of his heavenly tongue. Oppressed Erin and depressed India both fall prostrate with loyalty and love at the sound of a name which they cherish in their hearts with fondness and admiration. Albion shows with pride in the pages of her history the man who steered her right on without suffering shipwreck at the shoals of parties—who added dignity and weight to the deliberations of her House of Commons—who raised her in the estimation of the outside public and held out stout John Bull as the stubborn champion of justice and truth.

When one looks back at this glorious life which lasted for nearly a century, one cannot help exclaiming—Man is great! A glance at the bright and the beautiful expanse of his living days will convince us that man's power is unlimited—that he can bid kings and kingdoms kneel before him in timid expectation—that he can, by a few words struck in the proper tune at the proper time, sustain millions of souls in their bodies—that with a thoughtful letter dashed off in timely haste he can turn the tide of public expectation and public anxiety as it best suits his purpose. As an orator he had no

equal. We have heard how when the whole House was resolute against his opinion, he knocked at them hard with pregnant arguments cased in poignant words, and not only shattered all opposition to pieces, but shook and uplifted them and soared aloft with them to his own ground infusing his own convictions into their minds heaving with the wild agitation waging there at the words of Gladstone! This was no ordinary power. Genius, versatility, tenacity and will-power are among the foremost of human capabilities, and these Gladstone the orator possessed to the highest degree. Each fiery wink of his eye, each forcible motion of his hand, smashed the antagonistic heart into atoms, and there he stood at the end of a three or four hours' speech with all the exultation a forester feels at cleansing an intricate bush and making a spacious passage. He has opened up a way whence he can marshal his Education Bill or Budget. He held thousands and thousands of human hearts suspended in awful expectation, and rapidly whirled them aloft. The workman hurrying to his miserable pit stopped to hear the greatest orator of his age, and in five minutes forgot his purpose and his being, stood enchanted, and when at the close heaven and earth seemed to shake with the cheers of the audience, he looked up and down and about in fond surprise to see where he was and what he was about. His enemies were tossed about in the surging waves of the sensation he created, and their rudder and compass all lost were drifted on to—Silence! When Italy was groaning desperately at the close and iron grip of lawlessness it was Gladstone's hand that struck the spark that ended in that glorious conflagration which rivetted the attention of the whole European continent. Well might Giribaldi term him the Saviour of Italy. The Ionian Islands excited to revolutionary ideas felt in Gladstone a wholesome restraint and felt in him the sympathetic and skilful commissioner who restored them to independence. 'Ireland and Home Rule' swayed to and fro in the sweeping storm of party agitation, supported by the tongue and pen of, what Mr. Parnell said, the Grand Old Man. That a human being should have, for sixty years, held up the cause of humanity and fair play not only in his own country, but in all parts of the civilised world, in the distant United States in the West, in the Cape Colony in the South, China and India in the East and the Russian Empire in the North!—What an extensive area for the exercise of human abilities! *What a bright example* of the extent of those abilities!

'It is not his knowledge that attracts; it is not his ethical tests and standards; it is not that dialectical strength of arm which, as Mark Pattison said of him, could twist a bar of iron to its purpose. It is the combination of these with elevation, with true sincerity, with extraordinary mental force.' Yes, sincerity is the word! deep, unaffected inborn and inarticulate sincerity. He rose up to speak not because he *had to* speak, but because he *could not help* speaking. His heart rose within him, and he stood up to pour forth the edifying emotions of a sincere heart! Gladstone did not hunt for apt expressions at midnight. Nothing of the sort. He sees before him the colossal form of corruption or mistake. He rises, and spits iron indignation at it, and splinters it into shivers. Or he sees misery and lawlessness rearing their towering heads on the people of a country, and he blows out with his tongue till every heart has caught it and rises up to put them down.

Be it white-skin or black-skin or yellow-skin, he cares not. He stands, a grim earnest man. Corruption in whatever form, in whatever skin, must quake before him. Honest corruption or dishonest corruption, they must 'exeunt,' or with a terrible storm he will shake them. The one secret of Gladstone's great success in his life was 'Sincerity.'

Another characteristic of Gladstone was his simplicity. When the whole world was wringing with his praises—when Italy was hailing him its great Saviour—when Montenegro was uprearing its giant limbs—when the whole continent, nay, the whole world, Ireland, United States, India, the entire inhabited world were breathing the great name of Gladstone, he was perhaps cutting an oak in the Hawarden Gardens—or walking briskly alone and meditative at the rate of 3 or 4 miles per hour. When the speech that flowed from his tongue had completely turned the flow of thoughts in the heads of his antagonists, when one member looked fondly at another, not knowing where he was, stunned by the headlong torrent, this great man did not wax important, and thrust his hands into his trousers' pockets and say, 'How great a man am I?' but wondered how he had been sustained through his speech, and instead of walking to the further end of the verandah to exult over his success, knelt down and prayed to God. Here is what Gladstone says after a great speech.

"Prayer earnest for the moment was wrung from me in my necessity; I hope it was not a blasphemous prayer, for support in pleading the cause of Justice.....I am half insensible even in the

moment of delight to such pleasures as this kind of occasion affords. But this is a dangerous state, indifference to the world is not love of God."

Gladstone was not only an orator. "I have been a learner all my life, and a learner I must continue to be." *This* is what he says when he has the weight of fifty-nine years upon his frame. *This* is what he says when the great Francis Newman writes to him—"I dare not intrude on you sentiments which are happily shared by so many thousands of warm and simple hearts. Sentiments of warm admiration, deep sympathy, fervent hope, longing expectation of lasting national blessing from your certain elevation to high responsibility. In the moral power which you wield, go on to elevate and purify public life, and we shall bless you, dear sir, as a regenerator of England. Keep the hearts of the people. They will never envy you and never forsake you." What a noble impression made by the great Gladstone! But how coolly, how magnanimously this great man takes this compliment—"I have been a learner all my life, and a learner I must continue to be." Church, afterwards the Dean of St. Paul's, said at this time of Gladstone—the cynosure of *all* eyes!—"There never was a man so genuinely admired for the qualities which deserve admiration—his earnestness, his deep popular sympathies, his unflinching courage; and there never was a man more deeply hated both for his good points and for undeniable defects and failings"—but as Bright quoted from that immortal poet Byron:—

"He who ascends to mountain-tops, shall find
The loftiest peaks most wrapt in clouds and snow;
He who surpasses or subdues mankind
Must look down on the hate of those below."

But while praises like this were sung by these most eloquent mouths whose words were looked upon as oracles by the simple housewife working on her spindle, or the illustrious Baron driving on his coach and pair to—the House of Lords!—the hero sits with all sedateness and complaisance in his study, without any emotion whatsoever, and says to himself—"Well, this may be true; but for my part, as I have been a learner all my life, I must continue to be a learner till my death." Or perhaps he was striding along at a very brisk pace—as he always does. Apparently a rough country-man in his own way. But this rough sturdy figure at once stops when it comes across a young girl with a heavy load on her head, and then—then with a sigh cries out—"And there are many less

'deserving girls who swing on their couches. What a pity—But 'God's will be done!'—and walks along, thinking upon the condition of Man—and when the passers by looked upon him with great admiration, and some even hailed him as the Grand Old Man, or the greatest man of the age, he blushed, as if conscious of something in him which did not deserve all this and murmured to himself—"I have been a learner all my life and learner I must continue to be."

You laugh at this grey old fellow, five and eighty years old, saying without a tinge of shame upon his cheeks—"I have been a learner all my life, and a learner I must continue to be." Why, you have passed your B.A., and what is there that you do not know? You have read Shakespeare's 'Merchant of Venice' for your F.A., and 'Othello' for your B.A.—Also 'Tempest' when you failed to pass in the First year. Ah! Ah!—and what more do you want to know? You have also studied Algebra and Trigonometry—and, Greek, Roman and Indian History! And you also know about vertebral disc or fibula, and what is there you do not know? Perhaps you are even teaching others to learn. What!—you ask—for a great man, whose breath is expected by the Captain of the ship to fill his canvas and carry it right on through the malestorm of Party Politics, you say, for such a great man to say that he has been 'a learner all his life and a learner he must continue to be'! You are surprised. And you point with pride and admiration to the bright example of a young man, calling himself the ruler of more than three hundred millions of people, branding them all liars and flatterers, and that too when he had been only for about five years among them! This great man 'has never been a learner all his life, and can never continue to be a learner.' I had well said 'may he never continue to be a learner all his life,' for if with a four-years' learning he has found out so much, he may with a life's learning find—God knows what?—and we tremble to imagine!

Here is the great difference. Mr. Gladstone, old and venerable with age, authoritative by experience, and consulted by Kings and Emperors for his insight and wisdom, with the whole nation, the whole continent of Europe, nay, the whole world looking up to him for liberty, with Statesmen invoking the aid of his breath to fill the canvas of the State, still says with steadiness and humility—"I have been a learner all my days and a learner I must continue to be."

I have to confess that Gladstone is very unlike my unknown friend. This *great* man, who has passed his B.A.—after having got *plucked* as the expression goes!—and gets seventy rupees a month,

thinks that he has done all, known all and experienced all. He does so much as will get him seventy rupees—nothing more! But Gladstone, he was a horrible worker! He was not his own master. He was carried away by his work. He lent himself up entirely to his countrymen—to his fellow-creatures! In his diary this is a commonplace entry you find—worked for 13 hrs. to-day—worked for 20 hours to-day! And this is not ordinary work! Drafting of bills or making of speeches and above all studying of records! He had now to make fresh grapples with finance,—at another time to plunge into the intricacies of the land problem—to run through untoward colleagues—and to rise up to all the “inexorable demands of my political vocation.” For more than half-a-century that he was whirled in the vortex of parliamentary life, he was literally immersed in work. Yes, says my unknown friend, and I too am whirled in my own way. It is true. But Gladstone could have, if he wished, lived happily and quietly. But life was with him a grim earnest thing. He sees misery and lawlessness around him, and so long as he has a drop of living blood beating upon his temple he will see that they are rooted out. Even when like a ripe fruit he was swinging in the storm of Time, and stress of work, he still lifted his grey head to catch a glimpse at Homer or write a letter to an old woman who had applied to him for help. He scolded even leading ministers pretty directly, and indeed his own personal example of absolutely unremitting attendance at the scene of action, entitled him to rebuke slackness. To one correspondent he writes (January 21, 1869) ‘I hope you do not think my ‘holiday’ at Hawarden has proved my idleness, for I think ten hours a day has been a moderate estimate of my work there on public business, to which some other matters have had to be added.’ To the Attorney-general he says when he has had three years more of it (September 18, 1872):—‘I cannot say with you that my office never gives me a day without business, for in the four “vacations” so far as they have gone, I think I have had no less than five days. This vacation has thus far been the best; but heavy and critical work impends.’ In October, 1871, he writes to Mrs. Gladstone from Edinburgh:—‘I have for the first time since the Government was formed, had a holiday of two whole days.’ To Lord Clarendon he writes from Lord Granville’s at Walmer (September 2, 1869):—‘At the end of a holiday morning is work; since I breakfasted at nine, which has lasted till near four, I have yet to say a few words about

.....’ To Archdeacon Harrison, (May 25, 1873):—‘As you may like to have the exact anatomy of my holiday on the Queen’s Birthday, I will give it you. 2¼ A.M., return home from the H. of C., 10 A.M., two hours’ work in my room, 2—7, the Cabinet. Three quarters of an hour’s walk, 8—12 32 to dinner and an evening party, 12, bed!’ To Sir R. Phillimore, (July 23, 1873):—‘Not once this year (except a day in bed) have I been absent from the hours of Government. Business in the House, and the rigour of attendance is far greater now than at earlier periods of the Session.’

This is a man of action indeed. But here too we have what are called men of action. They go into their offices exactly at ten, and come out of them precisely at five—and they call this onerous work! Go to any one of them at a minute past five—Aah! come to-morrow! is the inevitable answer. And these are men of action! Go to these so called men of action and of every ten words they utter, the ‘I have no time, I am sorry’ will often come out, and one wonders what these do. Smoking and playing and driving occupy one half of their time,—but what can they do—the climate is damned hot!

And here the painful thought forces itself upon our mind—out of the small span of years allotted for man, how many he loses—loses! With many, more than half their lives is spent in the sweet land of sleep and dreams. Eating and exercise take up the most part of the other half, and alas! it is only a small fraction of our days on earth that we utilise for ourselves. This small fraction available goes towards the maintenances of *ourselves*, and most of us, bipeds—without feathers!—never spend a second for the cause of pure sympathy and fellow-feeling. Just think of this! What did God make us for? To live to eat? No, says our unknown friend—I eat to live! and yet he thinks he has done his duty if he works from eleven to five o’clock—pray, do not count the one hour interval, and the many minutes he has to spend in pleasant chit-chat with his neighbour, and this is very onerous work indeed! The calls of friendship and family make up the rest of his time.

‘Seven hours to law, to soothing slumber seven
Ten to the world’s allot and all to heaven!’

This principle though appreciated by all, is observed by almost none. But Gladstone often gave less hours to sleep, less to the world’s allot. He gave all his hours literally to heaven!

If in the letters of Gladstone one wishes to meet with anything like wit, one will have to turn back disappointed. He was a true

man of action. The be-all and the end-all of his existence was hard strenuous labour. With him the great secret of success lay in that word Effort. Even in his letters to his wife the husband is entirely lost in the Minister. 'Attended Cabinet'—'had an audience with the Queen'—'Lord so and so came to me'—'spoke upon that Bill'—'voted for this bill'—such are the letters Gladstone writes to his wife. His letters are mostly concerned with points of business. A grim earnest stalwart man, 'his correspondence has an object, and a letter with an object is not of a piece with the effusions of Madame de Sévigné, Cowper, Scott, Fitzgerald and other men and women whose letters of genial satire, and casual play, and hints of depth below the surface people will read as long as they read anything.'

Yet in the midst of all this work—"I do not call it Herculean because Hercules himself would not have been able to do it"—in the strain and stress of parliamentary work, his heart felt the glowing warmth of sympathy and benevolence. Gladstone was not only remarkable for his strength in body and soul, but was equally remarkable for his softness and tenderness. Though like a rough man he handled bills and parliamentary problems, yet the simplicity of a child, its innocence, its softness were visible in the grand old man in whatever he did or spoke. While immersed in the surging record of the Irish Question or Gorham Case, he struggled on to perch on Dante or Homer. That Gladstone should have felt such a lifelong enthusiasm for Dante is itself evidence that his heart was soft and tender. "Here are all the elements and interests," says John Morley writing about Gladstone's appreciation of Dante, "that lie about the roots of the life of a man and of the general civilization of the world. This ever memorable picture of the mind and heart of Europe in the great centuries of the Catholic age,—making heaven the home of the human soul, presenting the natural purposes of mankind in their universality of good and evil, exalted and mean, piteous and hateful, tragedy and farce, all commingled as a living whole,—was exactly fitted to the quality of a genius so rich and powerful as Mr. Gladstone's in the range of its spiritual intuitions, and in its masculine grasp of all the complex truths of mortal nature."

Gladstone was a very kind man—exceedingly kind. He had never the heart to say 'nay' to any request made to him. I have told you there never was a man more busy than Gladstone. But I also tell you that that there never was, nor ever will be a man more kind and condescending than he. His condescension to his

subordinates, and the freedom and affection with which he talked of them marks him out as a great man who understood—and acted up to it—that he owed a duty to his fellow-creatures. It is not seldom that man forgets that he has a duty towards his fellow-men. But Gladstone did not do so. He loved every man who had any sincerity in him and, let him say never the more senseless thing, still he respected him. "In such instances, even when the appeal came near to raving and Mr. Gladstone whenever he thought the writer's motives sincere, seems to have replied with patience, and at a length very different from pithy brevity." That is more than can be said of many others.

This busy man, pitiously immersed and floating in parliamentary records and Home Rule, readily turns to his groaning fellow-creatures, as readily as to the pages of Dante or Homer. 'One lady lays before him in superabundant detail a case where guardians insisted on the child of a mixed marriage being brought up as a Protestant, against the fervent wishes of a surviving parent, a Catholic.' 'Mr. Gladstone masters the circumstances'—what human heartedness and love of Justice!—'forms his judgment, elaborates it in a closely argued memorandum, and does not evade the responsibility of advising. In another of these instances the tragedy is reversed; the horrid oppression is perpetrated on the Protestant mother by the Catholic father and here too it is Mr. Gladstone to whom the sufferer appeals for intercession.' What a noble picture! Here is indeed a heart ever awake to the touch of humanity.

Speaking about Gladstone's early parliamentary days, John Morley writes: "No other engagement ever interrupted his sedulous attendance on his mother every day, reading the bible to her, and telling the news about levees and drawing rooms. A great dinner at Sir Robert Peel's, and all the rest of his business and recreations." What an affectionate son! The young man, of rising aspirations, dining at Sir Robert Peel's and making parliamentary speeches—reported fully in Newspapers—comes back with his heart full of joy, and—and throws himself at his mother's feet and recounts everything, not leaving out the slightest incident. What simplicity! What affection! In the mother's smile and in the mother's joy, the son—and what a son!—exults. And he reads the bible to her,—and certainly he would be very envious if any of his brothers should continue the same attendance upon his mother! Ah! Here is indeed a heart which is full of the milk of human ten-

derness. A heart which in spite of its varied ambitions stops in its headlong course, and pours itself into a mother! And when after long suffering his mother died 'amid tender care and mournful regrets, her youngest son was a devoted nurse, her loss struck him keenly, but with a *sense full of consolations of the faith*'—Mark these words, full of consolations of the faith! He writes to Gaskell how deeply and thoroughly her character was imbued with love; with what strong and searching process of bodily affliction she was assimilated in mind and heart to her Redeemer; how above all other things she sighed for the advancement of His Kingdom on earth; how few mortals suffered more pain or more faithfully recognised it as one of the instruments by which God is pleased to forward that restoring process for which we are placed on earth. Noble words of a noble son! How different from many of our young men who, ere they emerge out of the University with two letters B and A sticking to their names, learn to hold their necks so stiff and erect that mother and sister can seldom rise up to their eyes—and surely never to their heads! Nay, if worn with age and poorly dressed, our educated friends—educated, alas! so far as B and A are after their names—even try to get over the questions of their companions like—who is that?—Is it your mother? What a difference, as in all things there is, between this Gladstone and our friends! Tender-hearted, simple-minded, God's own and favourite Gladstone! With a great and almost blind and childlike, nay, what would appear to our educated friends, almost foolish faith in God!—but of this hereafter.

And then Gladstone's condescension to his subordinates and his deference to his colleagues! It is here that the greatness of his heart appears. With him rested the great authority that made the people bend before him—it was his breath that set the Government in motion—but still he yielded to the wishes of the others. No 'I know it better Sir,' or 'Mind your own business Sir,' with him. It is true there was none who was endued with more will-power or tenacity of purpose. But still he had a milder way of gaining his end. Not with a rough grunt displaying that authority which Shakespeare describes as 'little brief,' over his subordinates, but mildly, unconsciously he convinced his colleagues of the immaturity of their plans and slowly led them on by argument, even like a father who uses mild reproof against the cherished yet bad desire of a dashing son. This is what Mr. Stansfeld writes of Gladstone's great deference to his colleagues:—

"Mr. Gladstone's conduct in the Cabinet was very curious. When I first joined in 1871, I naturally thought that his position was so commanding, that he would be able to say, 'This is my policy: accept it or not as you like.' But he did not. He was always profuse in his expressions of respect for the Cabinet. There was a wonderful combination in Mr. Gladstone of imperiousness and deference. In the Cabinet he would assume that he was nothing. I thought he should have said, 'This is my policy. What do you think of it?' and then have fought it out until they had come to an agreement. He always tried to lead them on by unconscious steps to his own conclusions." This deference to his colleagues shows that Gladstone's heart was exceedingly tender and good. He was a sincere man, and *sincere* is an epithet which not ten men in the world could deserve now. The earnestness and the openness with which he expressed his opinions bear witness to the liberality of his mind. No person was his enemy. He loved all; he respected all, regardless of the tailor-derived dignity! Of one of the subordinate ministers Mr. Gladstone writes to Lord Granville: 'He has great talent, and is a most pertinacious worker, with a good deal of experience and widely dispersed knowledge of public affairs. But he is somewhat angular, and better adapted for doing business within a defined province of his own than in common stock or partnership with others.' Some one else is 'a sensitive man, given beyond most men to speak out his innermost and perhaps unformed thoughts, and thereby to put himself at a disadvantage.' Another public servant is 'not unmanageable, but he needs to be managed.'

These free opinions given so openly plainly show the interest Gladstone took in them. One who cares not for you will never speak about you. Always believe this. Gladstone would never have said all this, had he not taken a keen interest in these rising men. Now and then he has to rebuke a member or two, but he does that very mildly. Here is the way in which he called defaulters to their duty:

'The Chancellor of the Exchequer thinks he has some reason to complain of your having quitted London on Thursday without any prior communication with him or Glyn, four days before the budget. I have heard with regret that the state of your health has compelled you to spend your vacation abroad; but scarce even a direct medical order, and certainly in my opinion nothing less could render such an example innocent in its effects as is set by a departure from London under such circumstances. Although it

has been a great pleasure to me to admit and recognise your parliamentary services and distinctions, and though I have always thought your accession to the Government an acquisition of great value, I must frankly avow my opinion that it is hardly possible for the Chancellor of Exchequer to discharge his duties without your constant and sedulous co-operation, or for the official corps in general to avoid suffering, if the members of it make themselves the judges of the question when and under what circumstances their absence may be permitted during the sittings of the House?

And here we see Gladstone at his best. The mildness, the tenderness he has! The language he uses, the kindness, the almost child-like simplicity of it, yet the gentle rebuke it carries with it! He was never proud, never arrogant, but always condescending and familiar, yet a grim earnest fighter against bad examples. Be it his greatest friend or nearest relation he *will* put a stop to it? That is the one purpose he lived and strived for—to say to all sorts of carelessness and corruption, 'your days are done on earth. You must be off—if of your own accord, well and good. If not have it here——' and what tongue and pen could do, was never wanting! We give one more example.

'I am led to believe by your absence from the division yesterday, that there may not be a clear understanding between us as to the obligations of members of the Government on these occasions. Yesterday gave occasion of much inconvenience on account of the entertainment at Windsor, but all the members of the Government who could be expected to attend voted in the division except yourself. I can say from my own recollection that as far as regards political affairs, the Sovereign always permits the claim of the House of Commons to prevail?'

How mild, how touching, how subtle! It will creep chill into the heart of the member, and will bind him in eternal sympathy with and admiration for the writer. But how few seem to understand this golden rule by which they can win the hearts of thousands! Be good, be sincere—and you are blest. The narrow prejudices and vile passions should never be allowed to play with the great work you have in mind. You must learn to be large-hearted—learn to love your fellow men—and must study patience and forgiveness.

S. R.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE SRI VAISHNAVA FAITH IN SOUTHERN INDIA.



(Concluded from our last number).

Section C.

THE LATER ALVARS.

IF it is remembered that Nammālvār lived in the first quarter of the 11th century A.D., Tirumangai, (1) Tondaradippodi, Kulas'ekhara, Andāl, and Periyālvār who came next to him must have perhaps lived in the time of Ālavandār. Attracted by the teachings of this great Viśiṣṭādvaita leader, these Ālvārs seem to have mustered at Śrīrangam studying, working at and writing out their works; they must have also been comparing their works, as is evidenced by the parallel quotations, which cannot be otherwise easily explained. (2)

(1) Maṅgaiyarkōn or Ālinādan, two other names of Tirumangai Ālvār seem to indicate that he belongs to Ālinādu and was born in Mangai (the modern Mangainallūr?). The suffix *kōn* does not warrant us to infer that he was a petty chief. Compare Villiputtūr-kōn, &c.

(2) மாணமருமென்னோக்கிலை? தனி வீண்ணப்பம்.

—Periyālvār.

மாணமருமென்னோக்கிலைதேவியின் துணையா
காணமரும் கல்ஸதர்போய் காடுறைந்தான் காணேம்.

—Tirumangai.

கரும்பினைக் கண்டுகொண்டென் கண்ணினை களிக்ருமாறே.

—Tondaradippodi.

கண்டுகொண்டென் கண்ணினையாரக்களித்து.

—Nammālvār.

மலையையெடுத்துக் கல்மாரிகாத்து.

—Nammālvār.

கன்னெடுத்துக் கல்லாரிகாத்தாயென்றும்.

—Tirumangai.

ஆவியெயராரமுதே என்னியாளுடைத்
துவியும்புன்னுடையாய்.

—Nammālvār.

ஆவியெயரமுதேயென நினைந்துகுதி.

—Tirumangai.

மெய்யனாகும் விரும்பித் தொழுதாரக்கெல்லாம்
பெய்யனாகும் புறமே தொழுதாரக்கெல்லாம்.

—Nammālvār.

Such instances can be quoted in any number ; but those given in the foot-note will suffice for our purposes. From these we can see the great influence Nammālvār had on the junior Ālvārs and also how these latter influenced one another. The striking similarity between the passages from the various Ālvārs argues their contemporaneity.

In addition to copying from one another the Ālvārs have also borrowed(1) whole sale from the Dēvāram hymns.(2) Tondaradip-

மெய்யர்க்கே மெய்யனாகும் விதியிலா வெண்ணிப்போல
பொய்யர்க்கே பொய்யனாகும் புட்கொடியுடையகோமான்.
—Tondaradippōḍi.

சுரும்பமர்சோலை சூழ்ந்தவரங்கமாகோயில் கொண்ட
கரும்பினைக் கண்டுகொண்டென் கண்ணினை களிக்குமாறே.
கிருக்குறுந்தாண்டகம், Stz. 13.—Tirumungai.

சுரும்பமர்சோலை சூழ்ந்தவரங்கமாகோயில் கொண்ட
கரும்பினைக் கண்டுகொண்டென் கண்ணினை களிக்குமாறே.
கிருமாலை, Stz. 17.—Tondaradippōḍi.

பதினொருமாயிரவர்தேவிமார் பணிசெய்ய,
—Periyālvār.

பதினொருமாயிரவர்தேவிமார் பார்த்திருப்ப.
—Āṇḍāl.

கன்னிரன்மாமதின் சூழ்தரும்பொழிற்காவிரித் தென்னரங்கம்.
—Periyālvār.

கன்னிரன்மாமதின் புடைசூழ்சுண்புரத்தென் கருமணியே.
—Kulas'ekkhara.

(1) I say borrowed from, because we have already shown that one of the earliest Ālvārs, Nammālvār, belonged to the early part of the 11th Century A.D., and hence was long posterior to the Nāyanmārs. Therefore the later Ālvārs must evidently have borrowed from the Dēvāram.

(2) For compare :—

சன்னனை கள்ளத்தொண்டாய்க் காலத்தைக் கழித்துப்போக்கித்
தென்னியேனாகி நின்றதேடினே ஓடிக்கண்டேன்
உள்குவாருள்கிறெல்லா முடனிருந்தறிதி யென்று
வென்கினேன் வென்கினனும் விலாவிற் சிரித்திட்டேனே.

தேவாரம், P. 1148, Pushparatha Chettiar's Edition.

உள்ளத்தேயுறையும்மலை உள்ளுவா னுணர்வொன்றில்லா
கள்ளத்தென் னானும் தொண்டாய்தொண்டிக்கோலம்பூண்டேன்
உள்குவாருள்கிற மெல்லாமுடனிருந்தறிதி யென்று
வென்கிப்போயென்னுள்ளே நான் விலாவிற் சிரித்திட்டேனே.

கிருமாலை—Tondaradippōḍi.

வென்றிலேன் புலன்களைந்தும் வென்றவர் வீளாகந்தன்னுட்
சென்றிலே னாதலாலே செந்நெறியாதற்குஞ் சேயே
என்றுளே னுளும்புகின்றே னீசனேயோ

வீன்றுளே னுளையிலே னென்சென் செய்வான் தோன்றினேனே.
Dēvāram, P. 1151.

poḍi uses the passage 'என்செய்வான் தோன்றினேனே' in his Tirumālai. (Cf. Dēvāram p. 1151).

It might be noted that great importance was attached by the earlier Āchāryas to the Tiruvāymolī of Nammālvār. They have not spoken very much or very frequently of such works as the Tirunedundāṇḍagam of Tirumangai, &c. The works of the subsequent Ālvārs received great consideration only in the days of Bhaṭṭar, the illustrious successor of Rāmānuja. He is reported to have reproved a brāhman when the latter reported to him (Bhaṭṭar) that he informed the powerful Vēdāntin of the West country that Bhaṭṭar knew all the S'āstras. Bhaṭṭar would appear to have pointed out to this brāhman that he could have better represented his as knowing Tirumangai's Tirunedundāṇḍagam. Never throughout the life of Rāmānuja do we see him devoting his attention to any other Tamil work than the Tiruvāymolī. Again also we see that, being older, Tiruvāymolī has received many commentaries, some of them from the earliest of Rāmānuja's disciples. The works of the other Ālvārs have taken a longer time to be commented upon. All these go to point out that the works of other Ālvārs were almost contemporaneous with Rāmānuja's time and had not received the sanctity that attaches generally to old works. Some of them had no doubt been appreciated as standard works and were recited on important occasions.

A strange and apparently fanciful criterion of the correctness of our hypothesis is afforded by the old names of the various streets of the town of S'rīrangam. The seven streets are named respectively Dharma-varma's, Rājamahēndra's, Kulas'ekkhara's, Ālināḍan's, Tiruvikrama's (or Akalānkan's), the Māḍamāḷigai-s'ēr-tiruvīdi, and the Adāiyavalaṇḍān.(1)

வென்றியே வெண்டிழம்பொருட் கிரங்கிலேந்நனார் கலவியேருதி
நின்றவாநில்கா நெஞ்சினையுடையே னென்செய்கேன்
நெடுவிசம்பனவும், &c."

(1) மாடமாளிகை சூழ்திருவிதியும்
மன்னுசேர் திருவிக்கிரமன் திருவிதியும்
ஆடல்மாரணகளங்கன் திருவிதியும்
ஆலிநாட மமர்ந்ததைவிதியும்
கூடல்வாழ் குலசேகரன் விதியும்
குலவுராசமசேர்திரன் விதியும்
தேடுதன்மவன்மாவின் விதியும்
தென்னரங்கர் திருவாவணமே

யதிந்திர பிரவணம், P. 34.

In this list we do not know who Dharmavarman was. Rājamahēndra we know is the Chōla king who reigned a little before Kulōttunga I. The 'Kovilolugu' says that he paved the second round of the temple with stones and built some Maṇḍapas. This is corroborated by Vikramachōlan-ulā which describes an unnamed king as

‘மாப்பழநால் (1) பாடாவுத் தென்னாங்கமேயாற்குப்பன்
மணியாலாடாவுப்பாயலமைத் தோனும்.’

This king, I take to be Rājamahēndra. Then Kulasēkhara who extended the buildings of the temple is identified with the Ālvār of the same name by the Guruparamparas. Ālināḍan is a surname of Tirumangai who was born in Tiruvāli. Thus we see that Kulasēkhara and Tirumangai have come after Rājamahēndra in their benefactions to the temple. Akalanākan is another name of Vikrama Chōla, the son and successor of Kulōttunga I. He is described in the Vaishṇava chronicles to have been a good Vaishṇava. His extension of the temple comes immediately after those of Kulasēkhara and Ālināḍan. This gives us a major and minor limit for the period of these two Ālvārs. The Mādamāligai-sērtiruvīdi (the modern Chitravidhi) was, according to the 'Kovilolugu' constructed by "எம்மண்டலமுங்கொண்டு கோயில் பொன்மேய்ந்த பெருமாள் சுந்திரபாண்டிய தேவர்." This is Jaṭhivarman Sundara Pāṇḍya whose S'rīrangam inscription has been edited in Ep. Ind. Vol. III, pages 7—17. The magnificent Gopura of the East street bears a Pāṇḍya emblem and the legend 'Kaliyuga Rāman' below it. Dr. Hultzsch has identified Kaliyuga Rāman with Sundara Pāṇḍya(2)

Another important evidence of these Ālvārs having existed at a later period, is furnished by the forms in which their works are written. For instance, the aggregate of Periyālvār's work might be justly called an enlarged form of 'Pillaittamil' (3) This species

(1) பழநால் here means the Vēdas.

(2) An. Rep. 1893, p. 5.

(3) This a poem celebrating the different stages in the infancy and childhood of a hero or a heroine comprised in ten parts.

“காப்பொடு செங்கீரை தால் சுப்பாணி
யாப்புறு முத்தம் வருகவென்றன்முத
லப்புலி கிறதில் குறுபறை குறுதேர்
நம்பிய மற்றைய சுற்றத்தளவென
விளம்பினர் தெய்வநலம்பெறு புலவர்.”

பன்னிருபாட்டியல், இனவியல், 2, பின்னிப்பாட்டு சூத்திரம் 8.

of work seems to be unknown to early grammars. The first grammar that notices such a kind of composition is Pāṇṇiru-Pāṭṭiyal. Hence Periyālvār who has written this must be put down to be a man of comparatively modern date.

The major limit for Tirumangai is obtained from his decade on Paramēśvara-viṇṇagaram. In this he extols a Pallava prince by describing his various achievements (1). From these descriptions we can clearly see that he alludes to Nandivarman Pallavamalla. The Udayēndram plates affirm that Nandivarman Pallavamalla's General, Udayachandra, gained victories over the Dramila confederates, at Nimbavana, Chūtavana, Sankaragrāma, Nellūr, Nelvēli, S'ūravaḷundūr, &c. The Pāṇḍya king was defeated at Maṇṇaikkūdi. The decade already referred to and extracts from which have already been quoted mention the battles of Maṇṇai over the Pāṇḍyas and of Nelvēli. The name of Nandivarman forms part of the name of the temple at Nāthankōyil near Kumbhakōṇan sung by Tirumangai under the name of Nandipura-viṇṇagaram.

The legend regarding the wrangle between Tirumangai and Jñānasumbandhar is purely a myth. For it is a well-known fact that the latter lived in the middle of the seventh century A. D. and we have seen that the Ālvār came some four centuries after him. The legend certainly owes its origin to the desire among his votaries, to raise Tirumangai, in their estimation.

The works of Āṇḍāl bear a close resemblance to Tiruvāchakam. Tondaradippodī's Tiruppalliyēluchchi is almost similar to that of Māṇikkavāchakar's that we can trace the words and thoughts to the older author. These are things that one has to judge for himself by a comparative study of both works. To draw parallels would take up too much space and time.

- (1) (a) பல்லவன் வில்லவனென்றாலதிற பலராய்ப்பலவேந்தர் வணங்கு
கழல் பல்லவன் மல்லையர்கோன் பணிந்த பரமேச்சுர வின்
ணசுரமதவே.
(b) தென்னவனைமுழையிற் செருவில் திறல்வாட்டிய திண்சிலை
யோன் பார்மன்னு பல்லவர்கோன்.
(c) நிரந்தவர் மண்ணையில் புண்ணுகர்வேல் நெடுவாயிலுக் செரு
வில் முனநான் பரந்தவன் பல்லவர்கோன்.
(d) உலகுடைமன்னவன் தென்னவனைக் கன்னிமாமதின்குழ் கரு
தூர்வெருவ பலபடை சாயவென்றான்.
(e) விடைத்திறல் வில்லவன் நென்மெலியில் வெருவச்செருவேல்
வலங்கைப்பிடித்த படைத்திறற் பல்லவர்கோன்.

From all that has been said above it would be seen that *Tondaradippudi*, *Tirumangai*, *Andal*, and *Periyālvār* must have lived together and at the time when *Ālavandār* retired to *S'rīrangam*.

Section D.

THE EARLIER ĀLVĀRS.

When we come to fix the age of the so-called *Mudalālvārs*, *Poygai*, *Bhūtam* and *Pēyālvār*, we are beset with a lot of difficulties as only very meagre data are available from tradition and from their works. All that we know is that they were contemporaries of a Pallava prince of *Kañchi*. One of them *Bhūtattālvār* has sung about *Kaṇṇamallai* (the modern *Mahābalipuram*). We learn through epigraphical records that *Māmallapuram*(1) came into existence in the days of *Māmalla* (*Nrisimhavarman I.*) This Pallava king lived in the 7th century A.D. This gives us a major limit for the age of these *Ālvārs*.

Again *Tirumālīs'ai*, the contemporary of the *Mudalālvārs* incorporates a distich of *Kuraḷ* in one of his verses which runs thus :—

வித்துமிடவேண்டுங்கொல்லோ விடையடர்த்த
பத்தியுழுவன் பழம்புனத்து—மொய்த்தெழுந்த
கார்மேகமன்ன கருமால்திருமேனி
நீர்வான் காட்டும் நிகழ்ந்து.

and the *Kuraḷ* quoted here is

வித்துமிடல்வேண்டுங்கொல்லோ கிருந்தோம்பி
மிச்சின்மிசைவான்புலம்.

Chap. IX. Stz. 5—கிருந்தோம்பல்.

(1) We know from the *Guruparamparas* that *Periyālvār* and *Andal* were contemporaries of a *Pāṇḍya* king called *S'rivallabha*. There is a *S'rivallavan* alias *Avanipaś'ikharan* mentioned in one of the inscription belonging to *Sittannavās'al* (in the *Pudukottah* state). From the alphabet of this record, it might be judged to belong to about the 10th or 11th century A. D. The other *S'rivallabhas* known to epigraphy are later day men and we cannot at present identify who the contemporary of *Periyālvār* was. Hence evidence from their works in preference to the traditional history is sought for.

(1) That this was a very important maritime centre is clearly seen from the following :—

(1) கலகாளியங்கும் மல்லை.

(2) வங்கத்தால் மாமணிவந்து முக்கீர் மல்லைபாய்.

—*Tirunēṇḍāṇḍagam*.

They might have flourished in the *Ganga-Pallava* period, for the kings of this dynasty distinctly call themselves devout worshippers of *Vishnu* : perhaps one of these was the patron, as is claimed in the *Guruparamparas*, of *Tirumālīs'ai*.

To identify *Poygaiyālvār* with *Poygaiyār*, the author of *Kaḷavaḷi*, as some are attempting to do, seems to be utterly unwarranted. *Poygaiyār* is not a proper name, but a common name, *Poygai* being the name of a district adjoining *Ugaiyūr*. This district is very frequently mentioned in inscriptions. Both these authors seem to be natives of this district. From the fact that both bear identical names we cannot jump to the conclusion, that they are identical, in the absence of clear proofs. If such an identification were to be allowed, we could go the length of identifying *Pēyālvār* with *Kāraikkāl-Ammaiyār*, who also called herself *Pēy* ; perhaps according to those that would have the two *Poygaiyārs* to be identical, *Pēy* as a woman sang the praises of *S'iva* and as a man those of *Vishṇu*.

From what has been said above it appears certain that the time of *Bhūtam*, *Pēy Poygai* and *Tirumālīs'aiyālvārs* was sufficiently early and hence even the earliest of the *Guruparamparas*, the *Divya-sūricharitam*, has to ascribe a mythical origin to these persons ; they lived most probably during the *Ganga-Pallava* period.

Section E.

LATER ĀCHĀRYAS.

I shall now glance hurriedly through the subsequent periods of *S'rivaishṇava* history, touching only the most salient features.

We have seen that *Parāsara Bhaṭṭar*, son of *Kūrattālvār*, succeeded *Rāmānuja*. The chief event of his life is the conversion of a famous *Vēdāntin* named *Mādhava*, a native of some place near a famous *S'rīngēri*, who took holy orders under the name of *Nāḷijiyar*. He quickly mastered the *Draṇḍa Vēdas* (the *Nāḷiyira-prabandham*) and wrote a commentary on the *Tiruvāymoḷi*. After the death of *Bhaṭṭar*(1) which is believed to have taken place in his 28th year,

(1) There is a belief among the *S'rivaishṇavas* that *Bhaṭṭar* died very early. Relying on this, *Appāḍi-appangār* in his "*Paṇadai-Vilakkam*" says that he died in his 28th year (p. 45). On questioning critically some learned *S'rivaishṇavas* about the length of the life of *Bhaṭṭar*, I got very conflicting opinions, none of which put down his death at so early an age as 28. Several of them said he must have lived to nearly 60 years, without of course giving any reasons for the statement.

Nāñjiyar succeeded him in the pontifical seat. He was succeeded in his turn by Nambūr Varadarājar, under the name of Nambillai; subsequently he was conferred the title of "Lōkāchārya."

About 1175 S' (1253 A.D.) i.e., about the time of Nambillai, a memorable event took place in the history of the Srīrangam temple. Jatavarman Sundara Pāndya, who was then rising in power in the Pāndya Kingdom and making extensive conquests in the North (Cuttack, &c.), covered the central shrine of Srīrangam with gold, and made a large number of other substantial gifts. He would also appear to have presented the temple several times with large quantities of gold which he weighed himself against. (1)

Lōkāchārya was succeeded by Pillailōkāchārya, who was a contemporary of the illustrious Vēdānta-Dēsika and Srutaprakāśikāchārya. The most important event of this period is the invasion of the south by the Muhammadans. The story of their destructive march is recorded in a very pathetic way in the Srīvaishṇava chronicles. The peaceful Brāhmanas of Srīrangam had taken out their God Ranganātha in a procession and had set him up in a Maṇḍapa near the Coleroon, where Pillailōkāchārya lectured on the Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy. The shades of evening had already begun to fall when they heard that the Mussulman cavalry was advancing. Several of the assembled, panic-stricken, began to flee for their dear lives. Old Srutaprakāśikāchārya entrusted his "Srutaprakāśika" and his two little sons to the charge of Vēdānta-Dēsika, enjoining upon him to save them from the expected general destruction. The old and the infirm, the devout and the brave were the only ones to stop where they were. The ruthless horde came on and entered the assembly and cut off all of them. Then the Mussulmans proceeded to the town, which offered some resistance before yielding to the barbarians. No sooner had the town yielded than the invaders most mercilessly hacked 12000 men, women and children to pieces and occupied Srīrangam. The poor Srīvaishṇavas that escaped this general slaughter, settled down in the adjacent villages and remained watching the havoc of these modern Vandals.

Happily for the Srīvaishṇavas and for Srīrangam, the Vijayanagara Kingdom had just then begun to acquire military power. A governor was appointed at S'eñji (Gingi) by the then reigning sovereign, Kampanṇa Uḍaiyar; this officer was called Gōppanārya.

He was a brahman of Srīvaishṇava persuasions. To him the miserable remnants of the Srīvaishṇavas appealed for help to which he readily responded. The Mussulmans were then completely driven out by him from the South.

The poor image of Ranganātha of Srīrangam had had meanwhile very strange vicissitudes. It was carried first to Tirupati where it remained for some years and from there removed to S'ingavaram (near S'eñji) by Gōppanārya, where it remained for nearly three years. Eventually, after the expulsion of the Mussulmans from Srīrangam it was reinstalled in the year 1293 S' (1371 A.D.) by Gōppanārya. For this memorable service of his (1) Vēdānta-Dēsika immortalised him by singing two fine S'lōkas in his praise, which are engraved on the East wall of the first prākāra of the Ranganātha temple (2).

In this eventful year (1293 S') was born the great Tengalai leader Maṇavālamāmunigal. He gave the current of opinion which was steadily flowing saturated with the teachings of Vēdānta-Dēsika,

(1) Doddāchārya in his Vēdānta-Dēsika Vaibhavaprakāśika records this event thus :—

जित्वा तुलुष्कान् भुवि गोप्पणेंद्रो रक्षाधिपं स्थापितवान् स्वदेशे ।
इत्येवमाकर्ण्यगुरुः कर्षाद्रोहशोभवद्यस्तमह प्रपद्ये ॥

(2) आनीयानीलभृंगयुतिरचितजगद्रजनादजनाद्रे-
क्षेत्र्याभाराद्यकञ्चित् समयमथनिहत्योद्धतुष्कां स्तुलुष्कान् ।
लक्ष्मीश्माभ्यानुभाभ्यां सहनिजनगरेस्थापयन् रंगनाथं
सम्यग्वर्या सपर्याम् पुनरकृतयशोदर्वणो गोप्पणार्थ्यः ॥ १ ॥
विश्वेशं रंगराजं वृषभगिरितटात् गोपणः क्षोणिदेवो
नीत्वास्वां राजधानीन्निजबलनिहतोत्सिक्त तौलुष्कसैन्यः ।
कृत्वाभीरंगभूमिम् कृतयुगसहितान्तन्तु लक्ष्मीमहीभ्यां
सस्थाप्यास्यां सरोजोद्भववकुलत साधुवर्या सपर्याम् ॥ २ ॥

Kōyilolugu; Vaibhavaprakāśika p. 121 & Yatindrapravaṇam, p. 26.

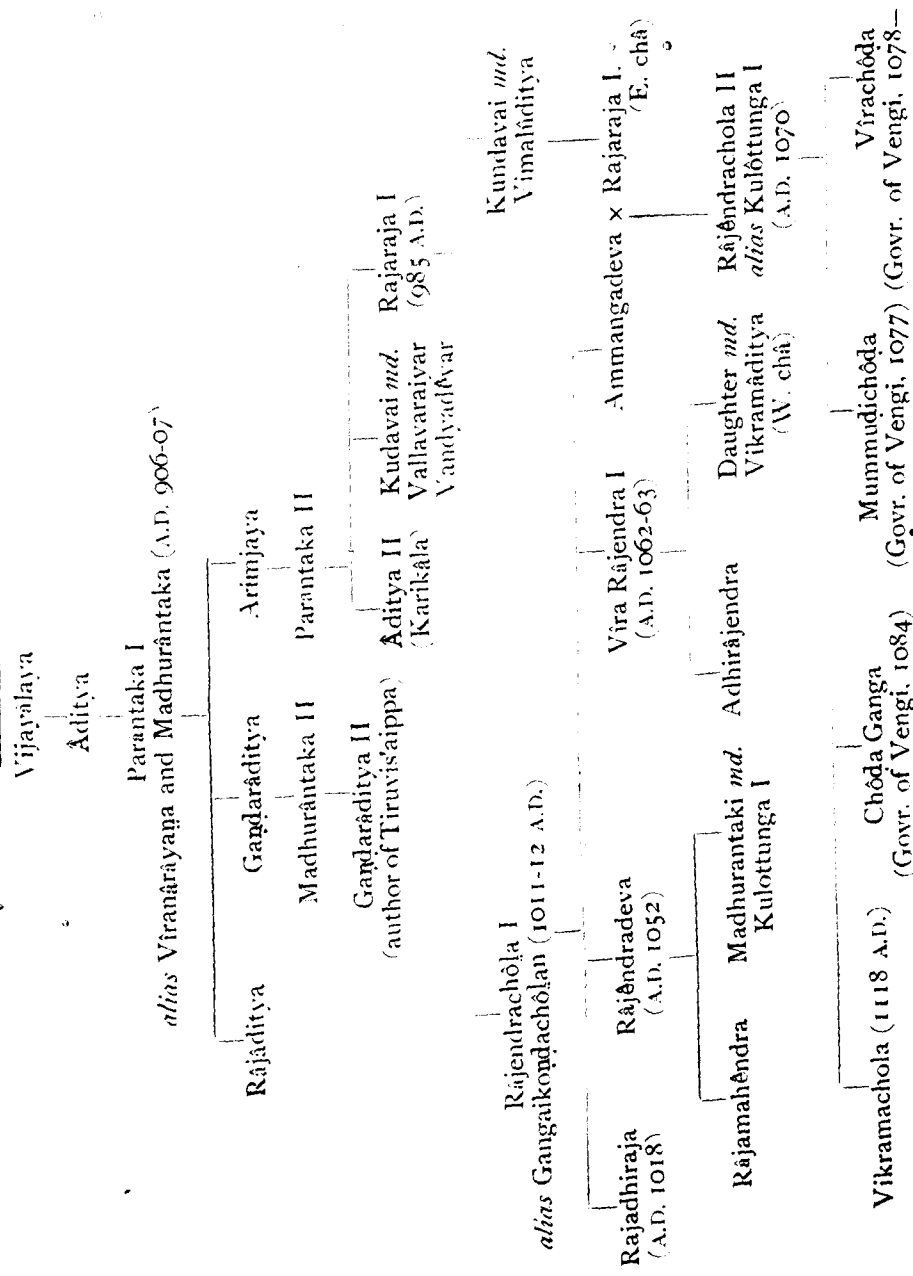
The Maṇipravāla commentary of the "Vaibhavaprakāśika" asserts that Vēdānta-Dēsika was born in 1191 S' (1269 A.D.) and lived to write the praises of Gōppanārya, who reinstated the Ranganātha image at Srīrangam in 1293 S' बन्धुप्रियेशकाध्वे of the inscription, i.e., 1371 A.D.). This would assign to him an age of over 102 years. The same authority also asserts that he died in S' 1293. These statements require more minute examination. As regards the date of Gōppanārya's inscription there is absolutely no doubt. It has been edited in quite a masterly way by Dr. Hultzsch in Ep. Ind. Vol. VI. pp. 322—330.

a new turn. He effected many conversions of Vaḍagalais to the Tengalai faith. It was also in his days that the seeds of dissension between the two rival sects, was sown. Maṇavālamāmuniḡaḷ lived to the old age of 73 years. A Mahāvali Vāṇadarāyan is claimed to have been one of his contemporaries. That there was a family of Māvalivāṇadharāyars in the Madura District in the 15th Century S'aka, is undisputed.(1) We do not hear about this family of chiefs before this period in the Southern Districts.

T. A. GOPINATHA ROW.

(1) Epigraphist's An. Rep. for 1902. Nos. 585 and 587 of 1902 are dated 1452 and 1454 S'aka respectively in the reign of Sundarattōḷudaiya Māvalivāṇadharāyan. These were found in the S'iva temple at Kāḷaiyārkkōyil in the S'ivaganga Zemindary. Three other inscriptions belonging to Tiruppullāṇi are dated in 1440 1455, and 1456 S' respectively. An. Rep. 1904.

(Adapted from Dr. Hultzsch's *S. I. L., Vol. III, Part II, pp.*



THE MADRAS TOBACCO INDUSTRY AND THE GOVERNMENT.

THE Madras Agricultural Department has just published a Bulletin on the methods of cultivating and curing tobacco practised by the growers around Dindigul. It was 15 years ago that Mr. Caine, Tobacco Expert, was deputed by Government to study this crop in that neighbourhood, report on the defects in the native methods, and suggest any improvements in them he could. The results of his investigations were embodied in Bulletin No. 4. It may be remarked *en passant* that Mr. Caine's experiments were not considered a success at that time by other experts. Local practices have changed considerably since then, and the variety which was at that time considered most suitable for cigar-leaf, *viz.*, the *oosi-kappal* has disappeared now.

Last year the attention of the Government was once more directed to the importance of placing this industry on a stable basis. The "Dindigul neighbourhood produces fine cigar-leaf tobacco, but it is capable of further improvement in every direction; the main defect being its unsuitability for a wrapper-leaf, for which purpose foreign leaf has to be imported. The leaf which comes to the market, moreover varies considerably in quality, even though produced under apparently quite similar conditions. The problem which the Government prepared to solve had two phases:—firstly, the defects caused by natural conditions, such as soil, climate, and water; and secondly, those which arise in the mechanical processes. They, however, chose to enquire into the latter first, probably because they had not a proper scientific staff to cope with the other aspect of the question. Accordingly an Agricultural Inspector was sent to study the local practices of cultivation, and Messrs. Spencer and Co.'s co-operation was secured in conducting curing experiments in their Cigar Factory at Dindigul.

The present bulletin is apparently an outcome of the Inspector's enquiries, and simply purports to be a revised edition of the previous publication on the subject.

The defects, observed may be summed up as follows:—

- (1) Wastage of manure by exposure.
- (2) Non-manuring of seed-beds, and flooding them too much.
- (3) Planting too closely.
- (4) Insufficient hoeing.

- (5) Ineffective suckering, and allowing the suckers to grow very large.
- (6) Indiscriminate harvesting, *i.e.*, cutting mature and immature leaves simultaneously
- (7) Injurious effect of too much sun in the curing process.
- (8) Uneven drying
- (9) Unregulated fermentation, and
- (10) Careless and fraudulent sorting.

Valuable hints are given to obviate these. As regards the other measure taken by Government, we hope they will soon publish the results of those curing experiments. So far for the immediate interest caused by the publication, we shall now turn to the ultimate issues of the questions.

Striking an average of the total tobacco export trade for the 6 years beginning with 1898-99, we find that nearly $3\frac{1}{3}$ million Rupees worth of tobacco is exported out of the Madras Presidency every year. Of this two-thirds is in the form of unmanufactured tobacco, and the remaining third goes out as cigar. Again 70 p. c. of the total goes by coast to Burma and Bengal; and 30 p. c. by sea to Straits Settlements, United Kingdom, and Ceylon chiefly. Nearly 90 p. c. of the coasting trade is absorbed by Cocanada, which comes in for about 4 p. c. of the sea-borne trade also. The bulk of the exports to Straits Settlements issues out of Negapatam, which passes on 85 p. c. of the raw tobacco, and 24 p. c. of the cigars. Last come Tuticorin and Madras dividing between themselves equally the remaining 72 p. c. of the foreign cigar trade, which is mainly with Great Britain, and, to some extent, with Cape Colony and Natal. To put the matter in another form, 8 lakhs worth of cigars goes by sea, of which about 6 lakhs, or about 18 p. c. of the total trade is divided between Madras and Tuticorin.

Taking the acreage under tobacco, the average for the 5 years ending with 1902-03, was 116 thousand acres, distributed as below:—

Thousands 45—	Vizagapatam, Godavari, and Kistna.
"	4—Nellore.
"	19—Ceded Districts.
"	31—Salem and Coimbatore.
"	8—Trichinopoly, Tanjore, and S Arcot.
"	6—Madura.
"	3—Tinnevely.
"	116—Total.

It will be seen from the trade and cultivation figures given above, that Cocanada is responsible for 50 to 60 p. c. of the total trade, and the tract it represents for 40 p. c. of the total cultivation. The Dindigul country does at the utmost represent only 10 p. c. of the total area, and Tuticorin, where the Dindigul cigars should be shipped, sends only 9 p. c. of the total tobacco trade of the Presidency.

We are therefore surprised why the Government should have chosen Dindigul of all places for their investigations. It may be contended that the neighbourhood of that place produces better cigar-leaf than that of the Godavari, Kistna delta, whose produce is merely exported in an unmanufactured state; and also that the cigar trade is now double of what it was in 1893-94, excepting the unprecedented fall in foreign exports during 1903-04, and consequently deserves encouragement. In reply to these arguments, it may be pointed out that far vaster, if not influential, interests are involved in the Circars and Coimbatore crops; and that though the cigar trade is a rising one, it fluctuates greatly, whereas the trade in the unmanufactured article is quite steady.

No doubt it should be conceded that the Government have recently somewhat realised the importance of the Delta tobacco, as may be seen from the concessions granted to Mr. T. H. Barry of Cocanada who is to conduct, under Government supervision, experiments with exotic varieties of tobacco on a piece of 150 acres of *lanka* land leased to him by the Government for 6 years. Mr. Barry is not a scientist, and the best that could be expected of him is, that he would introduce exotic varieties and grow them carefully. But it is understood that foreign varieties have a tendency to deteriorate. Moreover, there is also the theory, not quite established though, that cross-fertilisation is injurious to tobacco, and the minuteness of the seed might facilitate inadvertent crossing through the agency of the wind. Even granting that these two objections are untenable, it cannot be denied that the improvement of the native tobacco "from within" will be desirable in itself. The rich alluvial soil of the Godavari and Kistna *lankas* will be a favourable factor to begin with, in any such experiments. We therefore urge that proper scientific investigations be made in this as yet unexplored field also, and the Coimbatore tract as well.

It should not be understood from the above remarks, that we have failed to appreciate the generous intentions which prompted the two Government measures; nor that we advocate the abandon-

ment of a task once begun half-way before its completion; nor again, that we deem the interests involved in this industry to be so weighty as to demand immediate attention to the detriment of others which are engaging the present attention of the Agricultural Department.

Before concluding, we cannot but recall to the minds of the public the two welcome announcements made by the Government on the last Budget occasion, that the services of a Tobacco Expert would be secured for the Pusa Research Institute, where provision has also been made for an up-to-date curing-house; and that Madras would soon be given an Agricultural Chemist, who might be expected to tackle the complex problems arising from natural defects.

" AGRICULTURE."

