

RAJA. SIR. T
MADHAVA RAO
Part I, Part II
1915

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PROMINENT TANJOREANS - No. II.

RAJA. SIR. T. MADHAVA RAO.

A Brief Sketch and Review of his eventful life
and career as the Administrator of the
three leading Native States in India
- Travancore, Indore, and Baroda.

PART -

"What Pericles did for Athens
what Cromwell did for England
that Madhava Rao has done for India are."

PART - (II)

WH BE READY SHORTLY

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A WORD TO THE READER.

In offering this pamphlet to the public I know it is a very inadequate record of the brilliant career of the illustrious statesman, but, at the same time I must say that Mr. V. Nagamiah's discourse is a pretty long one and has exhaustively dwelt upon all that was best in Sir Madhava Rao both as a man and as an administrator. Part II under preparation will consist of interesting extracts from Sir Madhava Rao's numerous writings and speeches together with a symposium of contemporary opinions.

The name of Madhava Rao has been differently spelt in the following pages. The proper way to pronounce it will be as if there were an 'h,' in it, though he himself used to write it without the 'h,' following the spelling adopted in the school register kept by his Tutor Mr. E. B. Powell.

A portion of the nett proceeds of this publication will go towards the expenses of holding his Birthday meeting every year.

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Raja. Sir.

Tanjore Madhava Rao, K. C. S. I.

EIGHTY-SIXTH (86TH) BIRTHDAY COMMEMORATION.

A Public Meeting was held in the Pachappa's Hall, Madras, with the Honorable Mr. P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, B. A., B. L., C. S. I., C. I. E., Member of H. E. The Governor's Council, in the chair, to commemorate the 86th Birthday of the late Raja, Sir. T. Madhava Rao. In response to an invitation issued by the Hon. Rao Bahadur V. K. Ramaswami Chariar, Mr. T. Rengachariar, Mr. G. Subramania Aiyar, the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastrial, there was a large gathering present. Among them were Diwan Bahadur K. Krishnaswamy Rao, Diwan Bahadur Rajarathna Mudaliar, Mr. T. Rengachariar, Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastrial and Mr. C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar, besides Mr. N. K. Ramaswamy Aiyah of Tanjore.

The proceedings commenced with the Chairman briefly explaining the object of the meeting and calling on the Secretary to the Tanjore District Conference to have his say on it. Mr. M. P. Duraiswamy Aiyar, Secretary, then stated as follows:

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I—The Birthday Movement.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,

On behalf of the conveners of this meeting it behoves me to say a few words of introduction, regarding this Birthday celebration movement. Early in 1913 the idea struck us that it would be well to hand down to the present and future generations the happy memories of some of the eminent men, who as natives of our District of Tanjore had in recent times distinguished themselves in all branches of Public service and had thereby earned great reputation for their remarkable intellect and high character sufficient to be object lessons for the youths of any country.

As great men are valuable assets to a growing nation, the perpetuation of their lives and their achievements has all over the civilised world become customary, no matter in whatever form. The holding of Birthday meetings and the celebration of the anniversaries of men of striking personality and distinguishing worth as well as of all public institutions of philanthropic kind has been in all ages quite common and particularly in this

land it has been an every-day event. As the Hon. Dr. Dev Prasad Sarvadikary, the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University observed at the Scott Waverley Centenary meeting held in Calcutta a week ago, "the debt to seers and sages is best discharged by reverent study of their works and by the realization of their teachings and tenets in life". In Bengal, for instance, the names of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Pandit Vidyasagar, Kisto Das Pal and Bankim Chandra, sage Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda and numerous others of renown are being honored with commemoration meetings year by year. In Bombay also the Birthday of our illustrious Dadabhai Narowji is being reverently observed by the public and great men like Ranade and Telang are honored alike. Even in Madras several public institutions concerned have been similarly perpetuating the memories of some of those names just mentioned. While this city has thus aptly appreciated and admired the eminent men of sister provinces, may it not be reminded of the fact that in this presidency, too, there had lived and died within our living memory, men of equal merit and of no less distinguished abilities and achievements whom we might with equal pride offer in our humble turn as

object lessons to the rising generation of all India.

Within the last fortnight, gentlemen, the present *alumni* of the local Presidency College, when assembled on its *old Boys' Day*, proudly pointed to some of its past pupils and associated themselves with that noble band of Powells' pupils who were the first fruits of English education and culture in South India, men like the late Sir Justice T. Muttusawmy Iyer, the late Sir A. Seshiah Sastrial, the late Diwan Bahadur R. Ragunatha Rao, the late Diwan V. Rangachariu, the late C. V. Ranganada Sastri and not the least among them, the hero of to-night, the late Raja Sir Tanjore Madhava Rao. Meet were it, therefore, that the Tanjore District which claims the honor of having produced most of those acknowledgedly great men who had in their own times and at the experimental stage established the claims of Natives of the soil to higher offices of the State in all branches and had won the admiration and confidence of the Government and the people alike—should have thought it fit to gratefully remember their indebtedness to them and to stimulate their youths to similar paths of duty and of glory. In fact, gentlemen, some of

them actually rose from pinching poverty to supreme eminence, their sheer intellect and forceful character alone overcoming all obstacles and disappointments at every stage in their early career.

Friends and Gentlemen, such gatherings we used to hold hitherto within our own district, but it was deemed desirable to hold the Day Meeting of Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao, in the very city where he was educated and where in the evening days of his eventful career he had lived and died—in April 1891.

I might perhaps add and announce here to you that such Birthday Meetings we have confined—for the present at any rate—to a few of our worthies only,—to late Sir. T. Muttusamy Iyer, to late Sir. A. Seshiah Sastrial, to late Sir. T. Madhava Rao, to late Diwan Ragunada Row and to late Rai Bahadur T. Gopala Row—men of whom disinterested authorities have pronounced that *any country might be justly proud*. In so limiting the honour of such celebrations to these five notables, we are aware that we are doing much injustice to many other distinguished Tanjoreans—even among the

departed, men—let me add, whose names must be familiar to the citizens of Madras—for instance, late Diwan Bahadur S. Srinivasaraghava Iyengar, C. I. E., the late Diwan Bahadur R. V. Srinivasier, the late Diwan Bahadur T. Venkasami Row, the late Hon. V. Krishnaswamy Iyer, the late Diwan Bahadur N. Subramaniam, Barrister-at-Law and Administrator-General,—a good lot indeed—not to refer to the equally eminent Tanjoreans still in their active service amidst you here or elsewhere—such as our esteemed chairman of this very meeting, and the Hon. Mr. Justice T. Sadasivier, Mr. V. P. Madhava Row, C. I. E., now Diwan of Baroda, Mr. G. Subramani Iyer, the Pioneer of Tamil and English Journalism in this Presidency and good many others of equal fame.

Gentlemen, while thus discharging this pleasing duty of ours in that direction as Tanjoreans, I feel tempted to suggest that the Madras City or the districts concerned would be only honoring themselves if they would early arrange to similarly hand down to posterity the rest of that brilliant group of Powell's dear pupils—particularly the memory of the late C. V. Rangacharlu, C. I. E., whose colossal genius for statesmanship Mysore has honored with

a public hall, as well as of the name of the late C. V. Ranganada Sastrial who, please remember, gentlemen, as the first Proficient of the Presidency College, the first Indian Fellow of the Madras University, the first Indian Judge on the Small Cause Court here and the first and up-to-now the only linguist and scholar versed in fourteen different languages both Indian and European, had deserved so well some more public recognition and remembrance by constant reminders through similar annual meetings held on their birthdays.

Gentlemen, this city of Madras is yet the busy centre of the labours and activities of many of the sons of Tanjore District—young and old, and in all walks of life—and we pray that you will take our sincere efforts in the spirit we have conceived them and dare offer them to you. In so doing, I had often to requisition the services of several friends and admirers of the departed worthies and on this occasion our thanks are specially due to Diwan Bahadur V. Nagan Ayva of Trivandram who would have been present here to-day but for the heavy floods in the Tinnevely District rendering his long journey impossible, and who for our profit has sent his excellent survey of the life and career of the late Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao.

Letters from Absent Friends.

The Secretary next announced that he had received letters from many gentlemen regretting their inability to attend and sympathising with the purpose of the meeting. Among them were the Hon. Mr. V. K. Ramanujachariar of Kumbakonam, the Hon. Mr. K. Chidambaranada Mudaliar of Shiyali, Diwan Bahadur R. Ramachandra Rao of Nellore, His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, and last but not the least, from Mr. Dada-bhai Naoroji of Bombay, who has said: "I am glad that this meeting is to be held and I shall read with much interest the report of the address of Diwan Bahadur V. Nagam Ayya on the life and career of Sir T. Madhava Rao".

In the unavoidable absence of Mr. V. Nagam Ayya, and at the request of the Honorable Chairman, Mr. C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar, B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Madras, read some principal portions of the very long and exhaustive address sent for the occasion, of which the following is the full text :—

II—Introductory.

The subject of this evening's discourse Raja Sir. T. Madhava Rao, K. C. S. I., whom we are met here today to honor and whose example we wish our countrymen to follow, is a unique personality in the annals of Indian Statesmanship. Not only Kumbhakonam, the place of his birth nor even Madras where he received his education, but all India has reason to be proud of him. It is said that the world knows nothing of its greatest men. This maxim has been at any rate falsified in his case. For he was known and his merits acknowledged by his own school-fellows and school masters, his fellow-countrymen and colleagues, by the millions of the subjects of Native States who came under his sway, by his official chiefs whether European or Native and by his royal pupils and Sovereign-masters under whom he served, by His Majesty's representatives in India and the Ministry at home, by members of both Houses of Parliament and even by Foreign Governments as represented by Prince Bismark of Germany. In the Native States, which he administered his name was a house-hold word for justice and rectitude and sympathy with the weak and the oppressed. All

in the interests of the national welfare at the present juncture of our affairs.

Manu says "Let the King appoint ministers whose ancestors have been Royal servants, who are versed in the sciences, heroes skilled in the use of weapons and descended from noble families and who have been tried." These conditions were eminently fulfilled in the case of Sir Madhava Rao. For, before he was appointed to the office of Dewan, his ancestors had been Royal servants and were themselves descended from noble families, his father and uncle having been Dewans before him. He was undoubtedly versed in the sciences of the day and was a well-trying officer of the State before elevation to the Minister's place, but the skill in the use of weapons of which Manu speaks, was in those days of peace under the British Raj, satisfied by the skill in wielding the pen in which, of course, he remarkably excelled. He was thus in every way well-fitted for the place. And so far as the influence of a Minister in a Native State could go, it may be fairly said that modern Travancore is as much indebted to Sir Madhava Rao for its present prosperous condition as old Travancore was to

Rama Aiyen Dalawa, in the early days of its expansion and consolidation under Maha Rajah Marthanda Varma. A few facts of his life may therefore be given here with profit to the present and future generations of our countrymen.

Early Life and Education.

Madhava Rao was born in Kumbhakonam in November 1828 A. D. He belonged to one of these adventurous Mahratta families, which mingling with the great wave of conquest that during the last two centuries surged to the south through the Deccan and made Tanjore the chief outpost of the Mahratta Empire in the south settled in that part of India. His great-grand-father Gopal Pant and his grand-father Gundo Pant held offices of trust both under Native Chiefs and under the rising British power. Raya Raya Raya Venkata Rao, the eldest son of Gundo Pant cast his lot in the British service, but subsequently came to Travancore and became Dewan. His brother Renga Rao stuck longer to the British service, but when Deputy Sheristhadar of the Board of Revenue, he was called to Travancore, where he rose to his elder brother's office, and though he held it only

for a short period, he was a terror to evil-doers. Soon after his retirement from Travancore he died leaving three sons of whom Sir Madhava Rao was the youngest. His marriage was celebrated before he was twelve years old, as marriage is understood among us. Lady Madhava Rao also came of a highly respected family in the same District and bore him three sons and six daughters, herself living to an advanced old age in health and strength. Though our women do not take part in public affairs like their European sisters, they discharge their social, domestic and religious duties with great faith, precision and zeal and guide the younger members of their sex, in all matters pertaining to domestic discipline and household management, which are essentially outside the province of men. Lady Madhava Rao was one such remarkable house-wife well-known for her kindness and regard for her hospitality and liberality, for her great knowledge of religious rites and Brahminical ceremonies and for her numerous benefactions to her kith and kin and scores of dependants throughout her long life. She survived her illustrious husband by a few years and when she died was widely regretted; one of her dependants told me at the time that a hundred souls

who lived by her bounty were suddenly thrown destitute that day. This side of Hindu life is so little known outside the community and therefore the correct standards set up for our conduct and daily life are so little understood in these days.

Sir Madhava Rao himself was remarkable in that way. He helped scores of his poor relatives and dependants. He gave away small stipends amounting to Rs. 500 every month to his relatives and dependants and retired servants. His old and faithful agent tells me that he had thus given away three lakhs of rupees during his life time. Every time he visited his native village Kumbhakonam and Tanjore, he went round on his visits of enquiry at every relative's house. One day he asked an old lady among his kinswomen what she wanted. She said she wished to eat some sugar candy. He ordered a large quantity and gave it to her. She thanked him and blessed him. To the young princes at Trivandrum he would send fried bananas or bread-fruit. To the poor boys in the moffusil villages which he visited on tour he would in his morning walks buy and distribute plantain fruits and fried rice. In the wild tracts of Travancore infested by elephants and tigers he lived on

the tops of trees with the help of the hill tribes (locally known as Velans and Kanikkars) whom he befriended by giving them large quantities of tobacco and salts so highly esteemed by them. He used to enter into long conversations with them, enquiring after their daily routine and troubles and hardships, promising them every help in his power. On one occasion he showed them a looking-glass which of course they had never seen before, and in the style of the savages they were, they tried to seize with their hands the images which it reflected. This gratified and puzzled them. He had a fascination for the life of the simple villager in the east coast districts and romantic admiration for the open varandah and the mud-cushioned sofa pyall at one end, on which the house-owner reclined. He envied the poor villager's lot which however was not given to him to enjoy. If Sir Madhava Rao had not received an English education and got less in the whirlpool of politics and administration, he might have been a happy and contented villager and prolonged his days on earth, and given us another Valmiki Ramayana in Mah-ratti in simple Arya verses, to the eternal delectation of millions of his Hindu brethren. He paid special attention to his studies in Mah-ratti which

he soon mastered. Little wonder, then, that so lovely a child should have been the object of affectionate solicitude to his parents, while all Trevandrum who saw him as a youth of 22 were fascinated and charmed with him; so handsome, intelligent and so modest. He was "the leading star of every eye." At the age of 35 when I must have first seen him, he was a handsome man of short stature, jetblack hair, fair complexion, well-made limbs, brilliant eyes, with small and delicate hands and a face expressive of great will power and force of character. His father died when he was 11 years old and his mother when he was 12. He then became the ward of his eldest brother Vasudeava Rao who stood in *locoparentis* to him, attending to the boy's personal wants and directing his studies.

About 60 years ago, Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Madras, gave an impetus to Higher English education in Southern India which has borne the happiest fruits. Mr. E. B. Powell C.S.I. Head master of the High School, Madras, then fresh from Cambridge, where he had earned academic distinction, entered upon his duties with all the hope, zeal and earnestness of the first tiller of a rich, virgin soil. Young Madhava Rao had the

good fortune to be one of the very first set of recruits that came up to be drilled by this excellent tactician. Gifted naturally with the highest order of talents yet displayed by India, Madhava Rao pursued his studies with an industry, a perseverance and a singleness of purpose which were fully rewarded. The Hon. Sir A. J. Arbuthnot in 1873, while acting Governor of Madras, referred to Sir Madhava Rao thus:—"It was during the period to which I allude that there was being trained up for the kingdom of Travancore which for some years past has been justly regarded as a model Native State, a Native Statesman who first in the capacity of Tutor to the heir to the throne and afterwards in the capacity of Minister, has largely aided in raising that State to its present position". He was "the brightest of that bright band" of the Madras High School Proficients, to whom a sound, varied and impressive education was imparted. His scholastic career extended over nearly 6 years, during which he once acted for Mr. Powell for a short time, which considering that there were European Junior masters of no mean abilities at the time must be taken as a solid compliment to his worth. In 1846 he received his "First Class Proficient's Degree and Seal" from the most noble the Marquis of

Tweeddale, who had succeeded Lord Elphinstone to the Madras Governorship.

At the end of his educational career when he left the High School as a Proficient of the First Class, Mr. E. B. Powell, M. A., C. S. I., Principal of the School and subsequently Director of Public Instruction gave him the following certificate.—"Having been solicited by T. Madava Row to give him a private testimonial, I feel very great pleasure in complying with his request. This young man was a scholar of the High School from its opening in 1841 till the 15th May 1846, when he had the honor of receiving a Certificate of the highest grade from the hands of Lord Tweeddale. The attainments of T. Madava Row are far more extensive than those of most native young men: his aptitude for pure Mathematics and Physics is decidedly very great, and his proficiency in those branches of knowledge is such as would secure him an honorable position even in the University of Cambridge. With the outlines of history he is fairly acquainted, and an idea of his general stock of information may be formed from the list of subjects he has studied and which I have appended to this testimonial. I may further remark that the conduct and manners of T. Madava Row have always been

gentleman-like, and I sincerely hope that his success in life may be such as will reward him for his past industry and good behaviour."

It was a favourite expression of the late Revd T. Pattigrow, one of the most versatile Chaplains that ever came to Travancore, and a gentleman who knew both Sir Madhava Rao, and Seshiah Sastri intimately, to say. "If I talked English like Sir Madhava Rao and wrote it like Seshiah, I shall be the greatest man in Europe,"—a high testimony indeed in any case, but which every one who knew the two statesmen closely would most ungrudgingly corroborate. On this point, Mr. T. Ananda Row, C. I. E., retired Dewan of Mysore and the eldest son of Sir Madhava Rao wrote to me:—"At page 579, Vol. 1, you quote the Rev. Mr. Pattigrow's opinion of the attainments in the English language of Sir Madhava Rao and Seshiah Sastri. As a matter of fact they were rivals for the Elphinstone prize in Essay writing. Sir Madhava Rao wrote on "Education" and Seshiah on "Civilization". There was a tie between the two and Seshiah won the prize for his more chaste and polished English, Madhava Rao's essay being praised with a qualification that it was "bombastic". Both the essays are printed in the Madras High School Reports (or Calenders)

of the day". Barring this one defect of a bombastic style, in every other respect he surpassed his school-fellows.

As an Accountant.

Early in 1847 he got an appointment in the Accountant-General's Office in which he continued for a little more than two years.

Sir T. V. Stonhouse bore the following testimony to young Madhava Rao's work in the Accountant-General's Office, Fort St. George:—"This is to certify that T. Madhava Rao, served in this office from 15th February 1847 to the 30th April 1849 and during that period he conducted the duties entrusted to him so much to my satisfaction that it was my intention to have promoted him immediately to a situation of much higher rank and emolument had he remained in this office. He leaves this office at his own request having been selected by His Highness the Rajah of Travancore to be preceptor to his sons".

Tutor to the Princes, Deputy-Peishkar and Dewan-Peishkar of Travancore.

Maharajah Marthanda Varma had succeeded his elder brother in the sovereignty of Travancore

at the end of 1846. The germ of the financial crisis which afterwards attained no small magnitude, was then budding. Lieut. General William Cullen of the Madras Artillery, the handsome adjutant of his youthful days, and who in a remarkable manner possessed the chief traits of character of the fine old Indian was Resident - Nawab at the Court of Travancore. His protege, the amiable but feeble Krishna Rao, was Dewan. General Cullen with all his failings was himself proud of his scholastic attainment and valued the advantages of education in others. He strongly urged on the Maharajah the necessity of giving a good English education to his nephews; and recommended the choice of a well-educated man, as tutor to the young princes. The choice fortunately fell on young Madhava Rao who continued as Tutor for 4 years and a half. It may be observed that one of his pupils, the then first Prince, Rama Varma, was made a Fellow of the Madras University a year before Madava Rao's own admission into the Senate. The Prince was alluded to in flattering terms by Lord Napier in the Viceregal Legislative Council in speaking of the late Lord Mayo's earnest endeavours to secure the aid of competent Natives in Indian Legislation.

He was also offered a seat in the Viceroy's Legislative Council, which from considerations of health he had to decline. From a Tutor Madhava Rao was appointed in April 1853 to a responsible office in the revenue line under the Dewan. This was as a Deputy Peishkar in the Dewan's Cutcherry in charge of the Devaswam (temples), Choukey (customs), Elephant and Anchal (Postal) Departments. This post he held for 2 years and drew a salary of Rs. 300.

Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Madras and Bombay wrote "I am surely happy to hear of the signal success in life of one of the pupils of the Madras High School, one who entered that institution when it was first established, who remained in it long enough to reap the full amount of benefit which a liberal education can impart, and who left it with all the distinction which all the highest academical honors can confer. Let me congratulate you most heartily upon your recent advancement and let me express my confident hope that you will attain eventually to still higher honors".

The Court of Directors wrote :—The proficiency of the young Princes, nephews of the Rajah in the English language and in general knowledge,

under the tuition of Madhava Rao is highly creditable both to the pupils and to the teacher, and the Rajah has evinced a proper sense of the value of such instruction by conferring an honourable and lucrative office on Madhava Rao."

The Madras Government observed in their Minutes of consultation:—"It has afforded the Right Hon. the Governor-in-Council much gratification to learn the progress which some of the young Princes have made in their education under the superintendence of T. Madhava Rao and the appreciation of His Highness of the services of their tutor in his recent advancement to an important public office, the duties of which his talents and acquirements give reason to believe he will perform with ability".

His Highness Marthanda Varma Rajah wrote to Madhava Rao:—"The unaffected zeal with which you undertook and satisfactorily succeeded in improving my nephews by imparting useful and liberal education; the ardour, interest, and integrity manifested by you in the capacity of a public servant; and the skill with which you have been conducting the affairs immediately under your guidance to my full and entire satisfaction, are services too valuable to pass unnoticed or unrewarded".

Of his work as Dewan-Peishkar of the Southern Division, the Rev. P. Baylis of Neyoor wrote to him:—"On the first day of the new year I feel bound to congratulate you on the improved state of the District which has been for some months under your charge. It has given me much pleasure to see the integrity, energy and impartiality with which you have fulfilled the duties of your office, so far as they have come under my observation and also to hear the good opinions expressed by people of all classes respecting you; for I have not hitherto found the people here accustomed to speak well of their Rulers. I refer more particularly to the Police Districts of Erncel and Culecolum, as it is with these that I am most acquainted."

"During the years 1854 and 1855, and up to the time you were settled here, this part of the country was thoroughly disorganised. The Sirkar officials generally were more corrupt, taking advantage of their position to fleece the people in every possible way. Cases of house-breaking and highway robbery often attended with brutal violence were very numerous, so that the inhabitants were in constant terror; for the perpetrators of these outrages had little fear of real punishment having already made friends to the officials who should

have been the protectors of the people, or having the means to do so. Complaints to the Police Officers respecting the oppressions practised by the petty officials were generally treated with contempt and unheard. I cannot but feel thankful that there has been so great a change for the better. The inhabitants may now sleep in their houses or go about their ordinary pursuits in safety, for the vigour with which you have followed up robbers and other criminals until their capture, has shown them plainly that they are no longer privileged members of the community; while the successful efforts you made to secure the recapture of Kalem and other notable robbers, who escaped from the Nagercoil jail must have taught them a lesson they will not soon forget, while it has given fresh confidence and security to the peaceable inhabitants".

Lord Harris, Governor of Madras wrote :—
 " His Lordship is much gratified to hear such good and satisfactory accounts from you and to add that he quite approves of the measures which you are introducing which all appear calculated to do much good and to act salutarily. His Lordship hopes that you will continue to advance in the right course which you have adopted and looks forward

to great results from your connection with the administration of affairs in the Travancore State".

The Resident Gen. W. Cullen wrote to Dewan Krishna Rao :—" I beg to forward to you an original report from the Dewan-Peishkar Madhava Rao, detailing the arrangements he had made for the detection of the gross frauds so long known to exist in the conveyance of salt from Nanjinad to Travandrum, in which he has been singularly successful. The Peishkar is entitled to the greatest credit for the perseverance and intelligence with which he has so promptly exposed, and I hope strangled for ever, the corruption that has marked this branch of revenue. You will of course submit the report to His Highness the Maharajah.....
I hope you will give the Peishkar the strongest support and encouragement to continue his exertions, and to establish on a sure foundation the reforms he has so successfully introduced".

His Highness the Rajah himself wrote to Madhava Rao :—" It affords me much pleasure and satisfaction to learn that your management in the Southern Districts, since you were detached there, has proved highly beneficial, and that great improvements have been effected in various branches of administration under your control. I have only

to repeat my full approbation and appreciation of all your proceeding, and gratification at the happy result of your unremitting exertions. I have no doubt that the continuance of such activity and vigilance on your part will introduce similar and more substantial improvements to the Sirkar and your example will be a worthy model not only for your colleagues and subordinates, but even to some higher in rank, if they would only follow it”.

The late J.B Norton, Advocate-General, spoke in the course of a Public address at Pacheappa's Institute in Madras :—“ I cannot here pass from the subject without another public mention of Madhava Rao the most distinguished of all the High School Alumni. His course has long been before the public. After leaving the school with the highest distinctions and after honourable employ in the service of the Madras Government at the Presidency Capital he went to Travancore on the invitation of the Rajah to superintend the education of the young Princes. How he discharged that task I happen, so far as one of the Princes is concerned, personally to know; and it is a proud satisfaction to think that he has instilled into the bosom of that young man the same love of the principles of justice and honesty as actuate him-

self. Thence he was appointed to a post under the Dewan, and during this last year he has had an independent charge of two districts of the kingdom; how he has administered that important charge I am about to state. I believe that the representations constantly before the public of the State of Travancore are not the least exaggerated; that nothing could be worse than its condition of anarchy than the entire dissolution of the elements of society. The missionaries have petitioned the Government on the State of misery and anarchy into which the country is plunged—a warning, by no means indistinct, as to the consequence of the state of things has been conveyed by the Government of Madras to the sovereign; yet, within the space of one short year, Madhava Rao has called forth order out of disorder, has distributed justice between man and man without fear and favour, has expelled decoits, has raised the revenue, and his minutes and state papers show the liberality, the soundness, and statesmanship of his views and principles.

“ He has received the thanks of the sovereign, he has obtained the voluntary admiring testimony of some of the very missionaries who memorialised, to the excellence of his administration. Now here

is a man raised up, as it were, amid the anarchy and confusion of his country, to save it from destruction. Annexation, looming in the not-far distant future would be banished into the shades of night, if such an administration as he has introduced into two districts were given to the whole kingdom by his advancement to the post of Minister. He is indeed a splendid example of what education may do for the Native".

As Dewan of Travancore.

General Cullen wrote to the Madras Government that "H. H. has since proposed to me that Madhava Rao should, for the present, be placed in charge of the administration, as Acting Dewan." From the time he became Dewan of Travancore in January 1858 to the day of his retirement from the Baroda State in 1882, i. e., during a period of 24 years as Minister and Dewan-Regent his career may be said to have been one long triumphal procession accompanied by flourish of trumpets and booming of guns. It was a unique success, unparalleled in the annals of Indian History, and unapproached by any Indian Minister of recent times.

Dewan Madhava Rao first directed himself to the improvement of the internal affairs of the country. At the same time he strengthened the relations of Travancore with the Madras Government. The first few years of his administration were devoted to fiscal reforms. He represented to the authorities and to the leading men of Southern India the true state of affairs in Travancore and disabused the minds of the grossly wrong impressions formed of oppression and misrule here. The Madras Government were satisfied with the new turn the administration had taken since his assumption of office.

In praise of his work.

In September 1858 Lord Harris visited Travancore. This visit to Trivandrum left a very favourable impression on Lord Harris' mind regarding the Maha Rajah and the administration of the State under the new Dewan. In his minute drawn up soon after his return from Travancore, His Excellency observed :—"I have been rejoiced to find that considerable improvements have taken place in the management of the finances of the Travancore State under Madava Row the Dewan. Salaries are now regularly paid, instead of being as

formerly, many months in arrears, and there appears to be generally greater contentment and satisfaction than formerly".

The Upper-cloth Problem.

The Madras Government also informed the Court of Directors :—"Since the appointment of Madava Rew, petitions from Travancore have much abated both in number and tone, affording good grounds to hope that the administration is by his exertions being placed on an improved footing."

In December 1848, the Shanar disturbance in South Travancore connected with what is known as the "Upper-cloth Question", caused grave anxiety to the Sirkar. Reference to Travancore history will indicate the date of the establishment of the London Mission Society in South Travancore; and the great toleration afforded to the Christian Missions by the Travancore Government, led to the rapid spread of Christianity in Nanjunad. The result was that the Shanar converts (it may be observed here that the mission work of conversion was mostly if not exclusively confined to the Shanars, Pariahs and other low caste people), who were looked down upon by the High caste Hindus, relying on the support of the missionaries, caused

great annoyance to them. The *casus belli* in this case arose from the Shanar Christian females assuming the costumes of high caste women. By long standing custom the inferior classes of the population were forbidden to wear an upper cloth of the kind used by the higher classes. During the administration of Colonel Munro a circular order was issued permitting the women referred to, to cover their bodies with jackets (kuppayam) like the women of Syrian Christians, Moplahs and such others, but the native christian females would not have anything less than the apparel of the highest castes. So they took the liberty of appearing in public not only with the kuppayam already sanctioned, but with an additional cloth or scarf over the shoulders as worn by the women of the higher castes. These pretensions of the Shanar-convert women were resented by the high caste Nayars and other Sudras who took the law into their own hands and used violence to those who infringed long-standing custom and caste distinctions. Both the rival factions took their stand upon the Queen's Proclamation of 1858. As the *Calcutta Reviewer* on the career of Sir. T. Madhava Rao wrote :—

"Certain castes were restricted to certain

modes of wearing their clothes; and deviations from the prescribed modes were jealously watched and opposed by other castes. The women of Shanans or toddy-drawers who abound in South Travancore and from among whom the Protestant Missionaries have for the last sixty years reaped the richest harvest, had been prevented from covering the upper part of their person. Acting upon the advice of Col. Morrison, then Resident, the Rani Regent had so far modified this restriction as to permit the wearing by Christian Shanar woman of the Kuppayam (a sort of shirt). The mutual jealousies between the Shanars and Sudras were dormant for some time, but the Queen's Proclamation of November 1858 on the assumption of the direct Government of India renovated these feelings. The Shanars imagined that it permitted them to infringe existing rules: while the Sudras equally considered it as sanctioning their taking the law into their own hands to repress what they took as an aggression into their caste domains. Serious affrays ensued, and they were aggravated by the gratuitous interference of petty Sirkar officials whose general standard of capacity and moral worth we have already alluded to. Public peace was imperilled".

Serious breaches of the peace occurred in the Taluqs of Vilavankod, Kalkulam, Agasteswaram and Tovalam and the Sirkar was forced to interfere and legislate on the matter. The Proclamation of 1829 clearly permitted the female Shanar converts to cover their bosoms with a jacket as decency required, but strictly prohibited their adopting high caste costume. But the Shanars still persisted in setting at defiance the high caste Hindus and made themselves odious to them. In this they were encouraged by the missionaries who represented that complaints against the Shanar converts to the Resident were 'partial, unprincipled and corrupt,' and people outside Travancore were made to believe that the low castes here were being persecuted by the higher castes and by Government. In December 1858, the two communities had assumed hostile positions against each other and troubles of a serious nature broke out. The Sudras openly attacked the Shanar women who dared to appear in public in high caste costume, and the Shanars duly retaliated.

Dewan Madava Row grappled with the situation with his characteristic energy and thoroughness and in this he was cordially aided by Deputy

Peishkar Shungoonny Menon, an officer of considerable experience and capacity then in charge of the Southern Division. The military were called out and a large auxiliary police force was entertained. But the Christians were not satisfied with the cautious and careful action the Dewan adopted and therefore viewed his proceedings with distrust. The Dewan personally inspected the disaffected parts of the country and impressed on all the necessity for implicit obedience to the authority of the State and conformity to the existing law. To quote his own words :—

“The Deputy Peishkar in charge of the Southern Division too thought it desirable that some kind of public warning was necessary. It is obvious that as long as the Proclamation of 1829 is in force, the Shanars, both Hindu and Christian, are bound to conform to its provisions: that no section of the subjects can be permitted to infringe a law affecting the great majority of the people, on the ground, that in their opinion, the law ought to be changed: that the only legitimate course open to them is to continue to submit to it and formally to apply to the Sirkar for a change with such facts and arguments as they may have to urge in their favour. On these considerations a public warning

was given on the 27th December last to the effect that existing rules and usages should be respected, that if any class of people desired a change, they should represent the case to the Sirkar and await its decision; that on the other hand, on no account should breaches of the peace be caused.”

This of course did not satisfy the missionaries who considered the Dewan's action as a proof of his 'gross and unconcealed partiality' to the high-caste Hindus. They then petitioned first the Maharajah, and then the Government of Madras, to cancel this and the previous proclamation and substitute a more decidedly favourable and liberal one.

By this time, Lord Harris had been succeeded by Sir Charles Trevelyan, as Governor of Madras. His Excellency from the very moment he took up the subject seems to have been prejudiced and wrote to the Resident in these strong terms :—

“I have seldom met with a case, in which not only truth and justice, but every feeling of our common humanity are so entirely on one side. The whole civilised world would cry shame upon us, if we did not make a firm stand on such an occasion. If any thing could make this line of conduct more incumbent on us, it would be the

extraordinary fact that persecution of a singularly personal and delicate kind is attempted to be justified by the Royal Proclamation, the special object of which was to assure to Her Majesty's Indian subjects, liberty of thought and action, so long as they did not interfere with the just rights of others. I should fail in respect to Her Majesty if I attempted to describe the feelings with which she must regard the use against her own sex, of the promises of protection so graciously accorded by her. It will be your duty to impress these views on His Highness the Maha Rajah, and to point out to him that such prohibitions as those conveyed in the Circular Order of May 1814 or in the Proclamation of the 3rd February 1829, are unsuited to the present age and unworthy of an enlightened prince."

* This powerful minute was evidently written under the impression that the privilege of covering the besom had been entirely denied to the Shanar convert females. Such however was not the case. The demands of decency had already been met, but the disturbance arose from the attempt of Shanar women, Hindu as well as convert, to assume the costume of the women of the higher castes. This became the inflammable material

connected with religion and caste which nearly caused a general conflagration in Travancore. The mischief was however arrested by the thoughtful action promptly taken by Dewan Madava Row, the correctness of which action was upheld by the Madras Government and by the Secretary of State later on. Madava Row sent up a report on it in February 1859, in which he gave a clear and concise account of the origin, development and suppression of the disturbances. He stated the case between the rival factions in the fairest and most dispassionate terms. The letter itself is eloquent besides being weighty and statesmanlike, and appears to the historian of to-day a masterpiece of patient enquiry, thought and judgment, containing an exposition of general administrative principles which held good for all time. Every line in it bears the impress of a mastermind. And in the light of the fact that it was written half a century ago by a young and untried official barely thirty years old, in defence of customs and conservative institutions which are always at a discount in a democratic age and by the side of a more prosaic though powerful civilisation, where cheap fame could be earned by a denunciation of ancient usages and cherished privileges in order to satisfy a

morbid craving for change and new forms, however opposed they may be to the genius of the nation or the needs of the times, the document may take rank among the first class state papers on record, and as such if produced here, will better elucidate the subsequent events that led to Travancore being recognised as the Model Native State of India; but space does not permit my doing it.

In concluding his report after personal enquiry and investigation on the spot, Dewan Madava Row wrote thus:—"I am happy to add that without the necessity of resorting to extreme measures having arisen, tranquillity has been restored. I have the pleasure to acknowledge here the zealous exertion of the Deputy Peishkar Shungoony Menon on this occasion."... "Though matters had assumed a very serious aspect, I am glad to be able to state that the mischief already done is far from being very considerable. No loss of life or limb has occurred any where. The authority of the Sirkar having been vindicated, it may perhaps be desirable to take an early opportunity to consider what modifications should be made in the proclamation of 1004 so as to suit the requirements of altered times and circumstances and satisfy all parties as far as it may be possible to do so."

The Madras Government observed in their Minutes of Consultation dated 12th March 1859, "The (Dewan's) Report appears to Government to be a temperate and fair statement, and they hope that no further disturbances or breaches of the peace need now be apprehended." They also added:—"That Government will hope to learn at an early date, what arrangement had been made by the Dewan. The principle on which it should proceed has already been laid down by Government in the last para of Extract Minutes of Consultation, 27th January 1859. General Cullen will inform Government what communication he has held with His Highness the Rajah in furtherance of the instructions then conveyed to him. The degree of interference which for many years past has been exercised by the representative of the British Government in the Affairs of Travancore is so large, and his intervention so general, that the credit or discredit of the administration greatly rests with the British Government and it has thereby become their duty to insist upon the observance of a system of toleration, in a more decided manner, than they would be at liberty to adopt, if they had merely to bring their influence to bear on an independent stage."

The whole correspondence having been laid before His Highness the Maharajah, the Dewan again wrote to the Resident on the 17th May 1859 thus:—"The whole subject has had careful consideration. His Highness certainly feels that the provisions of the proclamation of 1004 M. E., on the subject of the dress of the inferior castes require to be greatly modified. His Highness now proposes to abolish all rules prohibiting the covering the upper parts of the persons of Shanar women and to grant them perfect liberty to meet the requirements of decency any way they may deem proper, with the simple restriction that they do not imitate the same mode of dress that appertains to the higher castes."... "His Highness desires to observe that anxious as he is to meet the wishes of Government to the utmost of his power and to give free scope for the improvement of the moral and social condition of his subjects of all classes, His Highness would not have made even this small reservation, were it not for the fear, that the sudden and total abolition of all distinctions of dress, which have from time immemorial distinguished one caste from another, may produce most undesirable impressions on the mind of the larger portion of his subjects and cause their serious

discontent. Still, I am to observe that by the present concession, the demands of decency have been fully answered, without needlessly offending the feelings peculiar to the other castes."... "It is of course needless to remind you of those many circumstances, which would make the introduction of decisive reforms, especially in matters of caste and religion, much more difficult in Travancore than in Her Majesty's territories. While therefore the progress of education among the people in general may be expected to pave the way for much greater changes, His Highness hopes that the arrangement now proposed, the only one which seems to be calculated to answer the object in view without the probability of disturbing the peace of the country, would meet with your approval and that of the Madras Government.

A Royal Proclamation was accordingly issued on the 26th July 1859 abolishing all restrictions in the matter of the covering of the upper parts of the Shanar women and granting them perfect liberty to meet the requirements of decency in any way they might deem proper with the simple reservation, however, that they should not imitate the dress of the women of high castes. The Secretary of State for India approved of this action of

the Travancore Sirkar in his despatch to the Madras Government, dated 19th August 1859, thus:—"It is unnecessary to recapitulate the circumstances attending the outbreak occasioned by the assumption on the part of certain Shanar women of the garment known as the "Upper Cloth". Public tranquillity has now been restored and it is hoped that the measures adopted by the Travancore State will prevent the recurrence of these painful disputes and embarrassing disturbances." "From the enclosures to your letter of the 7th June, I learn that the Rajah proposes to abolish all rules prohibiting the covering of the upper parts of the persons of Shanar women and to grant them perfect liberty to meet the requirements of decency in any way they may deem proper with the simple restriction that they do not imitate the same mode of dress that appertains to the higher castes. With this concession, though it falls short of what you originally contemplated, you deem it expedient, under the circumstances stated, to be satisfied, and I am of opinion that you are right in accepting the proposed concession and earnestly hope that it will have the desired effect."

General Cullen who had been Resident at the Court of Travancore for over twenty years retired

in the early part of 1860, greatly to the regret of the whole country. "To His Highness, General Cullen was the kindest of friends, to the officials he was a benevolent patron, and to the inhabitants he was an affectionate and judicious protector." He wrote a warm eulogium on the Dewan as well as on the Native Government just before his retirement (31st December 1859):—"I cannot allow my residence at the Court of His Highness the Rajah of Travancore to close without expressing to yourself and to all the high officers of Government in its several branches the sense I entertain of their valuable services." "Yourself originally selected for your conspicuous talents and acquirements for the confidential post of Tutor to the young princes of His Highness the Rajah's family, you have since gradually attained to the very high and important office of Dewan, a promotion justified by your previous services in the subordinate grades and the character which you have uniformly continued to maintain for high principles and ability. I have no doubt that your administration which is already affording indications of substantial improvements, will be ultimately attended with the most satisfactory results. Ardently desiring the increasing

property of this beautiful country and the lengthened rule of its present enlightened and benevolent sovereign I have the honor &c."

General Cullen retired from the Residency and died at Alleppy in 1862. His long residence in India had unfitted him to return to the old country. He was succeeded by Mr. F. N. Maltby who was a very capable officer, and we gave a whole-hearted support to Dewan Madava Row. The late Maharajah described Mr. F. N. Maltby in the *Calcutta Review* (October 1872) thus:—"The new year brought with it a new Resident. The Madras Presidency affords little or no field for the development of diplomatic talents; and its services both civil and military have seldom been adorned by men of distinction in this line. But this general void only made Mr. Francis Maltby shine all the more. He was every way fit to represent the British Government in a Native Court. His great official experience, his eminent talents, his excellent literary powers, his warm and generous heart, his human sympathies, his keen sense of humour, his love of truth and justice, his abhorrence of all that was mean and morally sinuous and his polished and persuasive manners, formed a happy combination rarely seen. A deep and self-humiliating, but

unobtrusive, religious faith ran through every vein of his moral frame. His commanding person, his noble mien, his rare but mild and efficacious smile, his well-weighed and self-flowing speech and the deep base voice, were externals which immensely add to the dignity and effect of the whole character. It was on him Sir Charles Trevelyan's choice worthily fell."

In their united endeavours they were supported by Prince Visagom Thirunal who proved to them an able adviser and friendly critic. There used to appear in almost every issue of the *Indian Statesman*, then edited by John Bruce Norton of Madras, stirring letters entitled. "Topics for Mr. F. N. Maltby" under the nom-de-plume of Brutus. These letters created a sensation at the time and were gladly welcomed by the Resident himself.

A New Maharaja.

Maharajah Marthanda Varma died in 1860. It was to this Maharajah that Mr. Madava Row owed his appointment as Dewan and Madava Row was therefore deeply grateful to the Maharajah. His earnestness, candour, kindness and natural generosity of heart endeared His Highness to all. He was succeeded by his nephew the penultimate Maharajah (Ayilliam Thirunal) the senior of his

two royal pupils. And during the ten years that followed. Sir Madava Row virtually ruled the State in His Highness name.

In his installation speech the Maharajah observed :—

“It is gratifying that I have at the very outset of my career the opportunity to carry out several measures for the good of the country which have been already initiated in the time of my lamented uncle. I may instance the proposed abolition of the pepper monopoly and the substitution of an export duty. I may also instance the extension of public works and more especially the Victoria Marthanda Varma canal. These and such other measures as the country required will steadily occupy my best attention and will be prosecuted to the utmost extent that our resources will permit. ... And I am quite sure that there is no better way for Native Princes of India of gaining the approbation of the great Queen who holds benevolent sway over these extensive realms than by ensuring to their respective subjects the advantages of a peaceful, just and benevolent administration.”

The year 1860, the first of His Highness' reign was one of the most unfavourable on record as

regards the condition of the people and finance of the country. “The land revenue of the State fell by more than two lakhs of Rupees, owing to the large remissions which became imperative. In concluding his report for the year the Dewan observed :—“I have thus briefly compared the financial results of a singularly adverse, with those of a prosperous, year, of course the gap is the more strikingly visible. I venture to think that there is ample cause to congratulate this State that it felt no financial embarrassment even under such adverse combination of circumstances and that it was able, while materially sacrificing revenue for the benefit of the subjects, to afford substantial relief to the distressed who crowded in thousands, to allot the unprecedentedly large sum of Rs. 2,28,000 to public works and even to liquidate a good portion of the former years' Public debt and still to hand over a satisfactory balance for the expenses of the next year.”

Financial reforms.

If in the course of this sketch only slight, very slight reference is made to Sir Madava Row's official reports and State papers on the land revenue.

the monopolies, customs duties, the Excise and other taxes, it is because those papers are so voluminous and form so many essays on questions of Political Economy, trade, and taxation worthy of careful study and research by the students of Adam Smith, Ricardo, J. S. Mill, Bentham, Fawcett, Cairnes, Jevons, Sidgwick, Marshall, Thorold, Rogers, Keynes and Nicholson. The present writer has himself closely followed Sir Madava Row's studies of those subjects and has carefully perused his official papers from time to time with admiration and profit.

The abolition of the tobacco monopoly was a stroke of statesmanship reflecting the highest credit on Dewan Madava Row. It entailed a somewhat large fiscal sacrifice at the time. But subsequent history showed the absolute correctness of the reform. We find that while in 1856 to 57 the last year of Krishna Row's administration when the monopoly was in full swing, three thousand four hundred and sixty Kandies were sold which brought in a net revenue of Rs. 8,48,978, in 1858 to 59 the import duty on 8156 Kandies brought in a revenue of Rs. 8,36,684. "Thus while a world of the most heinous crimes was made no longer possible, while their still worse demoralising

influence was removed, while trade was so largely unfettered and while the innocent enjoyment of a luxury by the millions was favoured, the loss to the Sircar was brought down to the paltry sum of Rs. 12,294."

On the interportal trade duties Sir Madhava Rao wrote in his administration report for 1862 to 1863;—"This unnatural diversion of trade has subjected it to troubles, expense and delay, while it has almost paralysed the action of the ports of Travancore especially of Alleppey with all its remarkable natural advantages which have been largely added to by the construction of a first-rate light house and other improvements effected by the Sircar. But all this evil is not compensated by advantage to the British Government which has to some extent missed its aim in point of revenue so far as this country is concerned, and has been unconsciously instrumental only in turning a handsome revenue into the Treasury of the Cochin Sircar at the expense of Travancore." After considerable discussion these hardships were cured to some extent by the Madras Government with the sanction of the Government of India, on the first of June 1865.

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Miscellaneous Improvements.

Sir Madhava Rao introduced several important judicial reforms. In 1861 the Sircar Anchal (postal service) was thrown open to the public and arrangements were made for the conveyance of private letters at rates framed on the British Indian model. The Dewan also turned his attention to the general system of taxation prevalent in the country. Several important measures were adopted in 1040 M. E. (1864 - 1865 A. D.) all more or less bearing on land or the revenue derived from land. Long-standing arrears of land tax which hung heavily on the ryots and afforded considerable scope for oppression on the part of petty officials were remitted up to a definite period, (1030 M. E.) as also arrears of tax due on newly-reclaimed land up to 1035 M. E. A number of minor taxes, upwards of 100, which used to be source of vexation and embarrassment, were abolished. The export and import duties were largely cut down and in one heavily taxed district (Nanjanad) the land tax was also reduced. A notification was issued prescribing a certain maximum rate of tax and ordering that all existing taxation in the Nanjanad in excess of that maximum rate should be

reduced at once to that standard. But the most important measure carried out in that year was the enfranchisement of Sircar Pattom lands and the removal of the uncertainties attached to pattom tenure, by the notification in June 1865 declaring that all pattom lands should be private heritable and saleable property thus placing them on the same footing as the Ryotwari lands of the Madras Presidency. This was followed by another beneficent notification under date 8th May 1867 ensuring fixity of tenure and unrestricted continuity of enjoyment of his holding to the agricultural ryot.

The reorganization of the highest court in the land, the improvement in the system of registration of the deeds, the establishment of a college for Higher English education, the spread of Vernacular education by the opening of schools for boys and girls all over the country, the opening of Hospitals, Lunatic Asylums, the arrangements made for the popularisation of vaccination, the organization of the Public Works Department are all so many beacon-lights that mark his career in Travancore.

The title of Maha Rajah was conferred on His Highness in 1866 in recognition of his excellent administration of Travancore.

His Legal acumen.

Though a layman all his life, so far as legal questions were concerned, he had just enough knowledge of law which an administrator required, and that added to his natural legal acumen enabled him to deal with points of law with consummate ability and tact. One such case brought out this quality of Sir Madhava Rao's to prominent notice. It had been declared by the Government of India so early as 1837 that "Europeans residing in territories of Native States not being servants of the British Government, were in all cases civil or criminal, subject to the law of the country in which they reside." But the question as to the liability of European British Subjects had long remained unsettled. It came up for discussion in 1866 in connection with the trial of John Liddel, Commercial Agent at Alleppey who stood charged with having embezzled a large sum of Sircar money. The Travancore Government tried him by a special commission which found him guilty and sentenced him to two years' imprisonment. The trial was declared by the Madras Government as illegal and as contrary to the provisions of the Proclamation of the Government of India dated 10th January

1867 issued under and in conformity with 28 Vict. C 15 with the result that Liddel's immediate release was ordered. The Government based their order on the opinion of the Advocate-General who said that the effect of the Statute and Proclamation was to put an end to the jurisdiction of the Travancore Courts over British subjects and that the jurisdiction hitherto exercised did not appear to rest on any treaty but to have been ceded by courtesy and comity. Dewan Madhava Rao saw in an instant that the Advocate-General's opinion was untenable and felt confident that he could bring about a modification of the Government's view on the point. But he moved in that matter with characteristic caution. He promised compliance to the wishes of the Madras Government but before accepting their view as final on the important question of jurisdiction over European British Subjects he wrote to the Resident requesting him to lay before the Madras Government "certain counter consideration and arguments on the general questions at issue which may possibly lead to a modification of their views on the subject." In a series of very able letters he had completely refuted the opinion of the Advocate General and the decision arrived at by the Madras Government on the basis

of that opinion. His arguments rest mainly on the following four grounds:—

(1) The jurisdiction in question is an inherent right of sovereignty;

(2) The Travancore State being one ruled by its own Ruler possesses that right;

(3) It has not been shown on behalf of the British Government that the Travancore State ever ceded this right because it was never ceded;

and (4) The Governor-General's Notification did not deprive Travancore of this right, but only distributed what right the British Government had already possessed.

His successful fight for trying European British subjects.

Sir Madava Row sought and obtained the legal opinion of that eminent lawyer Mr. John D. Mayne then practising at Madras, who completely demolished the Advocate General's view and supported those of Sir Madava Row. As to the effect of the Proclamation Mr. Mayne observed:—"It cannot of course go beyond the powers given by the Statute; the Statute though binding on all British Subjects, has of course no force against the Sovereign of

Travancore or its servants who were not subject to the authorities of the British Parliament. Even if the Statute purported in express terms to take away a jurisdiction previously exercised by the Courts of Travancore, it would be simply inoperative against them. Parliament is as incapable of taking away the powers of a Court in Travancore as it is of dealings with the Courts of France. But I agree with Sir Madava Row that neither the Statute nor the Proclamation contemplates any interference of the sort."

The Advocate General then retracted from his original view of the question. "On further consideration", said he, "and with the advantage of weighing all that has been urged by the President and members, the Dewan and my learned friend Mr. Mayne, I have come to the conclusion that the trial of Liddel by the Travancore Government is legal and therefore he ought to be left to undergo the remainder of his sentence." In accordance with this opinion, the Madras Government cancelled their former order on the subject and decided that jurisdiction over European British Subjects, did vest in the Courts of the Maha Rajah of Travancore.

Lord Napier's praises.

In March 1866 the Governor of Madras intimated to His Highness the Maha Rajah that Her Majesty Queen Victoria has been graciously pleased to confer on him the dignity of G. C. S. I., and in January 1867 the Maha Rajah proceeded to Madras to receive the Insignia from the Governor. On the same day Dewan Madhava Rao was presented with the Insignia of the K. C. S. I., and Lord Napier addressed Sir Madhava Rao thus:—

“The Government and the people of Madras are happy to welcome you back to a place where you laid the foundation of those distinguished qualities which have become conspicuous and useful on another scene. The mark of Royal favour which you have this day received will prove to you that the attention and generosity of our Gracious Sovereign are not circumscribed to the circle of her immediate dependants, but that Her Majesty regards the faithful services rendered to the Princes and People of India beyond the boundaries of our direct administration as rendered indirectly to herself and to her representative in this Empire. Continue to serve the Maha Rajah industriously and wisely, reflecting the intelligence and virtues

of His Highness faithfully to his people. The mission in which you are engaged has more than a local and transitory significance. Remember that the spectacle of a good Indian Minister serving a good Indian Sovereign is one which may have a lasting influence on the policy of England and on the future of Native Government.”

The next interesting event was the visit to Trivandrum of Lord and Lady Napier in February 1868. They visited the several Institutions in the capital and were extremely satisfied with the manner in which they were managed.

Madhava Rao called Pericles of Travancore.

By his vigorous and efficient administration of the State, Sir Madhava Rao had now raised it to the unique and proud position of the “Model Native State” of India. In the eloquent words of the late Maha Rajah, “what Pericles did for Athens, what Cromwell did for England, that Madhava Rao did for Travancore”.

The times too were favourable for his great success and reputation. His great abilities were accompanied by a rare good fortune, for, just at the

time that he came to power, all over India and England a great upheaval of national prosperity extended to Travancore also, especially since the abolition of predial slavery in 1855. With this act of humanity and civilisation set in a new tide of good fortune for Travancore. A great influx of civilising ideas and material comforts soon followed. Several favourable circumstances tended to it. A remarkable minister of ability and imagination and gifted with the true instincts of a born statesman, came in the person of Rajah Sir T. Madava Row, who knew how to guide the ship of State safely and wisely through perilous shoals and troubled waters. A kind-hearted and humane Sovereign was *Ayillian Tirunal* on the throne, proud of soul, but sweet in temper and genial in manner, courteous, cultured, and refined, remarkably intelligent, who though patrician by instinct and conservative by nature was himself imbued with liberal ideas and a genuine desire for enlightened forms of Government, and therefore willingly helped to do what promoted the lasting welfare of his people, for he was "a king" as the poet said, "who loves the law, respects his bounds and reigns content within them." In the person of Mr. F. N. Maltby was an ideal British Resident,

most accomplished, sympathetic and talented, who knew the art of diplomacy enough to make his influence felt as a political officer in the native court, for the good of the State and its people, without making himself personally odious or the suzerainty of the paramount power he represented, galling to the native ruler. In Mr. Sadasiva Pillai the presiding Judge of the Travancore High Court, and one of that 'noble band of brothers,' known as the High School Proficients, the people found a saint and jurist combined, a gentleman of the highest integrity and the most spotless character, as calm as he was strong, as conscientious as he was learned, and one who dispensed justice between man and man in the fear of God, but in the fear or favour of no man. He practically illustrated in his own life the noble Roman maxim which he often quoted, "Let justice be done though the Heavens may fall." And last but not least was the far-famed heir-apparent to the throne, *Vishakam Tirunal*, a Prince of delicate build but iron will, of austere character, spartan simplicity, of uncommon natural abilities and marvellous industry, of great attainments and rare scholarship, who from his closet issued forth pamphlets and papers, the result of much study and nature thought which went to

support and strengthen the cause of his Royal brother's good Government and progress of the State, of which he was "the king-to-be." Such a conjunction of favourable planets did not occur in recent times, and they combined to give so great an impetus to the national advance that the time they shone together in the Travancore firmament may be truly designated the Augustan era of Travancore History.

Retires from Travancore Service.

In spite of his great successes, good intentions and good work, he was not able to retain the confidence of the Maha Rajah to the last. His Highness' mind was poisoned against him by a number of circumstances. Misunderstandings soon arose between him and his Royal Master. Several difficulties cropped up, some of which at any rate were of his own making, with the result that he became personally obnoxious to the Sovereign and had therefore to take leave from February to May 1872, when he retired. The Maha Rajah recognised his good service and granted him a handsome pension of Rs. 1000 per mensem which he enjoyed for 19 years. When he left Travancore his idea was

to stay at Madras in peace and rest for the remaining years of his life. But this was not to be, as two other of the Native States were destined to benefit by his talents.

Called The Turgot of India.

On the news of Sir Madava Row's compulsory retirement at the early age of 45 reaching England, the late Sir Henry Fawcett, M. P. asked the Secretary of State for India, if the Indian Government could not find a place for a man of such brilliant abilities. In the course of a speech in the House of Commons he said :—"Sir Madava Row administered Travancore with so much skill as justly to entitle him to be considered the **Turgot of India.** He found Travancore when he went there in 1849, in the lowest stage of degradation. He has left it a Model State. This is the kind of man for whom we have no opening at a time when our resources are declared to be elastic and when if the opium revenue failed us, we should not know where to turn for the amount required."

Became Dewan of Indore.

Just at this time the Maha Rajah Holkar of Indore requested the Government of India to recommend a competent officer to administer his State. The offer was at once made to Sir Madava Row who accepted it and assumed office in 1873. He remained there as Dewan for a little over two years only. After that period, he received this letter from His Highness the Maha Rajah :—

“My dear Sir Madava Row,

“The recurrence of the Dusserah reminds me that it is now very nearly two years since you entered my service. During this period I have had ample proof of your high character, ability, zeal and judgment. You have performed your varied and arduous duties to my entire satisfaction, and the public in general will admit that you have fully justified my selection of you for the responsible Office of my Minister. The period of your connection with the administration of this State has certainly been fruitful of several beneficial changes, and I have no doubt you will exert yourself in the interest of this Government so as materially to add to your former reputation. ...

“You yourself limited your engagement with

me to three years of which nearly two have already elapsed. I hope that the administration will not be deprived of the benefit of your services so early as you contemplated.”

“My main object in writing so is to tell you that it will give me great pleasure if you will agree to prolong your stay here at least one year longer on the terms already mutually understood.”

Called Elsewhere.

But just at this time Mulhari Row, Gaekwar of Baroda, was deposed for maladministration, and the Government of India requested Maharajah Holkar to spare Sir. Madhava Row's services for restoring order in Baroda. The request was, of course, complied with, and Sir. Madhava Row was appointed Diwan—Regent of Baroda.

Indore's Farewell.

Before leaving Indore and in appreciation of his work there, the people of Indore presented him with the following address :—

Sir,—“We the members of His Highness the Maharajah Holkar's service, and His Highness’

subjects, beg to express our heart-felt congratulations upon your elevation to the post of Prime Minister at Baroda; but, at the same time, we cannot conceal from you our deep regret at the severance of your connection with this State.

"Your reputation at Travancore was, no doubt, sufficient to bring you to the prominent notice of all Princes and politicians; yet no one will deny that His Highness the Maharajah Holkar showed uncommon discretion and strength of judgment in spontaneously inviting you to assist him in his administrative reforms from such a great distance as Madras; and your administration during the last 2½ years has given ample proofs of the excellence of His Highness' selection.

"Your amiable and kind disposition, and the uniform courtesy which you always shewed to all with whom you came in contact have endeared you to every one of us.

"As might naturally be expected in official routine, you had often times to deal with conflicting interests and inveterate prejudices; yet in all such cases the singular tact with which you dealt with them never failed to extract admiration and applause from persons of even the most opposite views.

"Your liberality of sentiment and conciliatory manner always pointed you out as the person best fitted to administer a Native State and it is but due to you to say that under your leadership the members of His Highness' service always took an active interest in promoting your policy of useful reforms, and exerted their best to ensure the success of your measures.

"This complete organisation of the several departments of State under your auspices, and the consequent division of work, have facilitated the timely and regular disposal of business, and introduced in all branches of the Government service greater usefulness and efficiency."

"Every department of Government public health, justice, public works, police, education and revenue, all have felt the influence of your master mind and, without going into details, we might well say, to those who may be sceptical on that point, as was said of Pitt,

"Si monumentum quaeris circumspice."

"In conclusion, we beg to say in the noble words which that distinguished statesman, Lord Elphinstone, had most appropriately addressed to yourself on a former occasion, that we 'trust you well live long to achieve great successes and to

confer great benefits upon the country you are called upon to administer', and with an earnest hope that the high reputation which you have already gained will be still further increased, we beg to remain, &c.

Dewan - Regent of Baroda.

From Indore, he was appointed by the Government of India as Minister and Dewan-Regent of Baroda. His achievements there during a period of seven years even surpassed those in Travancore during fourteen years, for there he had to grapple with bigger interests and mightier difficulties, as Baroda was in greater confusion and chaos than Travancore ever was a hundred years ago.

The condition of Baroda in 1875 was thus described :—" It was a phantasmagoria of rapine and treachery, a confusing dream of intrigue and bloodshed, where reckless aspirants of ephemeral power were continually engaged in internecine contests, unredeemed by any ennobling principle, and usually to all appearance, motiveless; except so far as motives are supplied by lust of plunder and venal self-aggrandisement. It required an iron hand and an iron will to restore order in the midst of this

confusion. The iron will was Sir Madava Row's and the iron hand, that of Sir Philip Sandys Melville, Resident."

What Sir Madava Row did in five years of his rule, he thus describes in the Baroda Administration Report for 1879 - 1880 :—

" This is the fifth report of the administration which has replaced that of Mulhar Row Gaskwar, and evidently what may, perhaps, be termed the exceptional period is fast passing away. The annual official narratives of administrative work must, therefore, inevitably decline in general interest and rapidly approach the form and brevity which best suit settled territories.

2. " It may not be out of place to recall here the programme which I laid down in my first Administration Report. It was as follows :—

- (a) To maintain public order and tranquility with firmness and moderation.
- (b) To redress the accumulated complaints arising out of past maladministration, whether of the Sirdars, bankers, ryots, or others.
- (c) To establish a proper and sufficient machinery for the dispensation of justice in both its branches.

(d) To provide a Police commensurate with the extent of the country and with the density and character of the population.

(e) To provide for the execution of necessary or useful public works.

(f) To promote popular education.

(g) To provide suitable medical agencies for the benefit of the people.

(h) To reduce the burden of taxation where it is excessive, to readjust taxes where they require to be re-adjusted, and to abolish such taxes as are totally objectionable.

(i) To enforce economy in expenditure, to restrain waste, to reduce extravagance, and to prevent losses arising from corruption and malversation. And pre-eminently to keep the expenditure fairly below the receipts, so that a surplus may become available as a provision for adverse seasons, and available also for further administrative improvements.

(j) To generally strengthen the executive establishments, so that Government may pervade and be co-extensive with the country and population, and may make itself felt throughout these dominions.

3. "I may venture to say that in the course of the past five years much has been done in fulfilment of the foregoing programme, though not a little yet remains to be done, especially by way of elaborating minor details in the various branches of Administrations. It will, I trust, be found from the facts and figures which follow that the subjects of this State have of late enjoyed a large measure of peace, order, security of person and property, public liberty in general, and the benefits of the financial prosperity of the State, and that in these cardinal respects our people need not shrink from a comparison with any other Indian Community."

In the concluding paragraph of the same report Sir Madhava Row added :—

"I respectfully trust that the preceding report will be found not less satisfactory as to actual results than those which preceded the same. It would be false modesty to disguise the fact that, during these five years, our work has been exceedingly heavy and trying, for the fact accounts for our visible delays and deficiencies. It is not simply that we have had to carry on ordinary current business. We have had to investigate and decide a multitude of matters inherited by us, which, in numbers and complexity, are probably

unsurpassed in any Native State. We have had to organize the very machinery of Government. We have had to carefully consider and carry out vital reforms. We have had to bring under control a vast expenditure in its dark and intricate ramifications. We have had to rectify our relations with our numerous, and diversified neighbours. In this respect, grave and embarrassing aberrations from sound principle had, in the course of time and neglect, sprung up, and their correction presented peculiar difficulties. We have had to bring them to the notice of the authorities concerned, to explain, to discuss, to convince, and sometimes to respectfully expostulate. The extra strain thus caused has, however, now begun sensibly to diminish, and it is therefore hoped that we shall be increasingly enabled to devote our time and energies to the development of internal improvements. It must be frankly admitted that there is still abundant scope for our exertion in this direction. All we claim to have done is, that we have fulfilled the primary obligations of a civilized Government."

In his letter to the Government of India, reviewing this Report, Mr. P. S. Meville C. S. I., the Agent to the Governor-General bore the following testimony:—"The excellence of the selection

of an administrator for the Baroda State during the minority of the Gaekwar made by the Government of India in the person of Raja Sir T. Madava Row K. C. S. I., has been further proved during the year under report. The very highest appreciation is due to his unwearied labours for the good of the State and people."... "The existing Baroda Administration has been at work for ever five years up to the close of the year under report. Security of life and property has been established; a good judicial organization has been formed; the finances have become eminently prosperous; the people are contented and happy public works have been extensively undertaken; a large medical and educational machinery has been provided; the people are contented and happy; discontent is limited to the favourites of the regime of the Ex-Gaekwar, and is not outwardly exhibited; and the relations of the State with neighbouring States have been reformed with the result of peace and quiet in lieu of incessant bickerings that used to prevail. The labours of the administration presided over by Sir Madhava Row have been eminently productive of benefit."

This is an achievement of which any statesman in India or England may well feel proud. By habit

and instinct, not to speak of his great qualifications, the ruling of States had become a second nature with Sir Madava Row.

Retirement from Public Service.

From Baroda after a period of 7 years' rule, he went into retirement and died on the 4th April 1891. He was 53 years old, the last 9 of which he lived in retirement at Madras. He was Dewan of Travancore, Indore and Baroda for a period of 24 years in all, the best part of his life being given to the service of Travancore.

Sir Madava Row's Speeches and Writings.

Sir Madava Row's life lends itself to be biographed and the biography would be a most charming one if a Boswell could be found to undertake it, for, as Lord Macaulay said, "Homer is not more decidedly the first of his poets, Shakespeare is not more decidedly the first of dramatists, Demosthenes is not more decidedly the first of orators, than Boswell is the first of biographers. He has no second. He has distanced all his competitors, so

decidedly that it is not worth while to place them." But who would take the role of Boswell in order to earn immortal fame by the writing of one book. "If he had not been a great fool" said Macaulay "he would never have been a great biographer". We owe it no doubt to the genius of Boswell to have given us one of the best biographies in the English language. But if Lord Macaulay had lived to this day and seen his own 'Life and Letters' by his nephew Sir G. O. Trevelyan or Gladstone's Life by John Morley, he might not have been so emphatic about Boswell being the first of biographers.

Sir Madava Row's Life has in it all the elements to make its narrative most readable and interesting. His many-sided activities and his manifold interests will make the task of the biographer easy owing to the amplitude of material available to choose from. If the work were undertaken by competent authority, that would be one of the best biographies in India. His writings were endless, for his energy and enthusiasm for work were almost unlimited. One need not necessarily be a member of the Dunciad, as Boswell was said to be, to bring out a fairly good biography of Sir Madava Row. The late Mr. P. Sankunni Menon,

Dewan Peishkar of North Travancore, my *quondam* official chief and subsequently one of my senior colleagues in the revenue branch of the service, told me that during an official acquaintance with Sir Madava Row of more than 20 years, he had never seen the man except with pen and paper in his hand writing briskly, and he told me that he had seen him all the hours of the day and some hours of the night. This was remarkable; but I can myself vouchsafe to the correctness of the statement. Sir Madava Row did not know what it was to be idle; if he did, his life might have been prolonged. There is no doubt he harmed himself by over-work.

As it is now nearly a quarter of century since the great statesman's hand had become cold, what he has left on record must be a rich legacy to present and future generations of Indian workers in the same field. I will cull a few passages out of them as are now available to the public and present them to the general reader. He had something to say on every conceivable subject. He said, whatever he had to say, clearly and straightforwardly. He did not trouble himself with what effect his words would produce on this community or that. He was not easily moved by what is called the

mob opinion. If he convinced himself of the rightness of the course of conduct which he wanted his countrymen to follow, he drove straight to that point. He was not timid or pusillanimous. Sometimes his countrymen were very angry with him, sometimes they admired him as we do here to-day; but all the same, he said what he thought was right and proper. He had a wonderful facility for writing. Long despatches or official papers he could draw-up at one stretch. And his powers of concentration amidst numerous distractions were remarkable. One morning forty-three years ago, he sat down to translate into English the vernacular records of a sensational criminal case in Travandrum, in order to draw-up an appeal memo to the High Court on behalf of the local Advocate-General. This work took him 7 hours' sitting at one stretch, and it would be a tremendous strain under any circumstance. But with his marvellous strength he bore it with ease and indifference. The appeal memo which he drew-up in his own hand as the result of the thorough study of the records must have filled, if type-written, fifty to sixty pages of foolscap paper. I am not aware how many of our Indian friends could perform such feats in these days, but Sir Madava Row himself told us at an

evening party at Trivandrum, when he visited it as Dewan-Regent of Baroda that "Twelve of us put together were no match for Sir Richard Temple". Yes, Sir Richard Temple was a giant among the European Civil Servants of the Indian Empire. Sir Madava Row had the rare gift of arranging the whole matter of his theme carefully in his brain before committing it to paper. In that respect he was like Herbert Spencer of whom Dr. Duncan writes in his biography :—

"Unlike his friends Mr. G. H. Lewes and Professor Huxley who wrote and re-wrote their compositions, he made comparatively few changes in his manuscript."

But this gift was not shared in by all his school-fellows of that bright band of High School Proficients. One of them Vembaukom Rama Iyengar whom I knew very well for many years, though his English was elegant, cultured, polished and terse, could not write even half a sheet of paper without correcting and refining and polishing endlessly. Mr. Rama Iyengar himself told me that it was an unfortunate habit with him that he was no ready writer, though I must do him the justice to say that every edition of the manuscript which he wrote was an *improvement* upon the last and

a friend humorously remarked at the time that the Administration Report of the year had reached its *eleventh* edition at Mr. Rama Iyengar's hands, though it was not finally passed. And he had a wonderful clerk in Trivandrum who wrote a beautiful and clear hand, who to the delight of his chief ungrudgingly copied and recopied, as *fast* as the corrected matter came into his hands. For this-clerk, Mr. Rama Iyengar had unbounded admiration, almost affection I should say, for he recommended the young man to me when he came away as my Sheristadar and asked me the favour of treating him, as he was a particularly weak and delicate youth. This tender solicitude on his part to a humble clerk especially when the outside world knew Rama Iyengar only as a rough and ill-tempered man deeply touched me.

On British Rule.

For the British Government Sir Madava Row had unbounded admiration and was loyal to the core on the ground that that was the best Government known to India, a conclusion which he arrived at, after much thought, judgment and study of past history. He gave expression to this firm

conviction in welcoming the Indian National Congress to Madras in 1887. He said "I see, before me, representatives from all parts of India, whose very personal appearance will bring home to the mind of the unprejudiced observer the conviction that, varied as are the castes and creeds and races of India, there is still a powerful band of union, which makes our hearts vibrate with sympathy and mutual love, and a common affection for our mother-country. To well-balanced minds, such a gathering must appear the soundest triumph of British Administration and a crown of glory to the great British Nation." It should be remembered that the Congress was not then, nor in the years which followed, in the good graces of the authorities. Now however has come a wonderful turn in our affairs, thanks to the Great War of Europe, undreamt of in the past, which has established beyond a doubt the loyalty of India and the heroism of our Sepoys: two of the most signal achievements to the credit of the British rule in India.

But in criticising Government or its measures, he was frank and fearless. He talked and wrote as if he felt that Government was his own matter and its responsibility on his own head. He had been in power for the public good and solely in the

public interests that he forgot that he was a humble subject of the Queen-Empress appealing to the authorities for justice and protection to his fellow-countrymen. In one of his Notes by a Native Thinker he wrote that the treatment of the Bombay Government to the corrupt Crawford was humane and equitable, while that of the Madras High Court to Kunjooni Menon who died in the Malabar Jail, he said, was tantamount to a judicial murder. In another "Notes" he affirmed his plain political trade faiths that "it would be absurd for the British Government to suppose that it could govern India to the satisfaction of the people, without counsel, or without the best Natives of the land representing the people." With regard to the work of the Christian missionaries in India, he pointed out that "It was absurd for them to think that India could be converted into Christianity; that the Hindu convert had ceased to be a Hindu in faith and feeling; and that their street-preaching has the slightest effect."

The Ilbert Bill.

While in regard to the Ilbert Bill he was firmly convinced that it was then in-applicable to India,

though that angel of a Viceroy the Marquis of Ripon who supported it was one of his greatest friends and admirers. Lord Roberts refers to the opinion of Sir Madhava Row on this point in his "Forty one years in India" thus :—"Discussing with him on the excitement caused by the 'Libert Bill', he said: 'Why do you English raise these unnecessary questions? It is your doing, not ours. We have heard of the cry. 'India for the Indians' which some of our philanthropists have raised in England; but you have only to go to the Zoological gardens and open the doors of the cages, and you will very soon see what would be the result of putting that theory into practice. There would be a terrific fight amongst the animals, which would end in the tiger walking proudly over the dead bodies of the rest?' 'Whom', I inquired, 'do you consider to be the tiger?' 'The Mahomedan from the north' was his reply."

Social Reforms.

In social and caste questions Sir Madava Row's mind moved slowly. He was much more conservative than was generally believed and advocated care and moderation in dealing with them, which

the radically-minded and the sanguine-hearted among the younger generation of his admirers so heartily disliked. He was not a pronounced social reformer. But he was however no blind admirer of the ancients nor irrevocably committed to custom and mamool in all matters; for in his Convocation address he told us :—"Avoid the mischievous error of supposing that our ancient forefathers were wiser than men of the present times. It cannot be true. Every year of an individual's life he acquires additional knowledge. Knowledge thus goes on accumulating year by year. Similarly every generation adds to the knowledge of the previous generation. Under such process the accumulation of knowledge in a century is very large. To assert therefore that men possessed more knowledge scores of centuries ago than at present is manifestly absurd. Hesitate not therefore to prefer modern knowledge to ancient one. A blind belief in the omniscience of our forefathers is mischievous, because it perpetuates errors and tends to stagnation."

Sir Madava Row was in favour of small reforms in the matter of the marriage of the Hindu Girls for in one of his "notes" he writes, "The political good which the Congress has mainly in view may take several years to be fully realised; meanwhile

it might well reap some small crops of social good. In my humble judgment, the present Congress ought not to disperse without effectually providing for the interdiction of the marriage of girls before nine years of age. It is a ordinal measure which the common sense of the whole empire must agree to. It will save thousands of children from the horrors of widowhood."

Later on, he advocated the deferring of marriages till the girl was ten years of age. This was a further-advance in his ideas in social reform. He said so twenty-five years ago, and if he had lived to-day he would probably joined heart and soul in helping on the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastriar's post-puberty marriage Bill, submitted to the Madras Legislative Council. After all Mr. Srinivasa Sastri has asked only for a permissive bill to enable the small band of social reformers to progress on the lines of least resistance to the community at large. No special privileges are sought. The peace of the community is not to be disturbed. Those who wish to marry their girls at the ages of seven or eight are not prevented from doing so. He seeks for a definite declaration by the Legislature to protect those who on proper grounds are convinced of the need for deferring the marriages

of their girls till after puberty, so that they may do so without running the risk of these marriages being declared invalid by courts of law. In Mr. Srinivasa Sastri's words:—"It would merely declare that no marriage of a Hindu woman performed after puberty would be declared invalid. It would not compel anybody to embrace innovation. I do not believe a great revolution is going to be effected. My only object is to clear any doubts and to see that no legal disabilities exist for those that desire too take a further step in social progress." This is a very modest and practical presentment of the case. The better mind of the Hindu Community is decidedly in favour of such a change. As the lawyers are decided in their opinions the interference of the legislature is sought. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri undertakes to prove, should I ever have the good fortune of actually introducing the Bill into this Council, that it is a fact that the bulk of our ancient Sastras is in favour of post-puberty marriage, and in fact that at one time it was the prevalent mode of marriages." Quite so. This is a patent fact particularly to those who have lived on the Malabar coast where the Namburi women are, as a rule, married only after puberty. In marrying their girls after puberty they did not

introduce an innovation but merely brought with them to this coast when they came here five thousand years' ago, the practice prevailing in the old country. How that observance was replaced there by the modern practice of marrying infant girls could be easily guessed, if we carefully follow the chequered history and the changes of domination that have taken place throughout India during this period. The Hon. Mr. Sivaswamy Iyer has told us in his Convocation address the other day—one of the best addresses delivered to Graduates in this part of India, an address characterised by sobriety of thought, elegance of diction and deep study that he would plead for a "moderate centre which believes in the combination of progress and order, has no faith in the efficacy of secession leading to the formation of another caste and widening the gulf between the masses of the people and the educated classes, and which trusts to persuasion and creation of public opinion." "The education of the people and the moulding of public opinion promise more success than violent denunciation and incitement to revolt. The silent pressure of economic forces and of the instruments of material civilization is a powerful ally of social reform, as may be seen in the daily weakening

if not the disappearance of the objections to foreign travel. Do not imagine that I wish you to acquiesce in the social institutions which are hampering our material growth or to turn you from the path of social reform. Throw yourselves into the work with all the generous enthusiasm of which youth is capable, but do not neglect the path of persuasion and the duty of carrying society with you."

On Political Topics.

In his political speeches Sir Madava Row was at his best. They were distinguished by a peculiarly happy vein of thought, rare literary elegance, and remarkable facility of expression. Sometimes it was the discussion of principles of administration and the duties which rulers owe to their subjects; sometimes it was a description of the rural cottages in the mountain tracts of the West Coast; sometimes it was about "the vast iron zig-zig which already covers the face of India and which enables the Viceroy to visit and vivify equally with ease and expedition, the heart and extremities of what would otherwise have been an unwieldy empire"; sometimes it was the account of the young Gaekwar's marriage at Baroda with all its round of

pretty ceremonials, gorgeous pageants and hospitalities, or of his new Palace. Again it was a description of the Ganges bath at Benares, its Visweswara's Holy shrine and the bathing ghat whose granite steps had become worn by millions of pious Hindu pilgrims using it from remote antiquity. It was said of Johnson that he would make his fishes talk like whales; similarly with Madava Row who would make a dull prosaic official report read like a romance. All the dry figures would jump into life of flesh and blood with a beauteous face and rich apparel the moment he touches it with his magic wand of the poet's vision and faculty divine. A rich imagination, a powerful intellect and a kind heart were the great factors of his life and contributed in no small measure to the unique success of his achievements. His lectures to a Native Prince of which about thirty to thirty-five columns of matter appeared in a Madras Daily are most valuable lessons on the responsibilities of kings and their duties to their subjects. These principles he inculcated into the mind of his Royal pupils at Trivandrum, which they gratefully remembered and practised when their turn came to rule their ancient State.

Descriptive.

Of the Ryot's cottage in the West Coast he wrote in one of his Travancore Administration Reports thus:—

“The natives of the country care little about such exotics. They fondly cling to the fertile and well watered plains, and pursue agriculture after the manner of their forefathers. Forming the great bulk of the rural population, they continue contented and prosperous. The number of these tax-paying ryots may be approximately estimated at three hundred thousand. They are mostly peasant proprietors holding land permanently and on definite terms. They have thus every possible inducement to improve their little possessions which are the sources of their subsistence. It is accordingly most interesting to enter some of these properties and behold the spectacles there presented of industry, fertility, neatness and comfort. The rice lands lie in a rich valley watered by perennial streams of crystal purity. Not far but on the slop of the next hill the owner resides with his family in a garden of his own, from which he looks cheerfully upon his cherished inheritance. In this garden, there is a simple but a cool cottage mostly

ruler than to the subject. If a medical Philosopher could be induced to trace up to its primary causes the happiness or misery of oriental millions, he would sometimes expatiate upon the extensive political phenomena ultimately issuing more or less from the health or sickness of a ruler, and arising from a good or bad habitation. A well-situated and well-ventilated home may generate a cheerfulness, vigour, and benevolence which scatter peace and plenty over the land, whereas a home of the opposite sort may engender indigestion, lassitude, and recklessness, incompatible with successful administration. Ladies and Gentlemen, we happily live in an age in which the destinies of populations are increasingly becoming independent of the State or of an individual stomach or liver. Yet it cannot be ignored or denied that a hale and healthy ruler is more likely to govern well than one in a contrary predicament. A due appreciation of this fact induced us to maturely consider the question of a suitable residence for His Highness the Gaekwar. No faltering voice need be used in asserting that none of the existing Palaces fulfill the necessary conditions of situation, comfort and convenience and of good structural appearance. In some instances we have found even the element

of physical safety extremely imperfect. In short a new Palace has proved itself to be an absolute necessity here. You may be sure, Ladies and Gentlemen, that our determination to build a new palace is not the result of a casual or capricious impulse under the inebriating influences of overflowing wealth. It is the result of patient calculation and deliberate conviction under a full sense of the various public claims on our limited fiscal resources. I am entitled to submit that we have not entered upon the work of a new Palace too early. On the contrary, we have allowed precedence to other works of apparently more extensive public benefit. For example we have in the first instance provided offices for the public servants. We have made provisions for those who suffer from disease. We have supplied accommodation for the youths under education. We have afforded liberal shelter and comfort even to the incarcerated male factor."

Here is another beautiful description of the Gaekwar's marriage, which took place on the 6th January 1880 :—

"While outside the Palace, numerous festivities were going on, the Palace itself was the scene of many interesting ceremonies and incidents im-

mediately connected with the marriage. The tutelary deities were being continuously propitiated. Prayers were constantly offered to the planets to shed their benign influences. The priests were repeating ancient hymns in praise of the Almighty for offering abundant blessings to the bride and bridegroom. Ladies in rich and varied costumes and brilliant with jewellery were gracefully moving about in the performance of diverse civil or religious duties. Flowers, Attar, Rose-water, Sandal and incense diffused their fragrance in every room and court-yard. Sometimes the bride and the bridegroom sat before a fire performing sacrifices with joined hands. Sometimes the bride alone was seated prominently in a spacious hall, she being specially clothed and decorated in order to be seen by all the relations and friends of both sides. Sometimes the bridegroom was placed on a chair and his feet were washed by a noble lady with water poured out of vessels of gold or silver. The actual marriage ceremony itself was extremely interesting. The bride and bridegroom stood facing each other, taking their stand on heaps of consecrated cow but with a thick curtain held up between them. Both wore rich clothes and ornaments of ancient style, but the bride was covered

with a veil to protect her from the public gaze. In this position the family priests solemnly recited ancient texts and went through mystic ceremonies. Just when the propitious hour struck, the curtain dropped and then it was that really or conventionally the bride and the bridegroom first saw each other. Showers of colored rice were discharged upon the happy pair from all around accompanied with fervent benedictions. The bride is given away by her father or guardian, and the gift is made by pouring water mixed with rice into the hand of the bridegroom followed by placing the hand of the one on that of the other. During a subsequent ceremony the father or guardian of the bride says to the bridegroom and to all his party—'the child hereto-fore affectionately brought up by me has now been given to you. Do you hereafter tenderly take care of her as your own'. This is a most touching scene. It marks the severance of the bride from the home of her birth and childhood. All the bride's party are in tears as the words are uttered in slow and solemn tones. The bride and the bridegroom make solemn promises of fidelity to each other. God, Heaven, Earth, and the animate creation are called to witness the union. The Sun and Pole Star are also appealed to. The

bridegroom conducts the bride to a block of stone near the altar of fire, and makes her stand on it and says—'Behold this immovable stone on which you are standing. May your constancy to me be as immovable as this stone. The couple walk seven paces on heaps of corn, at each step the bridegroom offering good wishes to the bride in respect of health, strength, longevity, constancy, abundance, progeny and prosperity. A long succession of picturesque and primitive ceremonies were gone through at the palace in accordance with a ritual of unknown antiquity. The earth has changed; races have altered in their distribution and destinies; empires have risen and fallen; yet that ritual remains the same.'

But I must stop here. Scores of similar interesting extracts could be found in Sir T. Madhava Row's writings and speeches.

A diligent search of his public and private papers ought to afford sufficient matter for two large-sized octavo volumes in print. But so far, though 23 years have rolled away since Sir Madava Row left this nether sphere there seems to be neither the inclination nor the capacity forth-coming to undertake the task. Such is fame!

Concluding Remarks.

I will here conclude this narrative of the great man with an extract from what I wrote of him eight years ago in the *State Manual of Travancore*:—"After arduous and incessant labours for a whole life-time, he went into quiet retirement and enjoyed a ten years' repose in his pretty Mylapore residence known as *Madhava Bagh*, and died there in 1891, full of honours though not perhaps full of years. In his retirement he occupied himself with the congenial study of Herbert Spencer's works or writing short notes to Newspapers on all manner of subjects from the German occupation of Africa to the combing of hair in boys or improving the dress of girls. Nothing was too difficult for his comprehensive brain; nothing too delicate for its subtle grasp. He was a man of the highest culture and the loftiest imagination. He was quick-witted, clear-headed and industrious. He was an indefatigable worker and he delighted in his work, for it looks to my mind at this distance of time, having received the impression at a very impressionable age that he strenuously worked away from morning till night, and that he had a giant's strength, for in one hour he could do what most others

could not in six. He writes in one of his letters to Sashiah Sastri in 1849, with the freedom and hilarity of a school-mate, that he was an idle fellow while Sashiah Sastri was not. "I know you are not such an idle fellow like me as not to write out in a book your every-day doings." If Sir Madhava Row could be considered an idle fellow as he was pleased to call himself, he must have been one of a very extraordinary type. It was as Gladstone said of Macaulay, "But it (Lord Macaulay's) was an extraordinarily full life, of sustained exertion, a high tableland without depressions. He spoke of himself as idle; but his idleness was more active, and carried with it hour by hour a greater expenditure of brain-power than what most men regard as their serious employments. He might well have been, in his mental career, the spoiled child of fortune; for all he tried succeeded, all he touched turned into gems and gold." "Sir Madhava Row had remarkable strength of will, uncommon patience, unparalleled perseverance, undaunted courage to face opposition and a capacity to overcome where he could not persuade. Towards brother officials he was considerate, kindly, generous and genuine. With those placed in authority over him he argued, persuaded and convinced, but personally

was modest, respectful and deferential in his behaviour. To the people at large he was a true friend and benefactor, the supporter of the weak against the strong, the champion of the oppressed and the helpless. He hated injustice and sham of every kind; he was a terror to evil-doers; he was the declared enemy of the corrupt. What the Governor General Marquis of Wellesley said of an eminent Anglo-Indian of the last century applies to him with equal justice:—

"He is a gentleman of the highest character in India; his talents are not inferior to those of any person in this country, nor have I seen in any part of the world many persons of superior capacity. His general knowledge is considerable and his particular acquaintance with the Affairs of India, especially those of Fort St. George, is comprehensive and accurate. His diligence is indefatigable; he has passed his whole life in laborious business: his zeal and public spirit are distinguished features of his character; and his eminent integrity and honour are universally acknowledged. In addition to these circumstances his whole public life has marked him as the implacable, indefatigable, and irresistible foe of the corrupt system of intrigue and peculation which long pervaded the service at

Fort St. George. He was the declared and ardent enemy of every author and abettor of corruption in that Service and the cordial friend and protector of every man of integrity, diligence, knowledge, and talents. While his exertion to encourage the progress of honesty and industry was unremitting, his own example has become a model of emulation to the younger branches of the Service."

In politics he was cautious and conservative as he was in religious and social questions. He had great confidence in his own powers and judgment, but wherever he went, he secured and maintained around him a strong phalanx of supporters and admirers. He was above all honest, earnest and god-fearing. Intellectual occupations gave him the utmost delight, but he had a keen sense of the humorous and the æsthetic in nature. He excelled in conversation; he had an inexhaustible fund of anecdotes; he always came forth with generous praise or admiration of real talent; his sallies sparkled with wit and humour and sarcasm but he never gave offence; it looks as if in his whole public life no word escaped him in conversation which either pained or offended any man. He was incapable of a boorish word or brusque expression. He was a man of delicately refined temperament.

He was one of Nature's nobles. Within the privileged circle of his immediate friends and admirers he was merry, frank, jocose, playful, sometimes even vain like children, though never coarse or commonplace. He was a poet and a lover of art. He composed devotional songs in Marathi, he was an elegant and polished scholar in that language. His whole life was dedicated to the education of his fellow-men and the amelioration of their condition. He was the favourite of the Muses and the chosen pet of fortune. By universal assent he was the greatest statesman that India has produced in recent times. In the words of the immortal poet, "He was the noblest Roman of them all."

We want more Madava Row's. India is poorer to-day for his loss, a man in whom the British Government placed absolute trust and one who showed by his conduct and culture and by genuine regard and sympathy for his countrymen that that trust was well-placed. If he had been spared to us till now, we might have congratulated him on his eighty-sixth birthday two weeks ago, i.e., he would be two years older than Lord Roberts and three years younger than Gladstone, an impossible age, however, in many a public worker in India under our present conditions.

If in the foregoing sketch of Sir Madava Row, I have been influenced by personal devotion and admiration for the great Statesman, let it be understood that those feelings are not due to any personal favours conferred or personal interests promoted by him. They are entirely the result of the reflex action created by his kindly regard and generous appreciation, two of the strongest factors in certain temperaments. For, those who have inherited worldly advantages from a great man are as a rule the least inclined to praise him or admire him, because they have no kinship with him in sentiment or genius or in his aims and ambitions; while those who are loudest in such praise are generally architects of their own fortunes and can act independently of personal interests or motives, believing as they do with Sir Madava Row himself in Lord Bacon's dictum that,

"Chiefly the mould of a man's fortune
is in his own hands".

When after graduating, I first saw Sir Madava Row in the Dewan's Office at Trivandrum one afternoon 44 years ago, having been appointed by him to a small clerkship there, the first words he addressed me were to the following effect:—"Whatever you do, do with all your might. Therein lies all excel-

lence." These words produced a deep impression on my young mind. I have ever since remembered them and acted up to them to the best of my lights. His uniform kindness and the generous readiness to appreciate small services willingly rendered, in spite of the faults incidental to youth and ignorance, and the continuance of the same treatment to me for long years after he left Travancore may perhaps be attributed to his sense of Hero-Worship, for, after all "The modes of self love, the passions we call". About the end of 1887 I had several opportunities of seeing Sir Madava Row and discussing public questions with him at Madras. One such occasion produced a deep impression on him. He was wavering about the Congress. There was a regular struggle in his mind whether to accept the Chairmanship of the Reception Committee for welcoming the Indian National Congress to Madras, or to cut himself off from associating with the youthful politicians of New India. My persuasion it was that fixed him in his resolve to join the Congress, and this was no small unction to my soul. This flattered my vanity and greatly added to my esteem for Sir Madava Row. He had the rare gift of readily accepting and assimilating new facts and new views thus proving that his

mind was ever growing. My close knowledge of Sir T. Madhava Row, his writing and his public-achievements have been an inspiring example to me these many years; and if any small success has been vouchsafed to me in my public life, I may ungrudgingly put it down to the noble ideals which he left behind him.

I daresay that we have many such eminent men in our midst unknown to fame, for the saying is "there is as good fish in the sea as has come out of it". But the peaks are not clearly discernable, for modern education has raised the level of Indian capacity as a whole into a succession of tableland of intellects. I trust that the younger generation of our countrymen will emulate his life and successes and profit by his noble and honourable example.
(Loud applause.)

III—Hon. Mr. P.S. Sivaswami Aiyar's Comments.

After the eloquent address that we have listened to, an address which has covered the whole of Sir T. Madhava Row's career, from the days when he distinguished himself at College to his retirement at Mylapore, there is hardly much for me to dwell upon or to call your attention to. One cannot help regretting that the lives of our deceased statesmen have not yet been written adequately. If Sir T. Madhava Row had lived in any other country, there would have been any number of biographies written about him. It is difficult to understand why there should be such a remarkable indifference on the part of our countrymen to the production of biographies of our distinguished men. I suppose it is due, more or less, to the same indifference towards history that is characteristic of the Indian mind. We care more for measures, we care more for the contents of books, and we care little for the lives of men who pass measures, who write books or otherwise distinguish themselves on the stage of life. Whatever may be the cause of this indifference to biographical literature, I am sure we all recognise that it is a lamentable deficiency.

ency in the mental equipment of the Indian. So long as suitable biographies of our great men do not come into existence, celebrations like these are necessary in order to bring home to the minds of the present generation the examples of great men of the past and the lessons to be derived from a study of their lives. How Sir T. Madhava Row distinguished himself as a Minister in three States, how he saved Travancore from the impending danger of annexation, how his administration of the Native States of which he was Dewan extorted the admiration of the numerous British officials and statesmen who had occasion to review his work have been eloquently described by Mr. Nagmaiah. When Sir T. Madhava Rao took charge of the Dewanship of the Travancore State, its administration was in an utterly disorganised condition so much so that the Government were considering the expediency of drastic measures to reform the administration; but within a few years of his assumption of Dewanship he raised it to a condition of efficiency which gained for it the name of a Model Native State. The numerous fiscal reforms introduced into the State earned for him the appreciation of economists like the late Mr. Henry Fawcett who spoke of him as the Turgot of India.

Those who have had occasion, as I have had now and then, to read some of his minutes on economic questions, cannot fail to be struck with the mastery of economic principles and the forcible presentation of his case by Sir T. Madhava Rao. His mastery of the English language was appreciated in all circles and we have been told how one Englishman wished that he might talk like Sir T. Madhava Rao so that he might become the greatest man in Europe. What strikes one on a perusal of his minutes more than his mastery of the language is his thorough grasp of the subject, his mastery of the principles underlying the questions under discussion and the clearness and distinctness of presentation that he seems to have cultivated to perfection. If there is one reflection more than another that is forced upon one's mind by a study of Sir T. Madhava Rao's career, it is how admirably he demonstrated the capacity of Indians for administration. He was the first of that band of great men who under fortunate circumstances and their own innate abilities rose to be in charge of various Native States and showed to the world how fully capable the Indian was to administer the States that were entrusted to his charge. That I regard as one of the most signal services done to the country by Raja

ir T. Madhava Rao. It is somewhat unfortunate that the best scope for statesmanship should have to be sought for in the Native States rather than in British India. A variety of circumstances is responsible for this state of things. That the Native States were comparatively in a much less efficient and organized condition, that the reforms to be achieved offered much larger scope for the exercise of constructive statesmanship and that in a Native State the Dewan is not hampered by the same restrictions that an administrator in British India is bound by, are all responsible for the remarkable fact that the best examples of Indian statesmanship have to be found in the annals of the Native States rather than in the annals of British India. There was one pregnant remark by Lord Napier, a former Governor of Madras, in his Convocation address. He pointed out that for the display of special aptitude for administration the Indian would have to go to the Native State and would find his opportunities there. Later on addressing Sir T. Madhava Rao himself, he pointed out that the spectacle of a good Indian Minister serving the Government of the Indian sovereign is one which would have a lasting influence on the policy of England as to the future of Native Government. That the manner in

which Sir T. Madhava Rao discharged his duties as Dewan in three Native States did surely exercise an influence on the policy of the Indian Government in dealing with Native States will hardly admit of doubt. He raised them to a very high level of efficiency and won for them a position which might claim comparison with the administration in the British provinces. If the destinies of Native States had not been committed to the care and conduct of distinguished statesmen like Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao who had realised his very high sense of responsibility to the State and the Government, the Native States might have had a different turn in the policy which was followed by the British Government of that day than the policy which was clearly and emphatically stated by Lord Minto and has since been followed by Lord Hardinge, which was the outcome of the wise and successful administration of Native States by capable administrators like Raja Sir Madhava Row. Sir Madhava Row himself never had any doubt of the very high mission that he had accepted in life as Dewan of three great Native States. In one of his speeches he pointed out that the continued existence of Native States, the continued integrity and the honourable intentions of Native States

ject to the suzerainty of the Paramount power as a political necessity and a political advantage. I am sure that there are no two opinions now as to the truth of the observation.

Gentlemen, Sir T. Madhava Rao did not allow himself to be absorbed in the cares of official life, but he was a man who cared for very high intellectual culture. He was an ardent student of English literature, of Science, Mathematics and Physics and he was at one time early in his career, I think when he was about 19 or 20, acting Professor of Mathematics and Physics in the Presidency College. Unlike many of us in the present generation he cultivated his own vernacular and was proficient in Marathi to such an extent that he could write poems in Marathi which, I understand, have been largely admired. Leaving alone his turn for writing poetry, it is surely worth while to follow his footsteps in acquiring a proficiency in the vernaculars. I wish we could all write in the vernacular with the same ability and ease with which Sir T. Madhava Rao could use Marathi. He distinguished himself in various ways also by his charity and generosity towards all those with whom he came into contact and who had approached to ask for help from him.

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A life such as his is full of valuable lessons and the commemoration of the Birthdays of the great men who had lived among us is of the greatest possible use and service to the present generation. As I have already said, it is a pity that there has been no adequate biography of him yet produced and I hope that Mr. Nagamiah himself may one day come forward with an excellent biography of Sir T. Madhava Rao, qualified as he is by his intimate knowledge of the subject and his great literary abilities for such work.

Gentlemen, I am extremely thankful to the organisers of the commemoration Mr. M. P. Duraiswamiyer and others, for having given me this opportunity to offer my humble tribute of respect and admiration to one of the greatest South Indian Statesmen, Sir Madhava Rao. (*Loud cheers.*)

Mr. Rangachariar proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman, the lecturer and to Mr. C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, Mr. N. K. Ramaswami Iyer seconded it.

The meeting then terminated.

SOME CORRECTIONS TO BE NOTED.

Page 15, para 2, line 11, read *lady* for *dady*.

„ 16, line 17, read “ *Simple* ” for *Poor*.

„ 16, line 20, read *lost* for *less*.

„ 24, para 2, add “ *himself* ” as the last word in line 1.

„ 30, in line 4 from bottom, read *punctuated* for
accompanied.

„ 33, after *females* in line 11, add “ of South
Travancore ”.

„ 42, para 2, line 3, add after “ *parts of* ”, “ the per-
sons of ”.

„ 46, para 2, line 5, for *we* read *who*.

„ 56, line 1, read *rested* for *rest*.

„ 57, line 2, read *authority* for *authorities*.

„ 60, add “ *occurred and which* ” before “ *extended* ”
in line 3 from top.

„ 63, line 3, from bottom—for *Elastic* read *Inelastic*.

„ 74, read 63 for 53, line 3, para 2.

„ 78, line 3, read *to* for *for*.

